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IN

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EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,

MEMBRE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE, AUTHOR OF "THE ROCK-TEMPLES OF ELEPHANTA," "THE TEMPLES OF ŚATRUÑJAYA," "VIEWS OF ARCHITECTURE AND SCENERY IN GUJARÂT AND RÂJPUTÂNÂ," &c.

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TELUGU BALLAD POETRY.

BY J. A. BOYLE, Esq., M.C.S.

WHEN the late Mr. Gover compiled his "Folk-Songs of Southern India," the only dialect of the Dravidian tongues which went unrepresented in his collection was the Telugu. The omission of that dialect appeared to him, however, too glaring a defect; and in order to supply it he inserted a few verses from the poem of Vemana, as a specimen of Telugu verse. Now the didactic, and in parts polemical, poem of Vemana can no more be truthfully classed as a folk-song than the Lamentations of Jeremiah or the Satires of Juvenal. Those bold denunciations of the vanity of Brahmanical ritualism, of the observance of times and seasons, and of the making clean of cup and platter, were written long after that rude condition had been passed in which, for want of general culture and the common use of writing, popular literature is graven on men's hearts alone, and written nowhere but on their memories. It may be difficult to define within precise limits and beyond the reach of controversy the exact type of a folk-song. It is, however, quite safe to deny that character to so complex and elaborate a poem as the verses of Vemana. Simplicity of thought and subject is one undeniable characteristic of the firstfruits of national composers. The War-song that sounded in the ears of rude warriors as they marched; the Wine-song that pleased them as they revelled; and the Love-song that expressed the softer and better feelings of man, when moved by the strongest passion of his nature, these are the three principal types of early ballad poetry. And these types and subjects were repeated and varied infinitely according to the mood of bard or audience. A chief's funeral awoke strains that told all his life's story, with its wars and loves and revels; and at marriage or festal day the singer would strike softer chords, but on the same lyre, and weave into his facile verse well-known names of clan-warriors, and remembered scenes of love's victories or war's triumphs.

It is therefore to be hoped that while the treasures of national poetry are being gleaned from so many languages, the stores of the sweetest dialect of Southern India may not be overlooked, and that the popular songs of the Telugu people may be collected. That such exist it is the object of the present writer to show; but his fitful gleanings are worthless, except as they may lead other and more competent gatherers to the field.

The specimens of popular ballads which are now offered are undoubtedly the composition of rural bards. They have been gathered by the roadside, from rude men that could neither read nor write. The ploughman who sang to his team, and the carter as he sat between his bullocks, have contributed snatches of song, of which they often only half-knew the meaning, and which they changed and corrupted into their rough and vulgar tongue. The very simplicity and boldness of the verses are their certificate of genuineness, and attest the un-

skilled rudeness of the singer's thought, and the uncritical patience of the simple listeners.

The first ballad is apparently a modern composition, sung by the family minstrel of a Poligar, or petty chieftain in the Ceded Districts. The man, of the Boya caste, from whose mouth I wrote it, was a native of Bellary. The name of the hero, Papadu, marks him as a member of the Nayadu or the Kapu caste, but I have been unable to identify his family or history. Not only local traditions, but sober records and official history, preserve the memories of these turbulent Poligars. Their forts are now crumbling ruins; and their descendants have sunk upon the dead level of struggling farmers; but their stories live in the ballads that the family minstrel once sang at the little court, and which now linger in the memories of a whole country-side.

The minstrel tells us nothing of the hero's parentage except his mother's name, Saramma, but plunges *in medias res* at once with a kind of war-cry of the hero—

Vastadi, tanu, sarvayya Papadu !
I come, 'tis I, the mighty Papadu !

Then comes a description of his leave-taking, in which he tells his mother his ambition and his aims :—

Talli koluvuku vadige vellenu,
Talliki dandamuga nilichenu,
Yêru katti vyavasyamu, amma
Yengile munta yetta lenu.
Kottudunu Golkonda pattanam :
Dilliki mozur navudunu :
Mudu gadiyala Bandar kottudunu :
Mulakota Kandanura tsuchi ;
Bangara kadiyalu pettudunu.
Manakanta bantrotu tana melu,
Manakulakai mana vaddu, ra !
Sarvayya Papa.

Then to his mother quick he hied,
And lowly bent him by her side :
"Mother ! to fix and drive the share,
The filthy household-pot to bear,
Are not for me. My arm shall fall
Upon Golkonda's castle wall :
I'll scorn the lord of Delhi's might ;
To me shall Bandar yield this night ;
Before Kurnool I then will stand,
And with gold jewels deck this hand.
Let not my followers miss the prize
That fortune holds before their eyes !"

Having thus announced his proposed expedition (which is perhaps somewhat vague in its directions, and rash in its expectations), Papadu proceeds to prepare for the war-path by arming himself with a wonderful assortment of swords and daggers, each of which is described with full detail.

This being done, the hero appears in full armour, and one verse celebrates the terror that his noble presence inspired :—

Adugo ! Papadu vastan' ante'
Kundêllu kurtsunda padenu ;
Ledi-pillalu leva levu,
Pasi biddalu palu tagavu ;
Nakkalu simhalu tokkabudunu.

Within its form low crouched the hare ;
Trembled the deer to leave their lair ;
The tender babes refused the breast ;
The fox and lion slunk to rest.

Papadu next goes to the rendezvous to meet his followers. They meet in a grove of date-palm trees, and there engage in an essential preliminary of robber-warfare, to drink up their courage. However undignified this may appear on the part of a hero of such pretensions as Papadu, this touch gives a great deal of local colour and reality to the description. No band of plundering Boyas would start on a dacoiting expedition without a good drink ; and the bard has raised even this act of his hero above the level of an ordinary drunken debauch by the wonderful virtues he has attributed to the toddy that was drunk on the occasion :—

Papadu tagedi kallu,
Ye tati, ye tati kallu !
Velu pettitê velu tegunu ;
Diviti pettitê bogguna mandunu ;
Tagetappudu tiyaga vundenu ;
Taginavanni leva-nivvadu ;
Lechinavanni ponivvadu.

Such toddy as he drank, I ween,
On earth before was never seen.
The finger dipped therein became
Withered with secret fire ;
If kindled by a torch's flame
Than charcoal it burned higher ;
Who drank it loved that liquor sweet,
But he who drank his fill
Could never stand upon his feet,
Nor standing move at will.

And so the description of this heroic liquor runs on through several scores of lines ; and we should have to pursue our hero for many more pages before we were rewarded by an incident.

Much allowance must be made for a poet who had to entertain an audience all night long, to play down the setting moon, and whose chant was sure to fail him unless every trifle of detail and description that his theme afforded were spun out to a length that is to us wearisome.

The measure is of the simplest, but not without a rude melody, that readily lends itself to that intonation, rather than singing, with which Hindu verse is recited.

Let us compare with this rural epic some less ambitious pieces; short village lyrics of swains and maidens, the Corydons and Amaryllides of Andhra.

The following verses were sung by a young rayat as he drew water from a well with a bucket and a pair of bullocks. Each stanza lasted him one haul, so that each stream of the clear water was greeted with a verse, as it rushed from the bucket through the channels to his garden of *râgi* below. After listening to him through the cool hours of the morning, I called him as he left his work, and wrote from his mouth the words of his song—he could not write himself:—

1.

Yegi, yegi yendalaina
Yeduru gummi nidalaina
Dudavadu mogadaina,
Vunda valê konda nadama.

2.

Yedurinti yerra Papa
Tsutum'anna, kana radu:
Papishti tallidandri
Bail' ella nivvaru.

3.

Yettu gubbalu yerra danni,
Kora gubbalu yevvani palu
Alu leni baluniki
Aru nelala aranam istun'.

4.

Gubbalundê tiru tsuchi
Guddikontê tiru nante'
Gunde-gala bantu aytê
Gundlapalle kanama-ku-ra.

1.

We toil, we toil in burning heat;
The bamboo copse gives cool retreat.
My husband dear, my love, must stay
Among the hills far, far away.

2.

Fair Papa in my neighbour's house
I cannot see, she's kept too close;
Her good-for-nothing parents say
"No gadding out for you to-day."

3.

Fair maiden with the swelling breast
Who on thy bosom shall be blest?
In six short months a spouseless boy
This wedding gift shall crown with joy.

4.

He who thy bosom's charms might scan
Would be a beauty-blinded man:
A hero bold of heart must come
To sue thee in thy mountain home.

Some apology is necessary for the apparent want of connexion in these verses, and in some cases for their ungrammatical form. There is no apology forthcoming. The words were written down with as great an approach to accu.acy as possible, and if it is in places hard to find a correct construction for the sentences, the defect must be attributed either to the vulgar corruptions of the original by the singer, or to the absence of the Bentleian faculty in the transcriber.

Another song, similar in form and subject, was recited by the same rustic singer:—

1.

Ratri puta vastari antivi,
Rachi gandamu tisi vuntini,
Ratriki nivu ra ledu,
Rachina gandamu riti tappenu.

2.

Kantsu gubbala karu-kodi
Manchi nillaku chelimiki vacche',
Tsuchukoni Boya bidda
Kantsu gubbalu kadala mite.'

3.

Vadulu koppu biguvu ravike
Vangi nillu chêde' Papa
Vagalakari Rangadu vacchi
Biguvu ravike pikkâtille.'

4.

Dinne mida jilledālalo
Mallâdâdi mudutsukonte'
Modugu mânulu morugu ayye'
Mukku naku tsupum' amma!

5.

"Vanka nunti potunnad' ante'
Jinka muti yerra padutsu;"
Yegu tsuchi etinadu
Monnagadu Mallappa Nayadu.

1.

"I come," you said, "at evening's shade;"
I the sweet powder ready made;
You came not at the evening hour,
And that sweet powder missed its power.

2.

The forest-hen with bosom fair
Came down to gather water clear:
The Boya saw, and that bright breast
With amorous touch the youth caressed.

3.

With flowing locks and jacket tight
Came Papa, stooped and water drew;
At Ranga's touch, the roguish wight,
That swelling jacket open flew.

4.

Among the bushes on the mound,
With many a kiss they sported round
In shelter of the leafy grove:
Show me thy pretty face, my love!

5.

"See from the brook she goes," he cried,
"The maiden fair with nostrils wide;"
Then peeped and spied and followed keen,
Mallappa Nayadu, I ween.

Another song, similar to the last in form, and with only a slight change of subject, tells how a rejected lover upbraids his mistress, and when she comes to draw water at his well refuses to help her:—

1.

Baviki varadi katti,
Bavi nillu' ella toli;
Kanne padutsu nilluku vachche'
"Kadava munagadu' emi chetunu."

2.

"Kâni kâni—Kapadani,
* "Kankulu ivvaka potiv'," ante,
"Vontiga nillu doruku, lammidi!"
Vollu yella vasantam ayye.'

3.

Niv' akka, naku dakken' ante,
Sukkalaku mukkukonti'
Niv' akka naku dakka ledu,
Sukkalaku mukka ledu.

4.

Bavi gaddana vunda vale'
Nillu lotu kana vale'
Damaraku parupu mida,
Dani metta kâna vale."

1.

I dug a well, and bridged it sure;
The bullocks drew the water pure;
A maiden came to the water's brink,
"Alas!" she cried, "my pot won't sink."

2.

"Wait, maiden, wait; you would not deign
To give," he cried, "those ears of grain;*
A hussey gets no help from me;—"
Her painted form was fair to see.

3.

"Yes, sister, once your love I sought,
And to the stars I made my vow;
Now, sister, love avails me nought,
No vows of love the stars hear now.

4.

Ay, stand you there on the well's bank steep
Till heaven send you water deep:
Where lotus leaves make floating bed,
There may you lay your haughty head."

The next song is a rude and almost childish rhyme, of which the whole merit and design is to be wedded to the notes of a simple tune. This and other songs of the kind are sung at that children's feast known as the *kolati*, when a ring of children dance round together, holding sticks in their hands, and each striking in time to the measure his stick against that in his neighbour's hand. The effect is to make a rough instrumental accompaniment, that certainly adds something of music to the simple song; especially when the sound is wafted on the air of a still night.

Chinnadana nalla chinnadana
Ni vuri per 'emi ni per 'emi.
Nizamuga cheppite
Ni venta vastanu nalla Chinnadana.
Na vuru yela ra,
Na peru yela ra?
Gurtugâ Gudibanda peru
Penugonda, andamu Palkonda
Akkada vuntanu tsakkani chinnadana.
Penugonda, Lepakshi, Peddapalem gattu
Tsanugonda, Lalanka, Santa Narasâpuram
Cheruvu Dharmavaram Bukkapattanam
Vurindlu mavi, nalla Chinnadana
Adugo ma vuru Tatimakulapalle.
Stalamaku ra nalla chinnadana.

He.

O maiden, fair maiden,
Come tell in my ear
What village you dwell in,
The name that you bear.
And maiden, dear maiden,
I pray tell me true,
For maiden, fair maiden,
I would fain follow you.

She.

Why ask me my village?
Why ask me my name?

He.

O maiden, fair maiden,
Take heed what I tell:

* A present of betel or fruit or grain is a common token of accepted love, and its refusal a sign of rejection.

Gudibanda the name is
Of the place where I dwell.
Penukonda's high fortress,
Palkonda the fair;
'Tis there I await you,
Oh, come to me there.
Sanugonda, Lepakshi,
Peddapalem the steep,
Bukkarayadu's city,
Where the waters lie deep;
Lalanka the lonely,
Narasâpuram's grove:
All these are my dwellings,
My maiden, my love.

She.

See yonder's my village,
Mid the shady date grove.

He.

Let that be our dwelling!
Come thither, my love!

I have ventured on my own authority to give the dialogue form to this song, for the simple reason that thus only can I put a meaning to the words. It is at best indeed little more than a string of names, but this rather adds to than lessens the genuine look of the song; for they are all places within a circle of 30 miles or so, in the neighbourhood of Penugonda, the ancient seat of the fallen house of Bukkarayadu and the dynasty of Vijayanagar, and might therefore be naturally strung together by a village poet. The song is nothing more than a simple rhyme for children, and it would be foolish to look for an elaborate meaning in it.

I will only add one more song to these specimens, but that is, I think, the best and prettiest of all. Not only are its composition and form more truly lyric than those of most that I have heard, but its subject is as pathetic and touching as that of "Mariana in the moated grange." A young maiden condemned to the unlovely drudgery of a Hindu household yearns for a lover, whom she pictures to herself, as she has seen him rather in her dreams, than in the flesh. The last verse, however, shows that the lover has an identity and a name of his own; so that the warm wishes of the maiden are the sighs of an affection that is only temporarily deprived of its object:—

Yetiki Vempalle tiga addam ayye'
Yeti mida kaungili yenni nallaku
Anduno? sanda mama!
Vosamma, neti vela vontiga vunda lenu.
Na prayamu mogavani paluka todu
Ampavê, sanda mama!
Chikiti intlona chinnadan' unnanu!
Na prayamu chinnavanni paluku todu
Ampave, sanda mama!
Vani mollalona vunnadi mohambu
Pidibaku, sanda mama!
Na mollaka kuchamula paina
Mopina tsalamma, sanda mama!
Vani palaka rommuna mida
Pusina Gandamu, sanda mama!
Na ariti nallala mida
Ralina tsalamma, sanda mama!
Vani sikha-lona vunnavi chikku
Taitamulu vani kuruvulu maikunda
Na kanugu etla parutunu?
Sanda mama!
Muddala Rangadu mukkera' ampinadu
Na mukkera kada tisi mudd'etla peddudunu?
Sanda mama!

The refrain of 'sanda mama' is probably addressed to the absent lover, but it is untranslatable, and not to me quite intelligible. "Vempalle tiga" is the wild indigo plant, which grows thickly over sandy soil. I venture to translate the lines thus:—

The creeper's tendrils clasp the river;
And shall my love's arms clasp me never
Beside the river, mother mine?
This day alone I cannot live:
A youthful husband, mother, give,
To say he loves me, mother mine!
In this dark house my youth is spent;
Ah! were a youth in pity sent
To say he loves me, mother mine!
Love's arrows lurk his form within,
My budding breasts may surely win
And bear that burden, mother mine!
'Twere sweet his manly front to deck,
And dash my bead-encircled neck
With sandal sweetness, mother mine.
Can I caress his tresses bright,
Those locks with silver wealth bedight,
Nor mar their beauty, mother mine?
He bound a jewel on my brow,
Ah! could I change that jewel now
For his dear kisses! mother mine!

This song was repeated to me by the same man who gave me the epic about Papadu, and considering that, with one doubtful exception, there is not a trace of coarseness throughout this love-song, it is, I think, a somewhat remarkable effusion for a village poet. With this I will leave my poor attempt to illustrate Telugu lyric poetry;

those who are qualified by a knowledge of the language to criticise the text of these songs will find many errors to pardon; and those who test the translations by a high standard will hold them very cheap. They have, however, already served to lighten the monotony of some lonely hours in my camp life; and if they now induce others to glean the same field, and return with a richer sheaf, they will have completed my purpose.

THE VILLAGE FEAST.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, BANGALORE.

Hearing that the annual feast in honour of the village goddess was to come off in "Akka timanhully," one of the many villages which help to form the town of Bangalore, I and a friend determined to be present and see what took place. On the night of Tuesday the 17th June, at half-past eight, we made for the village, distant about two hundred yards. The sounds of a tom-tom told us they had already commenced the feast. We hastened on, and, anxious to see without being seen, had, on entering the village, the light in the lantern blown out; but this proved of little use, for on turning the corner we came on a number of policemen, who, recognizing "Sahibs," with their usual officiousness insisted on clearing the way, and before we could induce them to stay their unappreciated civilities the villagers all knew that two "Sahibs" had come to see the "tamasha." Immediately messengers were sent off in all directions for chairs, and although we repeatedly declined to use them, preferring to wander about among the people, still in the end we were fairly bullied into the chairs. By way of making our attendance more public, a torch-bearer—a small boy who thoroughly enjoyed the duty—was told off to throw as much light upon us as circular discs of cotton saturated with oil could give. On arriving at the corner of the street we stopped to allow a procession to pass on, which by the flickering light of a torch we could see coming along the opposite street. This was the return to her temple of the village goddess, after having been carried round the village. The usual band—two flageolets and a tom-tom—led the way. In the middle of the procession a man, carrying on his head a basket ornamented with red flowers having a lighted lamp in its centre, was seen carefully walking on the clothes which the village washerman kept spreading before him. In front of the temple and close to the steps of its portico we saw a trench, some four feet long, two broad, and about nine inches deep, the bottom covered with live embers. What this was for we could not understand, but we soon found out that walking through the fire was one of the chief incidents in the feast.

The priest, for the man who carried the basket was the temple pujari, having walked three times round the temple, halted in front of the fire-pit. Staring for a short time at the shrine seen through the open doorway, he, the basket still on his head, walked through the fire with a shuffling sort of step, which threw the embers in front. Turning round he walked back through the pit; again facing the temple he seemed to offer up a short prayer; and then, for the third and last time, passed through the fire, went up the steps of the portico, and disappeared inside the temple. What took place inside we could not see, but shortly afterwards a general move was made to the corner house of the square—the village "Music Hall." We followed the crowd. After the usual preliminary tuning up, two fiddles, a vina, and a pair of cymbals gave forth a pleasing but plaintive air, now and again accompanied by the voices of the performers. While the crowd were being entertained with music, a punchayet (deputation), consisting of five leading men of the village, accompanied by the "toti" (watchman) and "kolkar" (male bearer), had gone off to invite the Shanabogue, as the village accountant is called, to come and present his offering. A fee of two rupees is at this time paid by the villagers to the Shanabogue. Why, I could not learn. The square in front of the temple was almost deserted. The real "toti," or watchman,—for his son represented him in the active duties of his office—an old man, was busy tending the fire in the pit, feeding it now and again from the bundle of firewood he had close by. We tried to get some information from him as to what was going to take place, but "Wait a bit, wait a bit: lots of fun: two buffaloes are to be

killed:" was the only answer we could get out of him.

The Shanabogue was a long time coming, but just as our patience was being worn out, the sound of music in the distance told us the big man had started. Presently lights began to flicker along the side streets, and the village accountant with girded loins, followed by the female members of his family, each with a votive offering in her hand, entered the square. After walking three times round they went into the temple and presented their offerings at the shrine of a goddess who delights in the blood of bulls and rams. The Shanabogue, escorted back as he had come by the band and leading men of the village, disappeared from the scene, glad, I fancy, that the duty of worshipping a goddess who finds no place in his pantheon would not come round again for another year.

The square was now deserted by all except some old men who, huddled up out of the wind, stayed in the portico, and a few children who remained behind to admire and envy our torch-bearer. From the watchman's renewed attention to the fire in the pit we were sure something was about to take place. By supplying the fuel judiciously he had reduced the whole to one mass of red glowing embers. Meanwhile, along the side streets we could see the deputation of leading men passing from house to house inviting the inmates to join the feast. Gradually women, each carrying a basket adorned with red and white flowers, having a lamp in its centre, began pouring out of the side streets, and, collecting in groups in the verandahs of the houses surrounding the square, might be seen critically examining the artistic taste displayed by one another in the adornment of their respective baskets. I observed some foolish virgins seizing the opportunity to replenish their lamps. Many a time during the night did the square give us picturesque tableaux, but none of them were so pretty and pleasing as this gathering. The dim glowworm-like light of a hundred lamps, as seen through green feathery leaves and red petals of flowers, gave to the whole scene a fairy-land-like look. The deputation having made a tour of the villages finished up with a house close by the temple. On the door being thrown open, these lamps in line, each raised on earthen pedestals, with offerings of food placed on a plantain leaf in front, might be seen burning. A goat which had been in the street for some time was now brought up before the door. The housewife came out and, having consecrated the animal by sprinkling water over it, took up a censer in which frankincense was being burnt and placed it under the goat's nose. The animal seemed partially stupefied, and drawing itself up arched its neck. A lad who was standing by, armed with a large knife, seized the opportunity, and with one blow severed the head from the body. The head was taken up, and in common with those of all animals sacrificed on this occasion became the perquisite of the village washerman. The body was quickly removed, the blood dried up, and the deputation moved off.

A goat or sheep is sacrificed in front of every house before the lamp is removed. All the women had by this time collected from each house: one woman at least takes part in the ceremony. After a deal of shouting, gesticulation, and moving to and fro on the part of the torch-bearers the women were got into some sort of line, and, headed by the band, marched round the temple the proper number of times. The more musically inclined of the women every now and again broke out into song, praising the goddess in whose honour they had assembled. When the third round had been completed, the band moved into the portico, and the women halted on the right-hand side of the fire-pit. The potail now brought forward a fine black ram without spot or blemish, and whose condition proved that for days before he had been devoted to Mariama, the village goddess. Some delay was caused by the restlessness of the ram, and difficulty in getting him to keep steady while looking over the fire-pit at the goddess in whose honour he was to be sacrificed. At last he kept steady for a moment, when the executioner made a blow at his neck. Less fortunate than before, he failed in striking off the head at once. Amidst the groans and hisses of the crowd at his want of skill, he after two more blows succeeded in getting the head off. The head was made over to the village washer*woman* in this case, for her husband being dead his widow performed the duties of the office by carrying a torch in front of the goddess and spreading clothes before the priest. In addition to the heads of animals sacrificed on this occasion, she received from

the villagers collectively three sheep and three rupees. For this the washerman is supposed to supply all the cotton rags used for torches. While the executioner was trying to prove that the failure in taking off the head at one blow was not his fault, old men and young gathered round the brink of the pit, both to prevent the women from escaping the passage through the fire, and to make fun of those who by a skip and a hop, or by placing their feet on the sides, tried to save their soles. The temple being small, only a dozen women or so could get in at one time. This prolonged the ceremony, since the women had to pass through in batches. After a good deal of screaming, shouting, and hustling, the last batch passed the ordeal.

No widow is allowed to walk through the fire, and each house must send at least one woman to take part in the ceremony. On presenting her offering, each woman gave to the priest one pie and then went home. By this time the fire in the pit was out. From the description one reads of walking through fire, I expected something sensational. Nothing could be more tame than the ceremony we saw performed; in which there never was nor ever could be the slightest danger to life. Some young girl whose soles were tender might next morning find she had a blister, but this would be the extent of harm she could receive.

This was the end of act three. The square was again deserted, the crowd having gone off to see the entry into the village of the Holeyas and the buffaloes. The potail of the village alone invites the Holeyas, the outcaste race whose quarters are outside the village. No punchayet or deputation accompanies him. Presently the procession entered the square, and by the flickering light of the torches we saw four buffaloes: two full-grown males and two young ones. The Holeya women were fewer in number than those who had gone before, but, like them, carried a basket ornamented with flowers having a lighted lamp in the centre. In all the baskets a number of white flowers were to be seen which are specially sacred to the village goddess. The Holeya women halted while the buffaloes were dragged by a crowd of men and boys round the temple. In the course of the circuit the buffaloes were made to jump over the fire-trench. After having completed the third round they were carried off to a stone pillar about twenty yards in front of the temple.

The Holeya women now advanced towards the fire-pit singing hymns of praise, and, having marched three times round the pit instead of the temple, handed their baskets to some men standing on the edge. The men, by a wavy motion of the hands from left to right and in the direction of the goddess, consecrated the offering. A handful of flowers was taken out of the basket and thrown into the pit, which was soon filled. As each woman received back her basket she paid one pie to the priest, who remained standing on the steps of the portico. The women now retired. In the meanwhile some men had been busy tying, at about four feet from the ground, across the stone pillar behind which the buffaloes were ranged, a beam of wood. Everything being ready, the jostling, shouting crowd of Holeyas suddenly became silent. The potail of the village, in the full blaze of all the torches, advanced towards the pillars and consecrated the animals by sprinkling water over them. Of the four buffaloes three were presented by the Holeyas: the fourth and first sacrificed had been purchased by the villagers collectively. On the word being given, ropes were attached to the horns of the buffalo, passed over the beam, and the brute hauled up until his hind legs only rested on the ground, while the head was securely fixed to the beam. A Holeya stepped forward and with a large knife managed to sever the head from the body. The head was unfastened, brought forward, and laid on some flowers in front of the pit. The right leg was cut off below the knee, skinned, and, all red and gory, placed in the mouth. Next a piece of fat was cut out of the chest: this with a lamp and some rice was placed on the brute's head. The Holeya with folded hands made his obeisance to the goddess, and returned to the pillar, when the second buffalo was tied up in the same manner as the first. The executioners, however, either through nervousness, or the neck of the brute proving too tough, failed to cut off the head in three blows, the full number considered lucky. He made his fourth and succeeding blows amidst the groans and hisses of the now excited crowd. If the executioner fails to cut off the head in three blows, the bystanders have the privilege of hitting him while he goes on hacking at the neck. On this occasion they used their privi-

lege freely, and thoroughly belaboured the unfortunate executioner. The head was taken up and placed next the first one, but the ceremony of putting the foot in the mouth and the lamp on the head was not followed.

Some dispute now arose as to whether the young buffaloes should be tied up to the pillar and then decapitated, or killed while they were standing on the ground. As the advocates of either course asserted their opinion, you saw the brutes now being hauled in front of the pillar, now being pulled back. At last the potail settled the knotty point, and the poor brutes, it was decided, should be decapitated while standing. A fresh hand grasped the axe, or rather large knife, and, profiting by the lesson taught the former executioner, took off the head with one blow. A deep ah! from the crowd expressed approval. It was now nearly twelve, and so we left. Afterwards a sheep, presented by the villagers, was brought out and killed. The "toti," or village watchman, mixed its blood, some of the entrails, and the rice offered to the goddess together. Of this mess he took three mouthfuls, and putting the rest in a basket walked round the village, scattering this mixture as he went along to the four quarters. This is done to propitiate the evil spirits.

The villagers believe thoroughly in their goddess. Never since the village was established has cholera broken out in it. The potail told me that so powerful was this particular goddess that if a cholera patient was brought to the door of her temple and had sufficient strength to make his offering he was sure to recover. The village goddess' annual feast takes place always on a Tuesday, and, if possible, in the month Cheitra.

BENGALI FOLKLORE—LEGENDS FROM DINAJPUR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., RANGPUR.

The two Bhûts.

A king's son and a kotwal's son having formed a friendship went to travel in foreign countries together. On their way the kotwal's son said to the king's son, "You always do kind actions for others, but I only injure them;" the other made no answer, and they continued their journey for four or five days, till they came to a certain place where they saw a well, and the king's son said, "Friend, I am very thirsty; tie a cloth round my waist and let me down into the well and I will drink some water, and you can pull me up again." The kotwal's son agreed to do so, but when he had let him down he let the cloth go and went away.

The king's son was helpless, but he found a plank on which he sat till night, and then two Bhûts came out of two mango-trees and began to talk; one of them called out, "Brother, how are you?" At that the other said, "Brother, I am very well, for I have taken possession of a king's daughter, and no one can drive me out except by taking some of the bark and leaves of this tree, and a maund of ghee made from cats' milk, and offering it as a sacrifice at night to the king's daughter." The other Bhût replied, "No one knows of this, so you cannot possibly be driven out." The other then asked him, "Brother, how are you?" he replied, "At the foot of this tree there are five pots filled with gold mohurs over which I keep guard, so I am tolerably happy." The other inquired, "Can no one take the mohurs from you?" he said, "Yes; if a man were to take the bark and leaves of this tree, and a maund of ghee made of dogs' milk, and utter the *mantra* of Brahma, and offer a sacrifice the whole night at the foot of the tree, he could take all my wealth; but no one knows of this, so my mohurs are safe." The king's son heard all this from inside the well, and was very much pleased at it, and in the morning he called out to a man who was passing along the the road, "Brother, come and help me out of this misfortune;" but the man said he was then going on the king's business, so the king's son inquired what it was, and he replied, "My king has a daughter who is possessed by a Bhût, and nobody can drive him out, so the king has promised to give his daughter in marriage to anybody who can expel him, and also to give him his kingdom." The king's son replied, "You pull me out and I will drive away the Bhût." The man then pulled him out and took him to the king's palace, and he said to the king, "I will drive away the Bhût, but you must first give me a maund of ghee made of cats' milk." The king instantly had it brought,

and the prince fetched some leaves and bark from the tree and offered a sacrifice, and the Bhût could remain there no longer and was driven away, and the king gave the prince his daughter in marriage. After that the prince took a maund of ghee made of dogs' milk and made a sacrifice, and took all the gold mohurs from the other Bhût. The two Bhûts then concluded that their conversation must have been overheard by some one in the well, so they determined for the future that when they sat on the trees and talked they would always examine the well carefully first.

After some days the kotwal's son came to the king's son and was very much pleased to hear all that had befallen him, and next day went and sat in the well; but the Bhûts caught him there and pulled him out, and cut him in pieces and killed him. Meanwhile the king's son ruled his kingdom in perfect happiness.

The Jackal and the Crocodile.

In the middle of a wood there is a pond near which a herd of deer used to live; in the pond was a crocodile, who used to seize one of the deer every day when they came to drink, so that they became afraid to go there. One day a jackal passing by that way saw that they were alarmed, and asked them the cause of their uneasiness; the deer replied, "Brother, our story is very sad, we will say no more about it." The jackal urged them, and at last they told him how the crocodile used to catch and eat one of them every day they went to drink. The jackal replied, "You can find no plan for yourselves, so I will tell you of one: divide yourselves into two parties and go one on each side of the pond, and when the crocodile comes to seize those on one side, those on the other side will be able to drink, and so he will never be able to catch you." So saying the jackal went away. The next time the deer went to the pond to drink they followed the advice of the jackal, and the crocodile being unable to catch them thought to himself that the jackal must have been advising them; so he determined to kill him, and said to himself, "Wait a while, you jackal, and see if I cannot manage to come across you somehow or other." Two or three days after that, the jackal was drinking at the pond, and the crocodile saw him directly and seized his foot tightly; but the jackal said cunningly, "You have seized a stick which is put here for measuring the height of the water." The crocodile looked at it and thought, "It is like a stick, and it may be a stick;" and so saying he let it go; and the jackal leaped out of the water and exclaimed, "I have escaped, or else he would have killed and eaten me." The crocodile hearing this, and feeling hungry, came out of the water to catch the jackal, and began to pursue him, but not being able to catch him that day, he returned home thinking how he could kill him; at last he determined that he would go into his house and remain there until he returned home, and then seize him and kill him. Accordingly he went and stopped there. In the evening the jackal returned home and saw that the crocodile had entered his house, and that if he did not take care he would not come out; so he called out, "O house, O house of earth, what have you to say?" The crocodile then made a noise inside, and the jackal concluded that he had entered the house and was coming out. And then he came out and pursued the jackal, but after they had gone a little way the jackal passed between two trees which grew near together, and the crocodile followed and stuck in the middle, and so he died.

The King who married a Pali woman.*

There was a certain Râja who had a son whom he wished to marry, so he assembled a great many learned paṇḍits and ordered them to consult about it; they searched the Śâstras and then with one accord replied, "Your Majesty, we fear to tell you what we have discovered." The king said, "What fear can there be to tell the truth?" and they said "Your son will marry a Pali woman." The king was very grieved to hear it, and inquired where she lived; and they all replied, "In the city of Durbachal there is a very large tamarind tree 3300 cubits in length, and she lives beneath it." No sooner did the king's son hear this than he called a groom and ordered him to saddle a horse and bring it at once, and he mounted and rode to the tree, and underneath it he saw a house, and began to wonder whether it was the right house or not. When he drew near, he saw a Pali woman sitting at the door, so he said, "Give me a cup of water to drink," and when she came near to

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 336.

give it he leaped off his horse and drew out a knife and ripped up her belly, and seeing her bowels come out he ran away. The girl began to cry loudly, and her father came up running and asked, "Who has ripped up your belly in this way?" She replied, "A man on horseback came and asked me to give him some water, and as I was bringing it he dismounted and ripped up my belly with a knife." The girl's father went and fetched a needle and sewed her belly up tight, and in course of time she recovered. After some days the king of the country died and his elephant was turned loose; he happened to meet the Pali woman, and lifted her up with his trunk and put her on his back, and took her to the king's palace, and in a few days the king's son made her acquaintance and married her. After the marriage he discovered that she was the Pali woman, but no one would believe him, till one day the king's mother saw the mark on her belly and asked what it was, and she related how it all happened. Then the king's son said, "The decree of God can never be made of no effect."

The Farmer who outwitted the six men.

There was once a farmer's wife who had a tame paddy-bird, and when the farmer went to plough, his wife used to fasten a hookah, cleaning-stick, tobacco, chillum, flint and steel to the body of the bird, and it would fly with them to the field when the farmer was working, and he unfastened all the things and smoked his hookah. One day six men who were passing that way on their road to the cutcherry saw the bird act in this way and offered the farmer 300 rupees for it, and he agreed to sell it; and the six men took it and tied 300 rupees to its body and said, "You paddy-bird, take these three hundred rupees to the cutcherry." But the bird, instead of going to the cutcherry, went to the farmer's house, and he took all the money and made a cow eat a hundred rupees of it. In the meantime the men went to the cutcherry, and, not finding the paddy-bird, returned to the farmer's house, where they saw the cow relieving herself of the rupees she had eaten, and forgot all about the paddy-bird; then the farmer washed the cowdung and took out the money. Seeing the extraordinary virtue the cow possessed, they offered the farmer 5,000 rupees for her, and he agreed, and they took her away. The farmer came a little way after them and called out, "Feed her well and she will give you plenty of rupees." So they fed her well, but not a rupee or even a pice did they get from her: so they determined to take her back to the farmer's house and return her. When they arrived they told the farmer about the cow, and he said "Very well, have something to eat first." So they consented and all sat down to eat, and the farmer took the stick with which he drove his plough-bullocks in his hand and began to eat, and when his wife went out to bring more food he struck her with the stick and said, "Be changed into a girl and bring in the curry," and so it came to pass; and this happened several times. When the men saw this wonderful thing they forgot all about the cow; but the truth of it was that the farmer had a little daughter and she had been sent in with the food. The men offered the farmer 150 rupees for the stick, and he sold it them, and told them that when their wives came to bring their food they must beat them well, and they would recover their former youth and beauty. When they were near home they all began to quarrel as to which should test the stick first; at last one of them took it home, and when his wife was bringing his food struck her so violently with it that she died, but he told no one about it; and this happened to them all, so they all lost their wives. After that they went in a body and burnt down the farmer's house, and he collected a large quantity of the ashes and put them in bags and placed them on a bullock's back and went away. On his road he met a number of men driving bullocks laden with rupees, and asked them where they were going, and said he wished to go with them; they said they were going to the house of a certain banker at Rangpur, and he said he was taking his bullock to the same place. So they went on together for some distance, and then cooked their food under a tree and went to sleep; but the farmer put two bags of rupees on the back of his bullock, leaving the two bags of ashes in their place, and then took to flight. After that he sent the first of the six men with the bags to take home to his wife, and he put some gum underneath one of the bags so that some of the rupees stuck to it, and so he found out the contents. The six men then went to the farmer's house and asked him how he had obtained the money; he said he had got it by selling ashes, and that if they wished for money

they had better burn their houses and fill bags with the ashes, and open a shop in the bazaar, and every one would buy them. So they went home and burnt down their houses, but the only result was that a great number of people seized them and kicked them and beat them with shoes. They were extremely enraged at this, and went to the farmer's house and tied him hand and foot and put him into a sack, and threw him into the river "Ghoradhuba," and then ran away, thinking he would surely die this time. But he went floating down-stream till he struck against a post. Now a man happened to pass by on horseback, and the farmer called out to him, "If you will come and open the mouth of this sack I will cut grass for your horse without pay." So the man came and opened the mouth of the sack, and the farmer, stepping out on the clear, said, "If you will give me your horse I will take him for an airing;" the man gave him the horse and went home, but when the farmer had gone a little way he mounted the horse and rode past the horses of the six men so that they could see him. They were exceedingly surprised at the sight, and asked him where he had found the horse; he said he had found it in the river Ghoradhuba, and added, "I was alone and could only catch this small one, as I could not run very fast; there are a great many fine horses there, and if you were to go you could catch them." When they heard this they asked what they must take with them, and he said they must each bring a sack and some strong rope, but when they had brought them he said he was going home; however, they persuaded him to stop, and he told them all to go into the sacks, and he then threw one of them into the river, but took care to avoid the place where the post was. When the other five heard the bubbling of the water they asked what it was, and he said it was only the other man catching a horse; directly they heard that, they all intreated him and began to quarrel, saying "Throw me in first, throw me in first:" so he threw them all in, one after the other, and in this way they all perished, and the farmer ever after that spent his time in happiness.

FACSIMILE OF THE INSIDE OF AN ARABIC TALISMANIC MEDICINE CUP.

BY E. REHATSEK.

A Talisman (Τέλεσμα, طلسم) consists of one or several magic figures or writings carved on metal or stone under certain favourable conjunctions of some planets or horoscopes, said to impart peculiar efficacy to the object thus treated. In the present instance this object is a brass cup inscribed with various magic figures, amulets, sentences from the Qorân, and also certain "hocus-pocus" words in a pretended secret character, which on a closer examination appears to consist of very few signs often repeated and apparently used only "ad terrorem populi," although each of these signs may possibly represent the initial, or even the whole name, of some holy personage; since, according to the علم حروف or "science of letters," almost every letter of the alphabet may in writings of this kind represent the name of some well-known sacred person. Even the arithmetical numbers if converted into letters by means of the "Abujad" may be used to express these names and various words. This treatment of a cup imparts to it great virtue, and enhances its price far above its intrinsic value as a little brass vessel.

The cup (3·2 inches in diameter and 1·1 inch deep) which I am now about to describe is the property of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for which I have described it and seven others, all larger than this one, the largest of them measuring 8·2 inches in diameter and 2·8 in depth. But as some time must elapse before the Journal of the Society is printed and published, I think I may be allowed to insert the description of one of these cups, namely, the smallest, in the *Indian Antiquary*.

The hexagonal star which occurs four times on this cup, namely, once in the so-called trilingual amulet (to be described immediately) in the shape of two triangles intersecting each other, and thrice close to it, also forming a similar hexagonal star but drawn all in one piece and marking four points near the two magic circles intersecting, which is well known over the whole world, seems to be of very ancient origin, apparently Eastern, and enjoy

Facsimile of the inside of an Arabic Talismanic Medicine Cup, by E. Rehatsek.



Drawn by E. Rehatsek.

also the honour of being a Masonic symbol. It is called by some Germans the dragon-foot, "Drachenfuss," and goes in India by the name of *Swastika*,* but is among Moslems known as the seal of Solomon, the son of David.

The first character of the so-called trilingual amulet, which is worn also on the arm to ward off diseases and all kinds of misfortunes, is the seal of Solomon the prophet. This amulet is also believed to contain the ineffable name of God, but the strangest thing about it is, that, although short, it is stated to contain five verses from the Pentateuch, five from the Qorân, five from the Psalms of David, and five from the Evangel, *i.e.* New Testament. If the amulet engraved on this cup be compared with its description in books, which is as follows, it will be found to be a perfectly faithful representation:—"The seal of Solomon, three perpendicular strokes, the letter م, a ladder with three cross bars; then four perpendicular strokes, the letter ه in the shape of a blacksmith's bellows with the spout turned downwards; and lastly, the letter و upside down with its tail prolonged over the whole upper part of the amulet, leaving a break only over the ladder." To the right of this amulet are the two intersecting magic circles already mentioned, inscribed with characters known perhaps to the maker of the Talisman alone, but more likely having no meaning whatever, and intended only for a "hocus-pocus."

The numbers inscribed on the two magic squares between which an incantation (to be explained presently) is inserted, are such that their sum in any direction makes fifteen. Magic squares were unknown in Europe before the fourteenth century, but have afterwards been greatly enlarged, and books have been written on them, which must now be regarded merely as arithmetical play-things.

The two magic squares on this cup are as follows:—

6	7	2
1	5	9
8	3	4

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

A magic square of this kind is in Arabic called *Shekel Turâbi* شكل ترابي and its numbers can by means of the Abujad be easily converted into the letters of the alphabet; but on doing so with the squares here shown no sense will appear unless some mystic signification be attributed to the words so formed. Thus the second of the above squares will give the words بطد زهج واح without any sense, unless we insist on interpreting these artificial words according to the "science of letters" علم حروف in which case بطد will mean *Ahmed* (another form of the name Muhammad), *Daud*, and *Hasan*, the letter ب standing for the first, ط for the second, and د for the third of these. The same process may be applied also to the other numbers.

The incantation inscribed between the two magic squares is as follows:—

سارا سارا رای سارا ساراکا را تور بور و نوی
تابین یاما ارصا اصاد یا طو طو طو طو کاطو
صاعورن ایلمرس یا سرکای کاهن طو طو ایلموس
کا یا و یوداس ومن یتوکل علی الله فهو حسبه
إن الله بالغ امره و الصلاة [for الصلوة] والسلام
علی سیدنا محمد و اله الطاهرین

Translation:—

Sârâ sârâ râî sârâ sârâkâ tur [*or* iur, *or* bur] iur wa nui tâbin [*or* iabin *or* batin, &c.] iâ mâ ârsâ ârsâd âsâd ia [*or* ta, &c., and so on with all the other words having no points, and no sense] tu tu tu tu katu sâmurn ailmurs iasrkâi kâhn tu tu ailmûs kâ iâ na iudâs "and who trusts in God, He will be his sufficient support; verily God will cause him to attain his object; (Qorân LXV. 3.)" benediction and salutation to our lord Muhammad and to his pure family.

The gibberish of this incantation is believed to consist of Syriac or Hebrew words; and the word Sârâ, which occurs several times, is considered to refer to Sarah, the wife of Abraham, who obtained a happy childbirth in her old age, and after despair.

After the incantation just described comes the following passage, two portions of which are (as will be seen from the translation) verses of the Qorân, and some of the writer's own composition:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحمان اذا السما انشقت واذنت

* The mystic cross is also called by this name. (See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 135.)

لربها وحقت و اذ لارض مدت و القت ما فيها كذلک تلقي الحامل [sic] الجنين سالما باذن الله والله يخرجكم اخراجا فان مع العسر يسراً ان مع العسر يسراً انصرف ايها القولنج بانوح تنوح كلوخ كلخ الم المر الر ح م ع س ق ک ه ی ع ص ط ه ط س م ی س ن

Translation :—

"In the name of God the merciful, the clement! When the firmament shall be split, and shall obey its Lord, and shall be capable thereof; and when the earth shall be stretched out, and shall cast forth what is therein (LXXXIV. 1—3)," in the same way shall a pregnant woman cast forth the embryo safely by the permission of God; and God will deliver you with a deliverance. "Verily with a difficulty there will be relief, verily with a difficulty there will be relief (XCIV. 5 and 6.)." Depart. O colic! With wailing, thou shalt wail Kalûkh Kalakh. Alm. Almr. Alr. H. M. A'. S. Q. K. H. Y. A'. S. T. H. T. S. M. Y. S. N.

The letters which terminate this passage are mystic, and have not yet been satisfactorily explained by any one, nor ever will. They are prefixed to certain Surahs of the Qorân which they are also here intended to designate. The engraver has written some of these letters disjointed, and I here transcribe them as they occur in every copy of the Qorân, the numbers of the respective Surahs whereof, thus designated, I also append :—الم (II. and III.) المر (XIII.) الر (X. XI. XII. XIV. XV.) حم (XL.) حم عسق (XLII.) ق (L.) كهيعص (XIX.) طه (XX.) طسم (XXVI.) يس (XXXVI.). ن (LXVIII.) Attempts are not wanting, purporting to explain the signification of these letters; but as all are based on mere suppositions, and do not agree with each other, it would be useless to insert any.

The only writing which remains to be noticed is a spiral incantation beginning with the words *Sârâ Sârâ* in the smaller spiral, and of the same kind as that between the two magic squares already transcribed above. It contains no sense. The same is the case with the Arabic characters under the amulet, and with the talismanic ones over the right magic square.

The quadruped represented in the centre of the cup is evidently intended for a mad dog with its tongue hanging out, but the tail curling upwards is a sign of health and not of hydrophobia. Here also a scorpion and a serpent (which are alluded to presently in the inscription of the convex side) are pourtrayed, but I have no idea what the two beasts with their curiously intertwined tails are intended to represent. There is nothing more on the concave side.

As the convex side of the cup contains only a circular Arabic inscription around its border and nothing else, I consider it useless to give a facsimile of it; but the inscription is as follows :—

تنفع هذا الطاسة المبارکه للسعة الحيه والعقرب و لعظة [for لعضة] الكلب ولعسر الولد ولقطع الرعاف و المغل و للقولنج شرب بها الملسوع او رسوله ثلاث مرات يبرا باذن الله ولعسر الولد ماءِ زعفران و لقطع الرعاف والمغل ينشق بالماءِ منه وللقولنج يتجرع منه ماء حار صحيح مجرب

Translation :—

This blessed cup is useful against the sting of a serpent, a scorpion, and the bite of a mad dog; for difficult childbirth, hæmorrhage, belly-ache, and colic. The person stung, or his messenger, is to drink thrice from it, and he will get well by the permission of God. For difficult childbirth, saffron-water; for stopping hæmorrhage and belly-ache, water; and for colic, hot water is to be sipped from it. This is correct and tried.

ALLUSIONS TO KRISHNA IN PATANJALI'S MAHÂBHÂSHYA.

BY PROFESSOR BHANDARKAR, BOMBAY.

A *vârtika* on Pâṇ. III. 1. 26 teaches that the termination *aya*, tech. *ṇich*, should be appended to a verbal noun expressive of an event, in the sense of narrating the event. The derivative suffix is to be dropped, and the noun reduced to the form of the original root from which it was derived, and it is to this root that the termination *aya* is to be applied. If there is any other noun depending on the verbal noun, it should be put in the accusative or other appropriate case, and governed by the verb in *aya*. The example given by Patanjali to illus-

trate this is *Kaṅsavadhamâchashṭe—Kaṅsam ghâtayati*; *i. e.* the expression *Kaṅsam ghâtayati* means "he narrates the story of Kaṅsa's being killed." Now *ghâtayati* in this instance is, according to the theory of the author of the *vârtika*, got by dropping the suffix of *vadha*, reducing it to its original form of *han* (to kill), appending the termination *aya* and making the changes necessary in the case of *han*. Another instance given in the Bhâshya is *Balibandhamâchashṭe—Balim bandhayati*. Now Patanjali asks if this rule is applicable only to the settled names of stories, or to all nouns expressive of an event. His answer is to the latter effect, and thus one may use the expression *Râjânam âgamayati* in the sense of "he announces the coming of the king." This shows that *Kaṅsavadha* and *Balibandha* were the settled names of certain current stories. Now in this *vârtika* Kâtyâyana notices a usage in Sanskrit common to it with several other languages, in virtue of which the causal form of a root may be used to denote the narration or announcement of an event expressed by the root. The expressions "He causes Kaṅsa to be killed, Bali to be put under restraint, and the king to come," mean "he narrates Kaṅsa's being killed" and "Bali's being put under restraint," and "announces the coming of the king." But though the forms *ghâtayati*, *bandhayati*, and *âgamayati* are causals of the roots *han*, *bandh*, and *gam* with *â*, the author of the *vârtika* does not here call them so, and hence the necessity of the new rule he has made. But Patanjali, and perhaps Kâtyâyana also eventually, looks upon them as causal forms, and decides that the rule is not required, and that the forms can be arrived at by Pâṇini's general *sûtra* about the causals *hetumati cha* III. 1. 26. But there is some difficulty as to the Present Tense. In such instances as "Having started from Ujjayinî, he makes the sun rise (*sûryam udgamayati*) at Mâhishmatî (*i. e.* reaches Mâhishmatî at sunrise)," the Present Tense is appropriate, since at the time he is in Mahishmatî, the sun actually does rise. But its propriety is not so clear in such expressions as "He causes Kaṅsa to be killed," and "He causes Bali to be put under restraint," for it is a long time since Kaṅsa was killed or Bali restrained. Even here, says Patanjali, the Present Tense is appropriate. For the narration or announcement of a story or an event may be made in one of three ways:—1*st*, by representing the story on the stage; 2*ndly*, by representing it by means of pictures; and 3*rdly*, by narrating it by word of mouth. In the first case the leader or manager of a dramatic corps does actually cause a person who calls himself Kaṅsa to be killed, and a person who calls himself Bali to be put under restraint. Hence the Present Tense is appropriate. In the second case the blows of Kaṅsa and Krishṇa are actually seen at the time in the pictures as aimed or received by the two combatants. In the third case the narrators give expression to what they know about them (Kaṅsa and Krishṇa) from their birth to their death, and thus externally manifest what at the time exists internally. And that the things do exist internally or in the mind is shown in this way. They (the narrators) are of various kinds, some are adherents or devotees of Kaṅsa and some of Vâsudeva. Their countenances assume different colours; the faces of some (whose favourite hero is defeated) become dark, the faces of others red. And in such cases all the three tenses are used by people. For example, they say "Go, Kaṅsa *is being* killed;" "Go, Kaṅsa *is to be* killed;" "What is the use of going? Kaṅsa *is killed*."*

* Kâty. आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्टे कृल्लुक्प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम्। Pat. आख्यानात्कृदन्ताण्णिज्वक्तव्यस्तदाचष्ट इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे। कृल्लुक् प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्। कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति..... किं पुनर्यान्येतानि संज्ञाभूतान्याख्यानानि तेभ्य उत्पत्त्या भवितव्यमाहोस्वित्क्रियाख्यानमात्रात्। किंचातः। यदि संज्ञाभूतेभ्य इह न प्राप्नोति राजागमनमाचष्टे राजानमागमयतीति। अथ क्रियाख्यानमात्रं न दोषो भवति। यथा न दोषस्तथास्तु।

तत्तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम्। न वा सामान्यकृतत्वाद्धेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टम्। न वा वक्तव्यम्। किं कारणम्। सामान्यकृतत्वात्। सामान्येनैवात्र णिज्भविष्यति हेतुमतीति। किं कारणम्। हेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टम्। हेतुतो ह्यविशिष्टमेतद्भवति।

भवेदिह वर्तमानकालता युक्ता स्यादुज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं संभावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति। तत्रस्थस्य हि तस्यादित्य उदेति। इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते च कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ। अत्रापि युक्ता कथम्। ये तावदत्र शौभिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति। चित्रेषु कथम्। चित्रेष्वप्युद्गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसस्य च कृष्णस्य च। ग्रन्थिकेषु कथं यत्र शब्दग्रथनमात्रं लक्ष्यते। तेऽपि हि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृत्याविनाशाद्बुद्धी-

This remarkable passage then shows :—

1*st*—That the stories of the death of Kaṅsa and the subjugation of Bali were popular and current in Patanjali's time.

2*nd*—That Krishṇa or Vâsudeva was mentioned in the story as having killed Kaṅsa.

3*rd*—That such stories formed the subjects of dramatic representations, as Puranic stories are still popularly represented on the Hindu stage.

4*th*—That the event of Kaṅsa's death at the hands of Krishṇa was in Patanjali's time believed to have occurred at a very remote time.

I now proceed to other passages. One of the *pratyudâharaṇas* or counter-examples of the rule in Dr. Goldstücker's passage (Bh. on Pâṇ. III. 2. 111) is *Jaghâna Kaṅsaṁ kila Vâsudevaḥ*; "Vâsudeva verily killed Kaṅsa." From the context it is clear that this is given as an example the occurrence mentioned in which is popularly known, but which was not, and could not have been, witnessed by the speaker, *i.e.* the story was ancient and popular.

Again, we are told by the author of the Mahâbhâshya, under a *vârtika* on Pan. II. 3. 36, that Krishṇa was not well disposed or friendly to his uncle: *asâdhur mâtule Krishṇaḥ*. In the dissertation on Bahuvrîhi compounds, Pâṇ. II. 2. 23, the following occurs in the Mahâbhâshya: *Sankarshaṇadvitîyasya balaṁ Krishṇasya vardhatâm*, "May the power of Krishṇa, assisted by Sankarshaṇa, increase." From this we gather that Sankarshaṇa was his constant companion and assistant, as might have been expected from their relationship. In the *vârtikas* that follow Pâṇ. IV. 2. 104, Patanjali gives as instances of IV. 3. 64, *Akrûravargyaḥ*, *Akrûravargîṇaḥ* (*i. e.* a follower of Akrûra), *Vâsudevavargyaḥ*, *Vâsudevavargîṇaḥ* (a follower of Vâsudeva). Akrûra plays a conspicuous part in the story of Krishṇa. Under VI. 3. 6 Patanjali quotes *Janârdanas tvâtmachaturtha eva* ("Janârdan with himself as the fourth," *i. e.* with three companions) as an apparent exception to the rule. Janârdana is another name of Krishṇa. This and the second passage from the Mahâbhâshya form regular lines in the *upendravajrâ* metre, while the third and fourth form one-quarter and one-half respectively of an anushṭubh stanza, from which it would appear that these are lines quoted from an existing poem on Krishṇa.

Not only was the story of Krishṇa and Kaṅsa current and popular in Patanjali's time, but it appears clearly that the former was worshipped as a god. Pâṇini, in IV. 3. 98, teaches us to append the termination *vun*, i.e. *aka*, to Vâsudeva and Arjuna to form nouns expressive of the adorer, adherent, or worshipper of those persons. There is another more general rule (IV. 3. 99) which teaches us to form such derivatives from names of Kshatriyas. Vâsudeva, being the name of a Kshatriya, comes under that rule, and the form made up according to it is the same as that made up in conformity with this rule. "Why, then," Patanjali asks, "are we told in this *sûtra* to apply *vun* or *aka* to Vâsudeva?" One reason may be, he says, that the word is put in here in order to indicate that in speaking of Vâsudeva and Arjuna together the name of Vâsudeva should always be used first. Or, he goes on, this word Vâsudeva is the name of the Divine being, and not of a Kshatriya; *i. e.* Vâsudeva is to be taken here, in his capacity as a god and not in his capacity as a mere Kshatriya: for in this latter capacity the name comes under the other rule.*

I have thus brought together seven passages from a work written in the middle of the second century before Christ which show that the stories about Krishṇa and his worship as a god are not so recent as European scholars would make them. And to these I ask the attention of those who find in Christ a prototype of Krishṇa, and in the Bible the original of the Bhagvadgîtâ, and who believe our Puranic literature to be merely a later growth. If the stories of Krishṇa and Bali, and others which I shall notice hereafter, were current and popular in the second century before Christ, some such works as the Harivañśa and the Purâṇas must have existed then.

व्यवहारा: ततो बुद्धिविषयान्प्रकाशयन्ति । आतश्च सत: । व्यामिश्रा हि दृश्यन्ते । केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ता: । वर्णान्यत्वं खल्वपि पुष्यन्ति । केचित्कालमुखा भवन्ति केचिद्रक्तमुखा: । त्रैकाल्यं खल्वपि लोके लक्ष्यते । गच्छ हन्यते कंस: गच्छ घानिष्यते कंस: । किं गतेन हत: कंस इति ।

* वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुन्विधीयते । नगोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञित्येव सिद्धम् । नह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्वुञो वा वुनो वा । ......इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं वासुदेवशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्ष्यामीति । अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या संज्ञैषा तत्र भगवत: ।

TRANSLATION OF THE 27TH CANTO OF THE PRITHIRÂJA RASAU OF CHAND BARDÂÎ.

BY THE REV. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D., TÜBINGEN.

Revâtaṭa Prastâva.

(*Dohâ.*) Having conquered Devagiri the warrior Çhâmaṇḍ Râo returned. Jay! Jay! thus all poets, approaching, spoke the king's praises. Meeting with king Prithirâj, Râo Châmaṇḍ said: If you have a mind to go to Revâtaṭa, then there is a capital herd of elephants in the forest there.

(*Kavitta.*) With the drops of the sweat of his forehead, Śankar (Śiva) made the king of elephants; giving him the name *Airâpati*, he gave him to the king of the gods (Indra) to ride upon; he (the elephant) worrying the host of the Dânavas rejoiced the heart of Umâ. She, being pleased, created a beautiful female elephant and presented her to him to be with him. His offspring becoming embodied have spread in the forest of Revâtaṭa. Dâhima meeting with his liege lord narrated this story.

(*Arilla.*) Four kinds of elephants are seen in the forest—good, bad, wild, and of the common kind. The king (then) asked the poet Chand, How did these vehicles of the gods come on the earth?

(*Kavitta.*) In the neighbourhood of Himâlaya there is a tall wild fig-tree one hundred *yojanas* in circumference; its boughs used to be broken by the elephants, and often, blind with rut, the elephants destroyed the garden of a good sage, Dîrghatapârî by name. He, seeing this, cursed them, inflamed with rage. Thus, removed from the skies, their bodies became weak, and they were caught (to serve) as vehicles to men. Thus, said Kavichand to the Lord of Sambharî, the elephants of the gods came to live on earth. In the south-eastern country, in the midst of a forest, there is a cavern and a large charming lake with clear water and a host of lotuses. There the herd of the cursed elephants are playing night and day. There also Pâlakâvya, a young man, is living, a prince of sages. These made an exceeding friendship one with the other. Râmapâda, the Lord of Sambharî, going to hunt, caught the elephants with snares and brought them to Champâpur.

(*Dohâ.*) On account of the separation from Pâlakâvya, their bodies became very thin. Then the good sage, coming there, made the elephants six times as fat (as before).

(*Gâthâ.*) Young shoots, pollen, leaves, barks, twigs, flowers, fruit, bulbs, pods, and buds and roots he gave them, and thus made the bodies of the elephants fat again.

(*Kavitta.*) Seeing the Brahmarshi doing penance (*tap*), Maghavân (Indra) trembled. For the purpose of alluring him, the Lord (Indra), bethinking himself of the beautiful Rambhâ,* despatched her (to him). The ascetic cursed her, and she was born on earth as a female elephant.

A certain devotee (*jati*), Kramabandhi by name, became marked (*lakhita*) in sleep. Coming to that place and bending her trunk, that she-elephant took up the seed in a bag and put a portion of it in her lap; and thus, says (the poet) Chand, the good sage Pâlakâvya was born.

(*Dohâ.*) For this reason that sage was bound with exceeding affection to the elephants. Thus Chand spoke to the Lord Pithâ (Prithirâj), giving him the whole story in detail.

(*Kavitta.*) Listen, O Râjâ Prithirâj! the forest is beautiful, and the herd of elephants in fine numbers in Revâtaṭa. If the prince (*vir*) have a taste for a carriage of ivory (?), then you may indulge in capital sport by stopping egress on all sides. Singhvatta and the Lord of Dillî, you two kings should go for sport. There is plenty of water and wells, and musk-deer and cattle, and birds, and hills. O Lord Chahuvân, believe one who has seen it; it cannot possibly be described; (it is) a present of the gods.

(*Dohâ.*) Having heard from Râo Châmaṇḍ that a mishap had befallen the Lord Pang (the king of Kanauj, Jaya Chandra), and that the place (*i. e.* Revâtaṭa) was delightful, Chahuvân arose and went forth.

(*Kavitta.*) When king Prithirâj, the mighty, rose to examine the southern country, all the chiefs and lords of the country approached and touched the feet of Chahuvân. There met him Bhân with his suite (*vistari*); there met him the lord Khaṭṭudalgarhî; there met him the Rao of Nandipur, there met him the lord of Revâ himself. In the forest there were plenty of deer, lions, and elephants, and the lord (*i.e.* Prithirâj) amused himself with hunting them. In the city of Lahor there ruled the Sultan; from thence a letter was received:—

† "Khân Tartâr Mârûf Khân, having taken the Shah's *pân* into his hand, ‡ has caused all.

* Name of a celebrated *Apsaras*, wife of Nîlakubara and carried off by Râvaṇa: Rambhâ is best known as a beautiful nymph of Indra's paradise; she is sometimes regarded as a form of Lakshmî when she sprang with thirteen other precious things from the froth of the churned ocean; she takes her place in Hindu mythology as a kind of popular Venus or type of female beauty. See M. Williams' Sansk. Lexicon.

† (Contents of the letter.)

‡ It was the custom for the king, if some daring act was to be performed, to place his *pân* before him, and to call upon his chiefs in darbâr to take it up, whoever had the courage and devotion to undertake that act.

the drums to beat against the land of *Chahuvân*."

"(*Sâṭaka.*) Listen, Lord! having beaten drums and prepared the army of the great warrior Gori, the (*Ulâl?*) Tartâr Mârûf has arranged it in four divisions (*Chaturang*) * the Sâhâb Shâh is not bringing only one army; a second one is ready." †

(*Dohâ.*) Taking *Ahibeli* fruit in his hand, the infidel Tartâr, in order to confirm his resolution (*masuratti*), has read against thee a verse of the Korân.

(*Kundeliâ.*) The valiant (*var*) Musâf Tartâr Khân, eager to gain a hero's death (has said): I have broken the fort of Lahor; I shall also capture Dilli in a night and a day; listen to this, Sultan; Paṇḍîr is (truly) a feller of corpses; (for) the hosts of Chahuvân shall fall; do not be troubled in your mind; for the king (Prithirâj) has arranged a hunting expedition. The lord of Ghuzni then gave the command and all went away after having‡ touched the *Musâf*. (End of the letter.)

(*Dohâ.*) Chahuvân arose and marched forth, making stages of six *kos* distance (*mur*). To Chandvîr Paṇḍîr he gave a letter of authority. To meet the host of Gori Lord he went straight into the Panjab; from both sides, East and West, they joined the Chahuvân and the Sultân. Messengers went to Kanauj; they arrived in that place; a detailed account of Chahuvân they told fully to Kamadhajj. "Having come to Revâtaṭa, Chahuvân heard about the great Gori, that in great secrecy the Sultân has prepared an army; for his spies (*dûta*) have informed him that the Sambhali Râja is enjoying fine sport in Revâtaṭa, where in the country around (*pâdhar*) there is to be found plenty of fine animals." (End of message to Kanauj).

(*Kavitta.*) All chiefs (Sâmanta) met together.§ Naresar thus propounded his advice. "The host of the Shâh is tenfold; it is well prepared in four divisions; and his own mind is resolved (*sajî ur*). Do not blunder in your counsel; consider this good advice; our forces are smaller; consider what the end will be; as quickly as possible you must take leave of life; the Gori has prepared his host with great thought; but in a battle the host of Prithirâj is powerful; don't you make any delay (or contention among yourselves)." Hearing the words of Pajjûn Râo, Parsang smiled. Deva Râo Vaggari drew back his foot: "As quickly as possible take leave of the body; truly a valiant word he speaks. The sword is drawn and wafting, as the leaves of a tree shake; the Sultân has collected (his forces) and is before our very face; the Lord of Dillî must make up an army; the host of warriors and the resolutions of the Chiefs must now be made an example."

Says Râo Pajjûn: "I have come out to rid us of the Tartâr. I, in the southern country, have put to flight the host of Jadava; I have been engaged in war together with Râo Châmaṇḍ; and with Babhan‖ and with the valiant *Bargûjar*. The army of Chahuvân is a host of valiant warriors: what (in comparison) do you count the Gori's host? they are like Bhîm and Kaurava. What is a heap of roots compared with the tree" (?) Then says Jait Pâvâr: "Listen to advice, O Râjâ Prithirâj; it is a war with Gori Shâh. O Lord! let us remember the fate of the fort of Lahor; let the king be pleased to collect together his whole army, and let him send letters to his best dependants (इष्ट भृत्य) and relations (सगपन) and friends; this, Sir, is the advice of us Chiefs; or whatever advice you, Lord, think best, (that be taken); (only) let our goods be safe, and our duty and our glory be as they ought to be; and the light of our lord be bright like that in the heavens." "Wâh! wâh!" said Râm the Raghuvanśa, and indignantly calling out he arose: "Listen, all ye chiefs! the Shâh is come; his forces have started; an elephant and a lion and a brave man, wherever he is opposed, there he fights; of seasonable or unseasonable he knows nothing; he is slipped into the mire of shame;¶ we chiefs do not know deliberation; we hold but one duty, that of dying. The Sultân's army has been first collected; shall we now collect? what is the use of it?" (The other Chiefs say?) "O Gûjar, you Ganwâr; playing the king is no advice; you die yourself and the lord will be destroyed; what is the use of such a prospect; all servants of Chahuvân flee to their country and enjoy themselves in their forts; then what can our master do alone in the battle? The learned, the soldier, the poet, the musician, the merchant, and the public women are the ornaments around a king, as the black bees round the head of the elephant; when he disperses them by (flapping) his ears, he appears beautiful."

(*Dohâ.*) "Disgrace falls upon us by going into contention; before us is the war with the Sultân; let us now consider only this advice, namely, to fight and to die. * Let us observe. The

* Here one line omitted.

† Translation doubtful.

‡ As a sign of obeisance and obedience.

§ *i.e.* with Prithirâj, as council of war.

‖ Omitted पैं वमन वास विरास?

¶ *i.e.* He is ashamed of the doctrine that "discretion is the better part of valour."

* Here ends the account of the council of war. There were two parties in it. One counselled immediate action; Prithirâj should advance against the enemy with whatever

horses of the lord of Gajni and of Prithirâj. Their noise sounds on the side of the Chahuvân and of the Sultân."

Let there be eleven syllables, made up of parts of five and six (in each line); and let the long and the short ones be placed alike (in them); Kanṭasobhâ is the name of this noble metre.

(*Kanṭasobhá.*) The horse with his coat of mail (?) moves about prancing, just like Induja (Mars) with tightened wing (?). This comparison Kavi Chand draws,—prepared like the wind in the car of the apes (?) When he rises on his hind legs, he appears like a bedstead placed turned up. He begins to fly from the earth, taking a leap; his hoofs of gold make a sound, in front is bound a necklace of many gold pieces and a *chamar* resplendent when moved by the air, appearing as if eight planets and stars with yellow heads (*pagpagari*) and the sun were rising on its breast. He poses his legs and contorts his body, as a prostitute walks on seeing her paramour. Over his face the strong horse wears a heavy veil; as a respectable woman puts on a veil when she walks out. These few comparisons have been made by me; the swiftness (of the horse) neither the wind nor the mind can approach to.

(*Kunḍaliyá.*) The clock in the house struck nine; the king rising goes to his palace. Half of the night had passed when a messenger arrived; the messenger arrived, and hastily awoke the king. (His message.) "The Singh (*Gori ?*) has abandoned his hesitation; the Shâh is resolved in his mind; with 8000 strong elephants and 18 lakhs of foot-soldiers the Shâh Gori stood at a distance of 7 *kos* when 9 o'clock struck."

(*Dohá.*) Chahuvân read the letter. Chand (*Panḍir*) having left the house did no more return; for in the soul of brave men a desire after the enjoyment of *mukti* (*i. e.* death in battle) springs up. Great din in the Hindu hosts now resounded when they put on their armour. The noise became tenfold stronger when the kettle-drums resounded against the enemy. Despatched by the lord Vâvasû, a messenger arrived at that moment; (his message) "having put his army in order, the gallant Gori has crossed the river. Gori, the lord, arranged his army in five divisions, in order to cross the river. The brave Chand Panḍir ostentatiously* left the *darbár*.

(*Kavitta.*) Khân Mârûf Tattâr and Khân Khilchi were joined together; with *chamar* and umbrella clean (मुजक्क مزک ?) they were concentrated in a round army (a phalanx ?). For guns, and balls, and the *jambûrs* (for fixing the guns) a collection of strong elephants under command of Nûr Khân Hajâb and Nûr Mahamad was made. Vazîr Khân Gorî and Khân Khân Hajratî Khân prepared the second army, hurrying to and fro; there also stood Sajrat Khân.

The Sultân himself hurried about, and the Sultân's princely son Khân Paida Mahmûd arranged the warriors in the early morning; Khân Mangol Lâlari, who draws twenty daggers, and the four-sworded चौतेगा Sabâj (?)] who takes the life of the enemies with his arrows. Jahângir Khâṇ, the lord of the world, Khân Hindûbar the sportive, together with Pachhimí Khân Paṭhân are there hurrying about in great hurry. The Paṭhâns are hurrying about, Khâṇ Ismân in command of the armoured horsemen, and Keli Khân in command of the elephants, making a noise in the whole army of the Shâh. There is Khân Khursani Babbar and Habash Khân, the chief of the negro chamberlains, who is prouder than the whole world. In front of them are eight strong elephants, before whose rage swordsmen give way. If anything is produced without the five ingredients.† then a battle may take place without defeat.

The Shâh arranged the rear-guard thus: (?) he placed there thirty guardians (फिरस्तं). Alam Khân, the pride of the world, Khân Ajbakk the exile, and the little Mârûf, the agent (गुमस्त), and Khân Dustam, the Bajrangi.‡ Against the army of the Hindus the Shâh set out to battle with his warriors; pressing forward with his army he raised a noise; thus the vanguard (or standard चिन्हाव) of the Shâh crossed over. The warriors of Sambhali, the lord of the chiefs, furiously came down upon him, one warrior upon the other (thus falling).

(*Dohá.*) In anger were all the chiefs (Sâmanta); with fury was filled Prithirâj. Till then Panḍîr maintaining his ground kept at bay the battle-array of the Shâh.

(*Chand Bhujangî.*) Where the chiefs (गोर) of the Shâh's vanguard crossed over, there Panḍîr fixed his spear and lay in wait; the Sâhâb Shâh Gori formed his elephants into order of attack; violently they push and are pushed forward in close array; both religionists (दुरू दीन) draw their curved swords, resembling *kors* (millions) of lightnings darting in the clouds; they protect themselves with the border of their shields against the spears of their enemies, as the naked *nága*-women with the borders of the clouds; the

available forces he had with him just then. The other party counselled caution and delay; Prithirâj should first call all his vassals and allies, and then, having thus collected a large army, march against the Shâh. The party of action prevailed.

* फांढ from Marâṭhî थटणें to act pompously, to show oneself off.

† *i.e.* the five elements—earth, water, fire, air, akâśa.

‡ Having a *tilak*, or mark, of a *bajra* or thunderbolt.

unbelievers (*mlechha*) roar as, turning about, they come on, as pigeons turning a circuit settle down. The spears split breasts, destroying all shape, as when fishes stick half in a net; when absorbed in the fight, they move, as when geese (हंस) fly; they are *excited* (lit. whetted by the juice of heroism) by the fight as when they are playing at *chavaggân**: spears strike heads, brains are scattered about and crows feast upon it (the particles of brain), which has the appearance of rice (?). The gallant warriors valiantly cry, Slay! the arrows rain down as a shower from the clouds. Five fell on the side of Paṇḍîr; Chand (Paṇḍîr) himself escaped; then only advanced Gori Shâh with his vanguard (or standard).

(*Kavitta.*) The vanguard of the Shâh crossed over; Paṇḍîr Luthipar was defeated; Chand withdrew himself leaving his five companions on the path. Seeing this event, a messenger approached to Chahuvân: (his message) "Against thee the assurance (हाम ?) of the Sultân Gori, the lord of men (*narind*), has increased. The chief, the brave Mârûf, pressing forward, has joined his five corps (of forces) together. Five *mur* (?) *kos* from Lahor the unbeliever joined battle."

"(*Dohâ.*) The warrior, full of anger and of revenge, falling has gone to heaven; then art thou the son of Someśvar, when thou hast bound the Sultân."

The lord arranged his army in the form of a crescent (*chandravyûha*), the noble lord Prithirâj; Shâh Gori arranged his army without much observation of rules (?).

(*Kavitta.*) Mangal Panchami was given to Prithirâj as the day of battle; he made incantations to *Râhû* and *Ketû* to remove evil and produce auspiciousness. *Ashṭa Chakra Yoginî* and the transit of *Bharani* are auspicious for war; *Guru Panchami* and *Ravi Panchami* are inauspicious for the *white-marked*† horse of the lord. *Indu* and *Budha* make war prosperous with the trident and the disc in their hands. An auspicious hour the king selected, and marched forth; the valiant one at the rising of Krur (Mercury or Saturn).‡

(*Dôhâ.*) Which of the servants of the lord can describe his pain, oh! brother Kavi Chand?

(*Kavitta.*) Warriors long for the morn, as the male and female goose (*chakravâka*) long for the sun; warriors long for the morn (as men wish to obtain heaven by the force of the intellect?); warriors long for the morn, as the lonely lover (*viyogî*) longs for the morn; warriors long for the morn, as the sick man longs for it; they longed in every way for the morn, as the beggar longs for king Karan; § Prithirâj longed for the morn, as a faithful widow (*satî*) longs to embrace the body of her husband.

(*Chhand Dandmâlî.*) When the night turned into morning and the moon appeared red and waned; (then the warriors were full with fury and filled with desire after the play of war) (?). ||

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE STORY OF THE HOOPOE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

The following version, from a Syro-Arabic source, of the Spanish legend of the Hoopoe (*Ind. Ant.* August 1873, p. 229) was furnished by an English friend:—

When Solomon was on a certain journey on his enchanted throne, which moved whithersoever he bade it, the rays of the sun scorched the back of his neck. He requested certain vultures, flying near, to shade him with their wings, which they churlishly refused; but the hoopoes volunteered their services in that behalf instead. Then Solomon cursed the vultures, that they should never have any covering to their necks; but he thanked the hoopoes, and bade them ask for whatever boon they would. The king of the hoopoes would have asked for something that pleased himself, but his wife overbore him, and made him ask for the golden crests, with the result detailed in the Spanish story.

* A game played by mounted horsemen, each armed with a long stick. The players are divided into two parties, the object of each being either to carry off the ball from the adverse party, or to force it over a certain boundary line; the "polo."

† *Ashṭa Mangal*, a horse with white mane, face, tail, breast, and hoofs.

‡ Here two lines omitted.

§ *i. e.* Karṇa, a renowned hero in the Mahâbharata, king of Anga, and elder brother of the Pâṇḍu princes; he was famous for his liberality.

|| The translation is as literal as possible; for philological purposes such a translation will be the most useful in the first instance. In two or three places I have been quite unable to affix any meaning to the sentence; in a few others the translation is doubtful; I shall be most thankful for any criticisms or suggestions as to such places by Hindî scholars; the text is at present in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL OF KRISHNAJANMÂSHTAMÎ.

Translated from the German of Prof. A. Weber. *

The most difficult point in connection with the festival of the birthday of Krishṇa, as we have now described it, lies clearly in the description, and particularly in the pictorial representation, of him as a suckling at his mother's breast, and in the homage paid to the mother, represented as lying on a couch in a cow-house, who has borne him, "the lord of the world," in her womb. Such a representation of the god is a strange contrast to the other representations of him—to that of the epos, for example, in which he appears as a warrior hero—and is, moreover, the only thing of its kind in India†. Again the pictorial representation of the festival differs in various details from the usual legends about Krishṇa's birth in a way which it is difficult to explain. The inquirer is therefore not surprised if external grounds present themselves in explanation of this unique phenomenon, which give probability to the supposition that we have in this festival something transferred from outside, and retained, in spite of the incongruities it has given rise to, in the form in which it was received. And such grounds are, as a matter of fact, sufficiently numerous.

For the various points of contact which, apart altogether from the hitherto unnoticed festival of his birthday, the legends of Krishṇa have in common with Christian legends, attracted, centuries ago, the notice of Europeans, especially of the missionaries. P. Georgi, who expressly raised this question in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762), pp. 253-263, begins by appealing to a P. Cassianus Maceratensis and to De Guignes ‡ as agreeing with him in the opinion that '*Krisṇu*' is only "a corruption of the name of the Saviour; the deeds correspond wonderfully with the name, though they have been impiously and cunningly polluted by most wicked impostors." He supposes that the borrowing took place from the "apocryphal books concerning Jesus Christ," and especially from the Manichæans; but his proofs are very wild. He derives the names Ayodhyâ, Yudhishṭhira, Yâdava, from Juda, Gomatî from Gethsemane, Arjuna from John (Joannes), Durvâsas from Peter (Petrus). Sir William Jones also, though of course holding aloof from such extravagances, goes the length of asserting (*As. Res.* I. 274) that "the spurious gospels, which abounded in the first ages of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest part of them repeated to the Hindus, who ingrafted them on the old fable of Cesava, the Apollo of Greece." But against this view § considerations of all kinds presented themselves, and especially, as is evident, of a theological kind, resting on the unwillingness to recognize in the lascivious Krishṇa-cult any reflex of Christian ideas; considerations confirmed by the opinion then prevalent of the high antiquity of the Indian mythology, and so justified for the time.

The Carmelite monk P. Paullino à S. Bartolomaeo, in his *Systema Brahmanicum* (Rome, 1791, pp. 147, 152) was the most vigorous opponent, and his chief argument was that "these events must be referred to a thousand years and more before Christ." It is noteworthy that Kleuker, in his treatise on the history and the antiquities of Asia (Riga, 1797), 4, 70. after giving an account of the polemic directed by P. Paullino against "those who find all sorts of things in the story of Krishṇa, and especially the false account given in the apocryphal gospels of the history of Jesus," says very shrewdly, ‖ "I can easily believe that the story did not take

* This is the third section of Prof. Weber's paper on the Krishṇajanmâshṭamî, read before the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften on the 17th June 1867. In the two preceding sections the Professor gives (1) the sources for the festival and (2) an account of the ritual of the festival. In the fourth and last section he discusses the pictorial representations connected with it.

† Râma's birthday is celebrated by the Indians, and the Râmâyaṇa gives a detailed account of his birth. In fact the festival of the Râmanavamî presents such striking analogies to the Krishṇajanmâshṭamî that we may suspect imitation. But nowhere do I find Râma represented as a "suckling at the breast;" once only is he represented as "resting in the lap of his mother" (*mâtur ankagata*). Of Buddha's birth the Buddhists give many accounts; nay, there are pictorial representations of the subject (see in Foucaux *Lalita Vistara* 1, pl. 5, from a bas-relief in the Calcutta Museum); but Buddha does not appear as a suckling: I am unable to say whether the Buddhists keep his birthday. Of the Brahmanical gods legend speaks often of the birth of Skanda and his childhood, and especially of his nurses, the six Krittikâs (conf. *e. g.* Sansk. Kaust. fol. 59*b*: gaurîputroyathâ Skandaḥ śiśutve rakshitaḥ purâ | tathâ mâmâ'pyayam bâlaḥ Śhashthike! rakshyatâm, namaḥ ‖). But I know of no representation or worship of him as a suckling.

‡ I do not know where De Guignes expressed himself to this effect. . .

§ Polier, *Mythologie*, I. 445, sought at least in the victory over Kâliya "a travesty of the tradition of the Serpent, the tempter who introduces death into the world, and whose head the Saviour of the human race shall crush."

‖ In the second volume of his treatise (Riga, 1795), pp. 233, 234, Kleuker was more undecided, for he says there, with reference to the above passage from Sir W. Jones, which he had translated in his first volume: "P. Georgi, who is fond of referring everything to the history of Manes and the Manichæans, maintains that Krishṇa is a corruption of Christ, and that this Indian demigod owes his origin entirely to the apocryphal gospels. This opinion is certainly exaggerated; the former [that of Jones], however, seems to have more on its side. There is a very great similarity between the accounts of the youth of the child Jesus and of that of Krishṇa. See La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme dans les Indes*. [In the edition of this work which appeared at the

its origin from these gospels, but it is quite possible that it has borrowed something from them." Still the opinion of those who were opposed to any relation whatever between the two remained in the ascendant. Edw. Moor, in his *Hindoo Pantheon* (London, 1810), adheres,—in accordance with the view from which he started (Pref., p. xi.), that the mythological legends of the Indians have been the sources "whence have been derived the fables and deities of Greece and Italy and other heathen people of the West,"—to the view of Sir W. Jones that (p. 200) not only the name of Kṛishṇa, but also "the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of Homer." For all that, he cannot resist making the observation, with reference to the beautiful picture he gives on plate 59, "Crishna nursed by Devaki," that this "beautiful and highly finished picture may easily remind us of the representations by Papists of Mary and the infant Jesus."

Creuzer, in his 'Symbolik' (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1837) rejects, although he quotes Kleuker, all Christian parallels; but with them he rejects the parallels with Greek and Roman divinities, and is more inclined to see traces of the Egyptian myths of Osiris. Guigniaut, in his translation of Creuzer's work (Paris, 1825; I. 212, 293), refers Moor's picture not to Kṛishṇa but to Buddha. In more recent times there have been special theological reasons unfavourable to the discussion and decision of this question. Writers seem really to fear that some of the sanctity of Christianity will be lost if something borrowed from it is found in the Kṛishṇa-cult. Thus Pavie's polemic in his work 'Kṛishṇa et sa Doctrine, Bhagavat Dasam Askand,' which appeared in Paris in the year 1852, is directed especially against those who assume relations of this kind between the Kṛishṇa-cult and Christianity "for the purpose of lowering the Christian religion." He thinks moreover that the Brahmans "were not the people to voyage in search of foreign systems,* or to give the right of citizenship to foreign religions." † Yet even he is compelled to admit that they "may have adopted at an early date some of the ideas which were, so to speak, floating in the ancient world," and indeed he assumes that they condescended to "borrow from the philosophy of Alexandria and to allow themselves to be influenced by Christian dogma." Wollheim also discusses the matter essentially from the same theological standpoint (*Myth. des Alten Indien*, Berlin, 1856, p. 65): "If we must," says he, "compare Kṛishṇa with a known God [as if that were the point at issue], let us take not the founder of our religion, who is too pure and exalted to admit of such a comparison, but rather the Apollo of the Greeks. And of special interest in this respect is a letter which Al. v. Humboldt wrote me with reference to my previous paper on Kṛishṇa's birthday, in transmitting a copy of which I would seem to have alluded to a rumour I had heard on good authority that W. v. Humboldt had certain theological considerations with reference to the discussion of this subject. I give this letter in a note.‡

In the "priest-ridden kingdom of the leopards" itself, as Al. v. Humboldt calls it in this letter, some voices have been heard lately which bear witness to a conception of the question completely free from theological considerations. Talboys Wheeler, in the first volume of his so-called History of India (London, 1867), leaves it undecided, it is true, in his detailed account of the legends of Kṛishṇa, whether or not in the legend of his birth a borrowing, "as supposed by many," has taken place "from the Gospel account of king Herod," and rejects utterly a similar

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Hague in 1724 I have not been able to find anything of the kind. To what passage does Kleuker refer? But if we consider those fables themselves, they seem to be of the kind which might have originated in several independent heads. We might as well assume that the composers of these histories of childhood of Christ borrowed some of their legends from Indian fable. For in several of the apocryphal writings there are clear traces of Indian doctrine and fable. But since the story of Kṛishṇa is much older than Christianity (Paull. *Syst. Br.* p. 124), and has also much in common with the story of the Greek Apollo," &c.

* We know from Greek and Roman sources of various Indians, from Kalanos down, who did exactly what Pavie denies.

† This is not the point at issue, and if it were, the existence of the Parsees and of the Thomas Christians shows that the Indians have not hesitated to extend the *civitas* to foreign religions. They were not hostile even to the Moslems at first.

‡ It (postmark "12-5," 1852?) runs as follows:—

"The similarity between the pictures of Kṛishṇa at the breast and those of the new-born Christ was certainly a subject on which I have heard my brother occasionally speak. He seemed to ascribe much to the idyllic character of the subject and to chance. He himself certainly never made any discovery in the matter—where can Lichtenstein have picked up this myth? And as for the 'weighty reason which compelled my brother to keep silence,' such weakness was not in his character. The love-adventures of the young saviour with the shepherdesses are delightful, and were certainly unknown to him. May your paper on the Indian Christ remain unread in the priest-ridden 'kingdom of the leopards,' where they have scented heresies in my *Kosmos*, mild as it is, and have published two editions of it, a castrated and an uncastrated one. It might do you harm. In my *Mexican Antiquities* I have shown the mother of the human race in conversation with the serpent, the sucking God, the various children of the serpent-woman who are striking each other, and the bird of the ark.

"In haste, Tuesday night, YR. AL. HUMBOLDT."

[Of the quotation made by him at the end of his letter from the *Vues des Cordillères*, I. 235, 237, 253 only the passage in p. 253 concerns us, where in reference to Pl. XV. n. III. v. VII. it is said that a new-born infant is represented four times; the hair, which rises like two horns on the top of the head, indicates that it is a girl. The infant is at the breast, they are cutting its navel cord, and presenting it to the goddess, touching its eyes in benediction." There is no conceivable relation here to Kṛishṇa.]

supposition with regard to "Kṛishṇa's triumph over the great serpent Kâliya" as "borrowed from the triumph of Christ over Satan." But in the case of two other legends he assumes partly "a travestie of Christianity," partly a direct borrowing from the Gospel.* And an anonymous reviewer of Wheeler's book in the *Athenæum*, No. 7076 (Aug. 10, 1867), pp. 168, 169 speaks much more decidedly. This writer is not content with the similarity between the names Kṛishṇa and Christ, Yadu and Juda, and the interpretation of Devakî as "Divine Lady;" but, *à la* P. Georgi, he connects Yaśodâ and Vâsudeva with Joseph,† and Gokula with Goshen. In the comparison of the matter of the legends also, which he takes from the *Bhâgavata Pur.*, there is much that is very wonderful. The result he reaches is that "it must be admitted that there are most remarkable coincidences between the history of Kṛishṇa and that of Christ. This being the case, and there being proof positive that Christianity was introduced into India at an epoch when there is good reason to suppose the episodes which refer to Kṛishṇa were inserted in the *Mahâ Bhârata*, the obvious inference is that the Brahmans took from the Gospel such things as suited them." If these words can be taken to imply agreement with Kleuker's view, one may accept them. But if we are to understand by them that the history of Kṛishṇa *took its origin* from the "Gospel history" (and the author does not seem particularly averse to such a view), we cannot agree to them.

For however obscure the older history of the Kṛishṇa-cult still is, this much is certain, that it rests on the following bases. *First* we find Kṛishṇa, son of Devakî, in the *Chândogyopanishad*, 5, 17, 5; (3, 17, 5 in Roer, p. 221, Râjendra Lâla Mitra, p. 63) as the *eager scholar* of Ghora Âṅgirasa (see Colebr. *Misc. Ess.* II. 197: *Ind. Stud.* I. 190). Nay, we may perhaps go higher. In the eighth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛiksaṃhitâ* there is a *gâyatrî* song to the two Aśvins (8, 74) with a refrain which shows a certain amount of artistic effort, whose poet calls himself, in vv. 2 and 3, Kṛishṇa. The Anukramaṇî of the *Ṛik.* attributes also to him the two following hymns to the Aśvins (8, 75, 76), and three hymns to Indra (10, 42-44); it calls him an Âṅgirasa, and the *Śâṅkhay. Brâhmaṇa* 30, 9 agrees fully with it in reference to 10, 42, 43.‡ Now in these two last hymns there is very special reference to games with dice (*devana*), so that the supposition that we have here to do with the son of *devakî*, female player,' § is an admissible one, though of course no great weight can as yet be laid on it. As corresponding to the passage in the *Chândogyop.* there might have been adduced, so long as we had not an exact text, a passage in the *Âtmaprabodha-Upan.* where Kṛishṇa Devakîputra, in Anquetil du Perron's words, appears as "doctus factus et doctos amicos habens" (see *Ind. Stud.* I, 190; II, 8, 9). But from the original,|| as we have it now, we can see clearly enough the secondary character of the passage and of the whole *Upanishad*.

* The healing of the woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years and who was made straight by Christ on the sabbath-day, and the incident of the woman who broke an alabaster box of spikenard and poured it upon his head, seem to have been thrown together in the legend of Kubjâ." The legends about Kṛishṇa given at pp. 385-417 of this work, the representation of the efficacy of a mere sight of him in taking away sin (by beholding Kṛishna her sins were forgiven her, p. 386), and the legend of the restoration to life of the dead son of Duḥśalâ (p. 414) are not taken from the Mahâ Bhârata, as the composer says, but (of my remarks in the *Lit. C. Bl.* July 4th, 1866, No. 28, p. 757) from the *Jaimini Bhârata*, a work that partakes of the character of the Purâṇas. This is interesting because it follows that the Persian translation of the *Mahâ Bhârata*, on which Wheeler's book, according to Râjendra-Lala Mitra's latest investigation (in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Jan. 1868) rests, made use of the *Jaimini Bhârata* as well as the *Mahâ Bhârata*.

† His words leave it uncertain if it is not Vâsudeva alone which he identifies with Joseph. "His real mother was Devakî, which signifies the Divine Lady, and his reputed mother Yasoda or Yashoda (*sic*). His father's name was Vâsudev. In comparing this word (Vâsudeva then) with Yûsef, we must remember that *Dev* in Sanscrit signifies Divine, and the *d* appears to have been inserted (*sic!*) from that word.

‡ Kârshṇo (Kṛishṇena dṛishṭaḥ *schol.*) ahar ahaḥ pâryaso bhavati (asteva su prataram iti, *and* ahâ me indram iti, *schol.*) Kṛishṇo haitad Âṅgiraso brâhmaṇâchaṅsîyâyai tṛitîyasavanam dadarśa.

§ That *Devakî* is to be taken in this way, and so has etymologically nothing to do with *deva*, God, appears certain on grammatical grounds. It is the feminine of *devaka* (root *div*), as *nartakî* is of *nartaka*. Conf. *Un.* 2-32. (Can the love-*game* of Kṛishṇa with the shepherdesses, which plays such a prominent part in the later Kṛishna-legend, not be connected with this way of taking the word?) *Devaka* appears in the *Ṛik.* as the proper name of a foe conquered by Indra (7, 18, 20); in the *M. Bhâr.*, on the other hand, as the name of a king, a Gandharva prince whose daughter Devakî was carried away at her *saṃvara* (*i.e. svayaṃvara*) by the Yadu hero Śini for his cousin Vâsudeva, the son of Śiva (7. 6032-35). This legend of Vâsudeva's marriage is quite different from the later one. The name Devakî occurs elsewhere; in Bâna's *Harshacharita* (*v.* Hall, Intro. to *Vâsavadatta*, p. 53) it is said that *Devasena* of *Suhma* was poisoned by Devakî (but may devakî not be an appellative here?)

|| It is cited in *Svapneśvara's* schol. to the *Śâṇḍilyasûtra* 53 (page 36 of Ballantyne's edition, *Bibl. Ind.*, New Series, No. 11) as *śrûti* (*Vâsudevavishaye parabrahmapratyabhijnâ cha śruyate*) and is found, according to Ballantyne, in the "*Nârâyaṇopanishad*" (*Âtharvaśirasi, daśake 6, vâkya 9*) as follows: "*brahmaṇyo Devakîputro brahmaṇyo Madhusûdanaḥ | sarvabhûtastham ekam nârâyaṇam (!) karaṇarûpam akâraṇam parabrahmasvarûpam iti.* || And two St. Petersburg MSS. of the *Nârâyaṇopanishad* that appears as part of the *Atharvaśiras* (see *Ind. Stud.* II. 53, 54) give them at the end in the following connection:—

Om namo nârâyaṇayeti mantropâsako Vaikuṇṭhabhuvanam gamishyati | tad idam puṇḍarîkâksham vijnânaghanam, tasmât tach chidâbhâsamâtram | om brahmaṇyo Devakîputro brahmaṇyo Madhusûdana iti (*iti* is wanting in one MS.) sarvabhût e. n. k. akâra (ṇa)m param brahmom | etad atharvaśiro, yo' dhîte prâtar adhîyâno râtrikṛitam pâpam nâśayati, sâyam adhîyâno divasakṛitam p. n. . . . . . Though the construction of the words "br. Dev. br. M." is unfortunately obscure, it is clear enough that we have here to do with a sectarian text whose business it is to identify the *Devakîputra* with the highest *brahman*, which here bears the neutral name *Nârâyaṇam*. (Compare Colebrooke, II, 112.)

The next phase of Krishṇa Devakîputra after that of the *eager scholar* in the *Chând. Up.* is that of the *brave hero and warrior* of the Vṛishṇi race in which we find him in the *Mahâ Bhârata,* and on account of which, for example, at the sacrifice of Yudhishṭhira (2, 1332, 1378, 1384), although himself not a king, he receives before all the assembled kings the gift of honour (*argha*) due to the worthiest. But in the same epos he appears further as already exalted to semi-divine rank as the wise friend and counsellor of Pâṇḍava, of supernatural power and wisdom.* Whatever may have been the causes of this exaltation (and unfortunately they are still beyond our knowledge), this much is certain, that it had already taken place at the time when the Indian sages, who according to an episode of the same epos, made a pilgrimage to the Śvetadvîpa, the white island,† found there the worship of *Christ* the son of the *divine* maiden in full bloom, which must have appeared ‡ to them as a guarantee for the propriety of the semi-divine exaltation of their own Krishṇa the son of Devakî, § and had as its natural consequence its consolidation and wider extension.|| That this is the true state of the case, and that the present Krishṇa-worship in India rests also essentially on that pilgrimage of Nârada and the fruitless journey, as it is represented, of his three predecessors Ekata, Dvita, Trita to the Śvetadvîpa, undertaken, in obedience to an invisible voice, in order to learn there the monotheistic doctrine of its white inhabitants, the doctrine of the *unity* of the divine power,—the *ekânta,*—of which the episode in the twelfth book of the *Mahâ Bhârata* has fortunately preserved the legendary account,¶ can scarcely admit of a doubt, since on the one

* Compare the passages quoted by Lassen, II, 1108, from an inscription of Kumâragupta (whom Lassen supposes to have lived till 270, but Bhau Dâjî, in the *Journal of the B. B. A. S. Soc.* No. XXII., p. 115, till 459). "As the conqueror of his foes, Krishṇa, who is girt with golden beams, honoured Devakî; may he maintain his purpose!" And an inscription we have in Indian and Bactrian writing seems considerably older, belonging perhaps to the first or second century, which contains the name *Krishṇayaśas,* and was edited by Bayley with a facsimile in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* 1854, pp. 57, 59 (conf. 2 *der D. M. Ges.* 9, 630, 631, where also a facsimile is given). Bayley remarks: "This name, glory of Krishṇá, would seem to indicate the admission of Krishṇa into the Hindoo pantheon at the period when the inscription was cut. If, however, this be eventually established, it by no means follows that the name was applied to the same deity as at present, still less that he was worshipped in the same manner."

† See on this point *Râmatâp. Up.*, pp. 277, 278; the word may also mean the "Island of the white men."

‡ Just as the Greeks sought and found echoes of their mythology everywhere.

§ Whose name *looks* as if it meant "the divine."

|| Ending with his exaltation to Vishṇu's place, in which he is frequently glorified in other places of the *Mahâ Bhâr.* To the legends about Krishṇa's exploits as an infant I find special allusion only once in the *Mahâ Bhâr.* (2, 1436-45); they belong, as do the notices about his sport with the shepherdesses, to the latest interpolations into that epos (conf. Wilson's note *Vishṇu Pur.*, p. 492). The raising to life of the dead son of Duḥśalâ, and other similar stories, are not in the *Mahâ Bhar.*, but in the *Jaimini Bhârata.* As to the silence of the older Buddhistic texts with regard to the worship of Krishṇa, *vide* Burnouf, Introduction, p. 136. That Krishṇa is named with (his brother) *Valadeva* in *Varâhamihira,* but without being brought prominently forward, I mentioned in my *Berlin Catalogue of Sansk. MSS.*; they appear there as standing on either side of a goddess who bears the curious name Ekânaṅśâ (*vide* B. & R.) who is represented now with four arms, now with eight, but in either case holding in one hand a book (! *pustakam*: the "Book" was in the East in the pre-Muhammadan time a mark of the Jew and Christian), in another a rosary (*akshasûtra*).—I do not remember any reference to the identity of Krishṇa and Vishṇu in the *Mrichhakaṭî.* But in Kâlidâsa's works it is complete; thus in *Mâlavikâgnimitra,* V. 77, an exploit of Krishṇa's is ascribed to Vishṇu (the same thing is done in *Bhavabhûti's Mâlatîmadhava,* 123, 6, 104, 6). *Vice versâ* in the *Kumâras.* 3, 13, an exploit of Vishṇu's is transferred to Krishṇa. In *Raghuvaṅśa* 15, 24 Kârishṇa stands for Vaishṇava; conf. *ibid.* 17, 29 *Meghad.* 15. In *Raghuvaṅśa* 6, 49 there is an allusion to Krishṇa's fight with Kâliya. If we could put Kâlidâsa at the end of the third century, as I proposed in the preface to my translation of the *Mâlavikâgn.* (though I referred to this identification of Krishṇa with Vishṇu as throwing a doubt on that), that would point to the *second* century as the time when the Christian influence must have been felt in India. I am now, however, more inclined to Kern's view, who (Pref. to 2nd ed. of Varâhamihira's *Bṛih. Saṁhitâ,* p. 20) puts Kâlidâsa in the sixth century; and I favour this opinion because the special regard shown in the *Raghuvaṅśa* for King Bhoja and his race (though of course they are in the poem transferred to remote antiquity) seems to me to point to the glorification of a contemporary prince (conf. my paper on the *Râmatâp. Up.* p. 279*n.*) The question how far the works that bear Kâlidâsa's name, at least the six principal ones (the three dramas with the *Meghadutâ, Raghuvaṅśa,* and the *Kumârasambhava*) really belong to the same author, has not yet been satisfactorily answered, so that the dates we use here for our purpose do not carry conviction. In Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ* (which Hall ascribes to the beginning of the 7th century) a deed of Krishṇa's is ascribed to Hari (Vishṇu) in p. vi. of the Introduction; and he appears there in several places as Kaṅsa's foe, or in the company of Yaśodâ and the cowherd Nanda (in Hall's ed. pp. 11, 12, 29, 150, 286.)

¶ See *Ind. Stud.* I, 400; II, 166-9, 398-400; IX, 65; Lassen *Ind. Alt. K.* II, 1096 ff. Below I give some of the main passages. First in reference to Ekata, Dvita, Trita (who might have reminded us of the three Magi, had not their journey been unsuccessful), we read in *Mahâ Bhâr.* XII, 12776 ff.

atha vratasyâ 'vabhṛithe vâg uvâchâ' śarîriṇî || 76 ||
.. | *yûyam jijnâsavo bhaktâḥ katham drakshyatha tam vibhum* |
kshîrodadher uttarataḥ śvetadvîpo mahâprabhaḥ || 78 ||
tatra Nârâyaṇaparâ mânavâś chandravarchasaḥ |
ekântabhâvopagatâs te bhaktâḥ purushottamam || 79 ||
te sahasrârchisham devam praviśanti sanâtanam |
anindriyâ nirâhârâ anispandâḥ sugandhinaḥ || 80 ||
ekântinas te purushâḥ Śvetadvîpanivâsinaḥ |
gachadhvam tatra munayas tatrâ" tmâ naḥ prakâśitaḥ || 81 ||
atha śrutvâ vayam sarve vâcham tam aśarîriṇîm |
yathâkhyâtena mârgeṇa tam deśam pratipedire (sic! 3 pers. instead of 1 pers.) || 82 ||
prâpya śvetam mahâdvîpam ...
vratâvasâne cha śubhân narân dadṛiśire (sic, as before) *vayam* |
śvetâṅś chandrapratîkâśân sarvalakshaṇalakshitân || 86 ||
... | *vayam tv enam na paśyâmo mohitâs tasya mâyayâ* | — || 99 ||
... | *uvâcha khastham kim api bhûtam tatrâ 'śarîrakam* || 803 ||
.. | *gachadhvam munayaḥ sarve yathâgatam ito 'cirât* |
na sa śakyas tv abhaktena drashṭum devaḥ kathamchana || 805 ||

hand proof has been furnished us by the edition of the *Nârada-Pañcharatra* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (by Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Calc. 1865) that in remembrance of that pilgrimage an important part in the Krishṇa * ritual is still devoted to the honour of Nârada, of the sea of milk, and of the Śvetadvîpa; and on the other it has been ascertained from Ballantyne's edition of the *Śaṇḍilyasûtrâ* that the commentator to that work, *Svapneśvara*, refers for the peculiar doctrine of this work concerning *bhakti*, the power of faith, to the same legend, and indicates the *Śvetadvîpa* as the true home of that doctrine: see p. 30. 56-58 60.†

It is, therefore, on the ground of these facts, not so much the direct influence of the legends of Christian missionaries we are to assume as lying at the foundation of the Krishṇa-cult proper, or the sectarian honour paid to Krishṇa as the one god, but independent appropriations which may or may not have been made under the influence of missionary efforts, but which in either case have been made from the side of the Indians themselves in an essentially independent way, and have therefore had a special Indian growth. In a similar way the Taipings in China in the present day have made a religion for themselves, however much they have been carried along by direct Christian influence. The legend by its whole tenor shows us that a 'felt want,' so to speak, which indeed is a characteristic of the Indians, the earnest striving after religious enlightenment, led to the appropriation of the sole saving power of faith in the one god Krishṇa, and if at the same time the way was smoothed for the reception of other material of a purely legendary character, and especially for the wonderful accounts of the birth of Christ among the shepherds and his childhood among them; if in course of time the sensuous phantasy of the Indians, proceeding along paths of its own, has been led to passionate and licentious descriptions of Krishṇa's loves among the shepherdesses‡; if it be really the case that "in consequence of this misunderstanding and misapplication, the story of Christ, the companion of shepherds, has done immense harm to Indian morality," § still no one will be so perverse as to wish to lay the burden of that on Christianity—the people of India themselves are in fault.

Nor can it be any reproach to Christianity if some isolated and deserted posts of missionary activity have gradually disappeared, as I have suggested in reference to a legend which tells of an incarnation of Śiva as 'the white one' (*śveta*), in which he, according to the *Vâyu. Pur.* (Wilson, see Works, III, 148-9) is to appear at the beginning of the Kaliyuga in order to teach the Brâhmaṇ (see *Ind. Stud.* I, 421, II, 398). A clear picture of what Christian missions, in cases where they had continuous support from home, could do even in India, is afforded by the Thomas Christians on the coast of Malabar, who, as is well known, up to the time when the Jesuit persecution broke out against them, had by their pure morality taken a high place within the Indian community.—(*To be continued.*)

THE AJANTÂ FRESCOES.

The mission of Mr. Griffiths to Ajanṭâ, to copy some of the remaining frescoes there, has already been noticed (Vol. II. pp. 152-3). Under harassing difficulties and obstructions he has done his work well; and, having laboured from 10th December 1872 till 17th May last with such assistance as he was allowed, and that much crippled by malarious fever—at a total cost of only Rs. 4,669-14-9, he has succeeded in securing excellent copies of four large wall-paintings covering 122 square feet of canvas, 160 panels of ceiling aggregating perhaps 280 square feet, 16 moulds from the sculptures, and several drawings.

. . | *evam sutapasâ chaiva havyakavyais tathaiva cha* |
devo 'smâbhir na drishṭaḥ sa, katham tvam drashṭum arhasi || 810 ||

Then with regard to the journey of Nârada, we have, *ibid.* 12860 ff. (and conf. 12663-12708):

Nârado 'pi yathâ śvetam dvîpam sa gatavân rishiḥ |
tat te sarvam pravakshyâmi śrinushvai 'kamanâ nripa || 860 ||
prâpya śvetam mahâdvîpam Nârado bhagavân rishiḥ |
dadarśa tân eva narân śvetâṇś chandrasamaprabhân || 61 ||
pûjayâmâsa śirasâ manasâ taiś cha pûjitaḥ |
didrikshur japyaparamaḥ sarvakrichragataḥ sthitaḥ || 62 ||
bhûtvaikâgramanâ vipra ûrdvabâhuḥ samâhitaḥ |
stotram jagau sa viśvâya nirgunâya gunâtmane || 63 ||
. . . | *evam stutaḥ sa bhagavân guhyais tathyaiś cha nâmabhiḥ* |
tam munim darśayâmâsa Nâradam viśvarûpadhrik || 65 ||
. . . *śrîbhagavân uvâcha* |
Ekataś cha Dvitaś chaiva Tritaś chaiva maharshayaḥ |
imam deśam anuprâptâ mama darśanalâlasâḥ || 876 ||
na cha mâm te dadriśire na cha drakshyati kaśchana |
rite hy ekântikâśreshṭhât, tvam chaivaikântikottamaḥ || 877 || . . . . .

* And has from that made its way into the Râma-ritual; conf. my paper on the *Râmatap.* pp. 277, 278, 360.

† And even *sûtra* 83: *sai* (*sâ*, i.e. *bhaktiḥ*) *'kântabhâvo gîtârthapratyabhi jnânât* seems to have direct reference to the legend of the *Mahâ Bhâr.*

‡ The passage in *Hâla's Śaptaśatakam* contains the oldest mention of this I remember, vv. 86, 115, 117 (where the names are given as Radhikâ, Yaśodâ, Vrajavadhû). Next may come the *Harivanśa* and the *Jaimini Bhârata*, which are quoted in Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ* (Hall, p. 94; *Indische Streifen*, p. 380), and after them the *Bhâgavata Pur.*

§ I may refer to the action against the sect of the *Mahârâjas* at Bombay some years ago. See *Lit. Central-Blatt.* 1865, No. 18, pp. 495, 466.

The following extracts from Mr. Griffiths' interesting Report will convey some idea of the character of the frescoes and the style in which they are executed:—The artists who painted them, he says, "were giants in execution. Even on the vertical sides of the walls some of the lines which were drawn with one sweep of the brush struck me as being very wonderful; but when I saw long delicate curves drawn without faltering with equal precision upon the horizontal surface of a ceiling, where the difficulty of execution is increased a thousandfold—it appeared to me nothing less than miraculous. One of the students when hoisted up on the scaffolding, tracing his first panel on the ceiling, naturally remarked that some of the work looked like child's work—little thinking that what appeared to him, up there, as rough and meaningless had been laid in by a cunning hand, so that when seen at its right distance every touch fell into its proper place.

"The condition of mind in which these paintings at Ajaṇṭâ were originated and executed must have been very similar to that which produced the early Italian paintings of the fourteenth century, as we find much that is in common. Little attention paid to the science of art—a general crowding of figures into a subject, regard being had more to the *truthful* rendering of a story than to a *beautiful* rendering of it:—not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive of representation. There is a want of aërial perspective—the parts are delicately shaded, not forced by light and shade, giving the whole a look of flatness—a quality to be desired in mural decoration.

"Whoever were the authors of these paintings, they must have constantly mixed with the world. Scenes of every-day life, such as preparing food, carrying water, buying and selling, processions, hunting-scenes, elephant-fights, men and women engaged in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments, are most gracefully depicted upon these walls; and they could only have been done by men who were constant spectators of such scenes, by men of keen observation and retentive memories. The artists certainly could not have observed one of the ten commandments which Buddha imposed: to abstain from public festivals. In every example that has come under my observation, the action of the hands is admirable and unmistakeable in conveying the particular expression the artist intended.

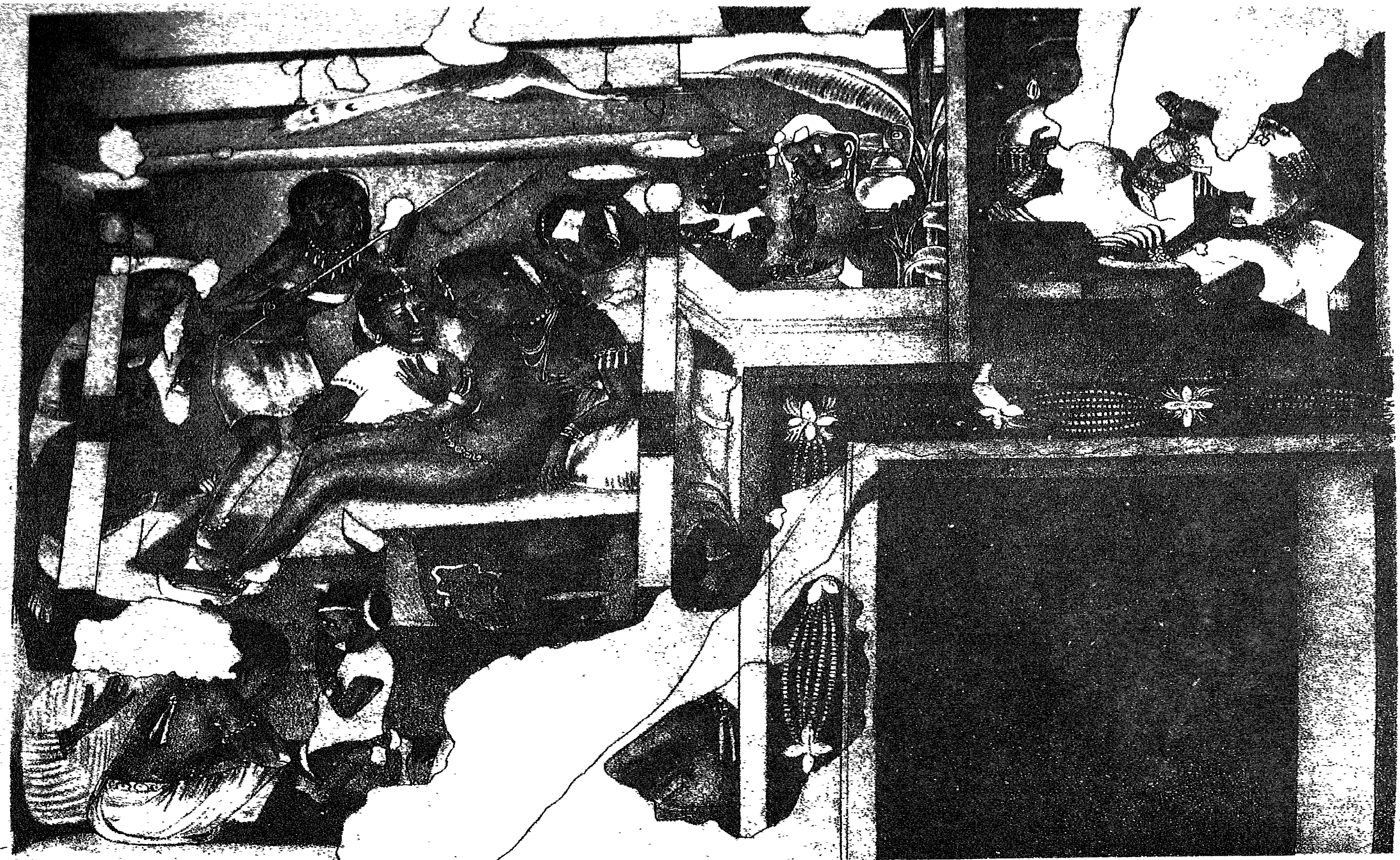
"Sir Emerson Tennent in his work on Ceylon states that the Chinese traveller Fa Hian, who lived in the fifth century of the Christian era, describes the condition of Anurâjapura and the ceremonies which took place there. 'The sacred tooth of Buddha was publicly exposed on sacred days in the capital with gorgeous ceremonies which he recounts, and thence carried in procession to the mountains without fear; the road to which was perfumed and decked with flowers for the occasion; and the festival was concluded by a dramatic representation of events in the life of Buddha illustrated by scenery and costumes, with figures of elephants and stags so delicately coloured as to be undistinguishable from nature.' The fact of men taking part in and witnessing such sights as described above will account, in some measure, for the processional scenes which are painted on the walls at Ajaṇṭâ."

The first of Mr. Griffiths' copies is a picture 8 feet by 6 feet 3 inches. This painting is composed of a central figure of colossal size, and portions of ten others, seven of them being about life-size. In it he calls special attention to the drawing of the heads of two women in the left-hand corner, and the portion of the woman's face and arms on the right. "Additional interest," he remarks, "attaches to this picture from the fact that nearly all the ornaments which were used to adorn the person are here in a very good state of preservation, and are most admirably drawn—especially the twist that is given to the string of pearls on the colossal figure—and those round the neck of the woman in the left-hand corner—and the chain round the neck of the figure to the right with an accidental hitch in it. I would also call attention to the drawing of the long pointed nails of the same figure, and also those of the colossal figure: many of the bracelets differ little in design from those now worn, and the white wreaths of flowers in the hair of the women are similarly worn by native women at the present day."

The second picture is 6¼ by 3¾ feet. "This subject has fourteen figures assembled under what appears to be a wooden canopy. The two seated male figures, who are profusely ornamented with jewels and flowers, are apparently engaged in a dispute,* while the others, principally women with long curly hair, are eager listeners. Parts of this picture are admirably executed. In addition to the natural grace and ease with which she is standing, the drawing of the woman holding a casket in one hand, and a jewel with a string of pearls hanging from it in the other, is most delicately and truly rendered. The same applies to the woman seated on the ground in the left-hand corner. The upward gaze and sweet expression of the mouth are beautifully given. The left hand of the same woman ... is drawn with great subtlety and tenderness."

The third picture is a copy of a portion of the

* See Mrs. Spiers's *Life in Ancient India* (1856), p. 280.



W. GRIGGS DEL AND LITH

FRESCO FROM CAVE XVI AT AJANTA.

painting on the right-hand wall of the antechamber to the sanctuary, and measures 7 feet by 4. "In this piece there are eight figures and portions of three others—all of which are seated or standing upon large lotus flowers with *nimbi* round the heads. The action of some of the figures, especially the standing ones, bears such a very striking resemblance to what is characteristic of the figures in Christian art that they might have been taken from some mediæval church rather than from the caves of Ajaṇṭâ. The delicate foliage which fills in the spaces between the figures will give some idea of the power of these old artists as designers, and also of their knowledge of the growth of plants."

The fourth picture, measuring 4 feet 11 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, is the only one not taken from Cave I. Mr. Griffiths' plan was to work out one cave thoroughly before proceeding to another; but he deviated from it in this instance in order "to secure some record, however imperfect, of this the best piece of painting now remaining at Ajaṇṭâ. For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakeable way of telling its story," he says, "this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing, and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it. The dying woman, with drooping head, half-closed eyes, and languid limbs, reclines on a bed the like of which may be found in any native house of the present day. She is tenderly supported by a female attendant, whilst another with eager gaze is looking into her face and holding the sick woman's arm as if in the act of feeling her pulse. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety, as she seems to realize how soon life will be extinct in one she loves. Another female behind is in attendance with a *panká*, whilst two men on the left are looking on with the expression of profound grief depicted in their faces. Below are seated on the floor other relations, who appear to have given up all hope, and to have begun their days of mourning,—for one woman has buried her face in her hands and apparently is weeping bitterly."

"Is it unreasonable to infer that the peacock—a Christian symbol of the Resurrection—seen in connection with this death-scene may have the same meaning attached to it here, especially as we meet with another symbol in the caves which has entered largely into Christian art and which must have been borrowed from the East?—I refer to the *nimbus*."

Of the ceiling 131 panels about a foot square each, and 29 others varying from 18 inches square to 4 feet 10 inches by 2 feet, have been copied—some of them filled with most intricate painting; and a drawing has been made of the ceiling, showing what remains of the colouring upon it, and the positions of the panels copied.

"Although a great portion of this ceiling is destroyed, yet enough remains to give us the general arrangement of the whole. At first sight it appears very complicated in design, but after a little study it will be seen how simply the whole thing is arranged. Adhering to the idea of imitating their wooden originals, which idea pervades everything they did here, the Buddhists, in decorating this ceiling, merely adopted the principal divisions formed by the several timbers in one of their wooden floors: in fact the plan of this ceiling is nothing more than the plan of a wooden floor taken from below,—or, to put it plainer, if another floor were added on to the present cave, the timbers which enter into the construction of that floor, on looking up at them from below, would be represented by the principal lines on this ceiling.

"The space is thus divided into a number of panels which are filled with ornament. This principle of division is carried out in every painted ceiling that is still remaining of the Vihara caves at Ajaṇṭâ with one exception only, and that is Cave XVI. where the principal arrangement consists of circles. Having thus divided the ceiling into a number of panels, with a circle for variety in the central division, we find these panels filled with ornament of such variety and beauty—where we have naturalism and conventionalism so harmoniously combined—as to call forth our highest admiration. For delicate colouring, variety of design, flow of line, and filling of space, I think they are unequalled. Although every panel has been thought out, and not a touch in one carelessly given, yet the whole work bears the impression of having been done with the greatest ease and freedom: not only freedom in execution, but also freedom of thought."

All the ornament in the smaller squares is painted alternately on a black and red ground. The ground-colour was first laid in, and then the ornament was painted solidly over this in white: it was further developed by thin transparent colours over the white.

In order fully to appreciate the copies of the paintings, it is necessary to bear in mind that the originals were designed and painted to occupy certain fixed positions, and were seen in a subdued light. Many of the copies of the panels on close inspection appear coarse and unfinished; but seen at their proper distance (never less than seven feet from the spectator) apparent coarseness assumes a delicate gradation."

The *moulds* taken, Mr. Griffiths regrets, are not so good as they should be,—inasmuch as the two

men sent him were not equal to the work. "The joints are coarse, and too great a freedom was taken in stopping up the undercuttings with clay —thus destroying that sharpness and crispness which characterizes much of the ornament here.

The subjects moulded are chiefly in alto-rilievo, of buffaloes and elephants engaged in fight—the action in all being most vigorously given. These old Buddhist artists were perfectly acquainted with the elephant—for we find him carved and painted with a knowledge that is truly remarkable."

Among the drawings is one "giving a general plan of the cave with an elevation of each wall showing how much of the painting still remains,—how much was copied by Major Gill, and saved from the fire,—and how much was copied by me during the past season. I should not have known of the existence of the former if it had not been for a friend in Bombay who possessed photographs of them which he kindly lent me." From this drawing it appears that much remains still uncopied in Cave I.

On the influence of these relics of ancient Indian art on the students, Mr. Griffiths remarks—

"For the purposes of art education, no better examples could be placed before an Indian art student than those to be found in the caves of Ajaṇṭâ. Here we have art with life in it,—human faces full of expression,—limbs drawn with grace and action,—flowers which bloom,—birds which soar, —and beasts that spring, or fight, or patiently carry burdens :—all are taken from Nature's book —growing after her pattern, and in this respect differing entirely from Muhammadan art, which is unreal, unnatural, and therefore incapable of development."

"There are no other ancient remains in India where we find the three sister arts—Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting—so admirably combined as we do at Ajaṇṭâ. This surely should be a sufficient plea for their better preservation. To leave them in their present unprotected, uncared-for condition would be a disgrace to any government."

It is to be hoped these interesting illustrations of Indian art will be utilized by publication, and that others will be added to them whilst any may still be secured. In a few years scarcely a vestige will be left.

LEGEND RELATING TO GREY PUMPKINS.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGÂR, BENGALUR.

It is perhaps known to few that the Vakkligaru or cultivators of the Maisûr province, and doubtless of the neighbouring districts, have a very strong traditional dislike to the cultivation and eating of the grey ashy kind of pumpkins, which are known in Canarese as *Bûdigumbalakâyi*, and in Hindustani as *Pêtha*. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no record in the *Purâṇas* of the legend which is given in explanation of the custom. It differs in various parts in details, but I have no doubt that the principal features of the story as given here are current generally amongst the Śûdras.

"In the days of the Emperor Râma, when he was exiled by his father to the wilds of Daṇḍaka, Bharata was appointed Regent. The rayats waxed rich, and tried every dodge to cozen the king and defraud him of his revenues. If required to give to Government the upper crop as rent, they cultivated roots, ground-nut, saffron, &c., and brought only the stalks and straw to the Treasury; and when in the following year the State officers wanted the lower crop, they sowed paddy, râgi, wheat, &c., and the tax-gatherer was obliged to be content only with the straw. The result of this state of things was emptiness of the exchequer, and the ungovernable insolence of the rayats. All the officers of Government were intent upon their own domestic affairs, and Bharata could not get anybody to form his retinue. He was thus obliged to visit his dominions unattended, save by a single minister, named Sumanta, whose fidelity nothing could overcome. In this pass, Bharata was advised by an aged Vakkalaga to tie to his waist a bell, the ringing of which was the signal of his approach. On Râma's return and restoration, he one day examined the treasury, and felt very blank at finding it empty. Bharata was ready to explain the cause. Râma hereupon hit upon an expedient for replenishing his treasury. He sent for a grey pumpkin (*Bûdigumbalakâyi*), took out the seeds, and keeping one for himself, had the remainder boiled in milk. He then sent for all the rayats of his empire, gave each of them a seed, and told them that as rent each rayat should pay a pumpkin. He also got his own seed planted in the palace garden. The rayats were elated at the easy terms they had got from Râma, and planted their seeds, but not one of them grew up. Râma's seed was of course fertile. At the time of the *khists*, the rayats pleaded that their seeds were useless, and on Râma showing them his own pumpkins, they offered to pay, instead, gold of the weight of one of Râma's fruits. The king at once agreed, but the weighing proved most disastrous to the Vakkali-

garu. Not until the rayat placed his wife's *tâli or mâṅgalya* in the scales did the beam kick, and in this manner all the gold in the realm found its way to the public treasury.

Râma relented afterwards, and asked the rayats to bring their children. They were, however, very suspicious, and took to his presence the children of Koramaru, Dombaru, Koracharu, &c., instead. Râma at once divined the truth, and pronounced the following curse (*śápa*):—

ಬೀದಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಬೆಳೆಯಲಿ.

Bîdi Makkaḷu beḷê yali.

ಕೋರೆ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಕೊಳಿಯಲಿ.

Kôrê makkaḷu Koḷiyali.

Let the children of the streets grow.
Let the children of the rooms rot.

Some time after, Râma wanted the rayats to bring the seeds of the various kinds of corn, promising to make them grow spontaneously. The rayats, remembering Râma's former artifices, brought in lieu the seed of grass. He, however, detected the trick, and bade the grass grow without cultivation, and the cereals to flourish only when cultivated. Râma's order, passed so long ago, is still current in the order of nature, and the Vakkaligaru do not cultivate the grey pumpkin, or taste it, even to this day, as it was the means of their ruin."

The foregoing is a correct version of the tradition which prevails amongst the cultivators of this part of India. No portion of it is Brahmanical. It may be taken for what it is worth, but some strange ideas are started by it. The most important of them are:—(1) Râma's character is made to appear here the reverse of that ascribed to him by the Brâhmaṇs; (2) the division of crops (*baṭâyi*) was the true ancient system of land revenue in India; (3) the former general idea that the common weal was incompatible with the affluence of the rayats.

The *Bûdigumbaḷakâyi* is not contemptible eating, and as a vegetable all other classes, including Tigaḷaru gardeners, like it. It possesses also undoubted medicinal virtues.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DATE OF ŚRÎ HARSHA.

It seems proper, in conducting our investigations into this subject, first of all to collect all the information which the author of the Naishadhîya has given of himself. His autobiographical accounts, so far as they relate to his parentage, are, of course, of no avail for our present purpose, because they are so very scanty. But it is not impossible to turn to some account the other notices of himself which he has made in several places in his Naishadhîya, though at very long intervals. In addition to what has been already mentioned in the previous articles on the subject, as to his being honoured with a couple of betel leaves at the court of the King of Kanyakûbja,* we learn from these notices that he was treated with a similar mark of distinction in Kashmir,† his work being highly admired as perfect, after close scrutiny by the *savans* of that country. We are further enlightened as to the extent of his authorship. We are told that besides his Naishadha Charita he wrote the following works‡:—

1. Vijayapraśasti.
2. Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍana.
3. Gardorvishakûlapraśasti.§
4. Arṇavavarṇana.
5. Chhandapraṣasṭi.
6. Śivaśaktisiddhi or Śivaśaktisâdhana, and
7. Sâhasânka Charita.

If, as in the case of his Naishadhîya, he has, in each of his other works, given some accounts of himself, these, however trifling they may be when independently considered, may, if taken together, afford strong circumstantial evidence for arriving at the object of our researches with tolerable accuracy. All of these, without any exception, have been inaccessible to us, and it is left to those who are fortunate in this respect to satisfy themselves and enlighten us. For the present, it is only intended to offer a remark or two which suggest themselves from the fact of Śrî Harsha being the author of Sâhasânka Charita, and which seem to bear upon the subject.

We must premise, however, that while Dr. Bühler fixes the latter half of the 12th century‖ as the age when the poet flourished, basing his conclusion on Rajaśekhara's Prabhandhakośa, Kâśinâth Trimbak Telang cleverly contends that,

* See p. 30, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I.; also p. 241, Vol. II.

† See Canto XVI., verse 131; Uttara Naishadhîya, with Nârâyaṇa's commentary, Calcutta edn.

‡ Vide Canto V., stanza 138, Telugu edn., Madras; Canto VI., stanza 113, ibid.; Canto VII., stanza 108; Cantos VII.—X. inclusive are not printed. References made are to MS. copies on palmyra leaves in my possession.
Canto IX., stanza 133, ibid.
Canto XVII., stanza 222, Calcutta.
Canto XVIII., stanza 155, ibid.
Canto XXII., stanza 151, ibid.

§ According to Râm Dâs Sen, it is Gaurorvishakûlapraśasti (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II., p. 241). But this is given here as found in a Telugu MS. with me with Mallinath's commentary. It is quite possible, however, that these two may be entirely distinct works.

‖ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 30.

for reasons adduced, it must be "at least about two centuries earlier than the period to which Harshaprabhandha assigns the subject of its narrative."*

The couplet of Śri Harsha, in which he indicates his authorship of Sâhasânka Charita (No. 7 in the above list) runs thus:—

द्वाविंशो नवसाहसांकचरिते चंपूकृतोऽयं महा-
काव्ये तस्य कृतौ नलीयचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोज्ज्वलः

Pandit Nârâyana, the annotator, comments on "नवसाहसांकचरिते" as follows:—

नवो यः साहसांकोनाम राजा तस्य चरिते विषये
चंपूं गद्यपद्यमयीं कथां करोतीति कृत् तस्य विनि-
र्मितः वसोऽपि ग्रंथो येन कृत इति सूच्यते

thus making *Nava* to qualify राजा, and not to *Charitê*, as might, in the first instance, be imagined.

If this King Sâhasânka was *new* when Śrî Harsha wrote his (Sâhasânka's) history, it will only be fair to presume that Śrî Harsha was, if not contemporary, at least one who lived immediately or shortly after the reign of Sâhasânka, and that his rule was either personally witnessed or was fresh in the poet's memory when the *Charitra* was composed. The question then turns to some extent on the age of this Sâhasânka. In finding this out we are assisted by Mâheśwara, the lexicographer. In the preface to his Viśva Prakâśa Nighantu, where he, fortunately for the chronology of other Koṣakârâs, expatiates at some length on his personal history. Mâheswara informs us that he is descended from Śrî Krishna, physician to Sâhasânka, sovereign of Gâdhipur,† and has elsewhere given Śaka 1033, or A.D. 1111 (one thousand one hundred and eleven) as the date of *his* compilation.‡ In a subsequent stanza he makes us believe that he is the grandson of Śrî Krishna.§ If Mâhêśwara was an author so early as in the first decade of the 12th century, it cannot be an unwarrantable presumption that he flourished in the latter part of the 11th century. Again, we know his grandfather was a contemporary of Sâhasânka. Now coupling the two facts together, we may, we think, fix the era of Sâhasânka's rule in the early part of the eleventh century, if not in the latter extremity of the tenth. If, then, it be granted that the Sâhasânka of Mâhêśwara and Śrî Harsha are identical (and this may be presumed in the absence of *proof* to the contrary), the Naishadhakâra could only be living subsequent to the tenth century, or during the last several years of it. The only alteration that will need to be made in determining the poet's date, then, is obviously, therefore, dependent upon how we are disposed to construe the word *Nava*. If he is made a contemporary of Sâhasânka, the question is already answered. Or if it is thought not safe to presume so much, we will add, say the period of one generation, or forty years, or half a century at the utmost (though thirty-three is generally considered as about the proper average).|| Even this concession will but bring us to the middle of the eleventh century.

According to Prof. Wilson, *Gâdhipûr* is "a name from which the modern Ghazipur might be supposed to be derived, but which is enumerated by the vocabularies as a synonym of Kanyakubja or Kanauj. Sâhasânka also is a name of Vikramaditya;" but he remarks that "neither time nor place allow of the persons being identified in this instance,¶ and some historical notices of the former might possibly be derived from another composition in which Mâheśwara informs us he had written the history of this prince or *Sâhasânka Charita*.* The period in which the Viśva was compiled was one very likely to have been a season of literary patronage at Kanauj, as the Musalmân princes of the house of Ghizni and Ghor were for some time, both before and afterwards, fully occupied with those dissensions which gave the Indian sceptre to the latter, and consequently left the Hindu princes in the undisturbed enjoyment of their patrimonial sway, and the tranquil exercise of their privileges."

But, without digressing further, it must be stated that the above passage from Prof. Wilson has thrown a difficulty in our willingness to give unhesitating credit to the fact of *Jayanta Chandra's* sovereignty at Kanyakubja, and to *his* patronage of Śrî Harsha (vide *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II., p. 241).

A caution must be given here that the above remarks must be taken with great reserve, because "*nava* sâhâsanka charitê," &c. is only one of the two readings which seem to have been current—

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* *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II., p. 74.

† See Viśva Kośa, verses 4 and 5.

‡ See preface to Professor H. H. Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary, p. 28.

§ See stanzas 9 and 10, Viśva Kosa.

|| See DeQuincey's Essay on Style.

¶ As a mere etymological speculation, Prof. Wilson suggests the possibility of Sâhasânka being a title of Śrî Chandradêva, who, according to an inscription published by Mr. Colebrooke (*As. Res.*, vol. IX., 441) founded the ruling dynasty of Kanauj about the end of the eleventh century, which "*realm he acquired by his own strength.*" On the examination of the passages in italics, he fancies it might be found connected with the name given by Mâhêśwara to Sâhasânka, compounded as that is of *Sâhasa*, strength, and *anka*, mark or distinction.

* This seems questionable in the extreme. In the MS. copy in my possession transcribed in a comparatively recent date this stanza reads श्री सा ह सांकरचि वादि, and with a very feasible transposition of letters, viz. रचि into चरि (*rachi* into *chari*) the meaning given by Pro. W. is obtained. Perhaps by a collation of reliable MSS. the truth may be extracted.

the other being *nripa* instead of *nava*. But the former (*nava*) is the one adopted by Nârâyaṇa, who only makes mention of this latter in the body of the commentary. From this circumstance we may infer that the latter was one to which much credit was not attached by Pandits, and was considered by them as being untrustworthy and surreptitious.

P. N. PÛRNAIYA, B.A.,
Attaché, Mysore Commission, Bangalore.

CHAND'S MENTION OF ŚRÎ HARSHA AND KÂLIDÂSA AGAIN.

I cited my authorities in the number of the *Indian Antiquary* for August 1873 to show that the Naishadha is not, as Mr. Growse supposes, a poem of considerable antiquity. In the October number of your journal Mr. Growse comes forward and simply dismisses my arguments as premature and dogmatic. Why, is more than I can make out. I still hold to my opinion as firmly as ever. I do not, however, hereby mean to assert positively that I am in the right. Far from it. I may be wrong. But Mr. Growse has not shown where and how I am wrong. Instead of dismissing my paper as premature and dogmatic, if he had kindly taken the trouble to shew the unsoundness of my arguments, he would have secured my thanks, and at the same time done much good to the subject itself. I have thought again on the matter, and I still think that Chand's mention of the poets in his exordium was not all in chronological order. Bearing in my mind the arguments adduced in my former article, I am still more inclined to the opiuion by further circumstances. Śrî Harsha was a contemporary of Chand. The former flourished in the court of Jaya Chandra of Kanauj, and the latter in that of Prithirâj; and both the kings were cousins and contemporaneous. Râja Śekhara is my authority on this point. I deem his version to be worthy of credit, inasmuch as his account quite chimes in with the finishing lines with which Śrî Harsha concludes each of his works. Chand may have mentioned the names of Śesh-Nâg, Vishṇu, Vyâsa, Suka-Deva, in chronological order; but it does not seem that the names of Śrî Harsha and Kâlidâsa have been so placed. On the contrary, they appear to have been treated in order of merit, Śrî Harsha having the preference. For Kâlidâsa is known to the present generation only as a poet of high order. His thoughts are simple, chaste, and his images are quite natural and suggested by the subjects he describes. There is not a single passage in his works in which the reader has any trouble to make out the true sentiment of the poet. But the moderns have gone quite the contrary way. To them the darker the obscurity the greater the excellence. This is certainly a vitiated tendency of the modern unpoetic age. Śrî Harsha was not only a great poet, but also a profound philosopher. But his language is not so very easy to comprehend. A single passage of his has, or at least can be construed to have, several distinct concealed meanings, which, as might naturally be supposed, strike only a profound scholar who has a vast command over the language. The Naishadha Charita of Śrî Harsha is known among the modern critics as a poem of considerable merit. It is superior even to Kâlidâsâ's, Mâghâ's, or Bharavi's works;* and it is not unlikely that as a modern, carried away by his feelings, Chand may have given preference to Śrî Harsha and placed his name before that of Kâlidâsa. It is also probable that he did this to honour the contemporary author Śrî Harsha, who flourished in the court of the cousin of his patron Prithirâj, and who for the time being was the admired and adored of the whole country.

There is a controversy going on as to the true meaning of the passage जिनै सेतवंन्यौ तिभोजन प्रबन्धं. Permit me to add my interpretation of the passage. I take Setu-Bandhya and Bhoja Prabandha to be the names of two distinct works. Chand was mistaken in ascribing Bhoja Prabhandha to Kâlidâsa, and was probably led into the error by a few beautiful ślokas which the real author, Ballâḷa, puts in the mouth of Kâlidâsa when treating of him in the legend. As for Setu-Bandha, it probably refers to Setu-Kavya, a work which Kâlidâsa wrote in commemoration of the Nau Setu, or Bridge of Boats, erected by Pravara Sena over the Vetasta. Bâna wrote a passage in praise of this didactive poem in the Harsha Charita :—

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥
निर्गतासु नवा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
प्रीतिर्मधुरसार्द्रासु मंजरीष्विव जायते ॥

RÂM DÂS SEN.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—Though taking necessarily a deep interest in the discussion now going on in your columns between Drs. Hoernle and Pischel on the origin of the genitive form in the Modern Aryan languages,

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* उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
नैषधे पदलालित्यं माघे सन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ॥
उदिते नैषधे काव्ये क्व माघः क्व च भारविः ।

I have refrained from mixing in the fray, partly because silence seemed more becoming when two such authorities were speaking, and partly because in the forthcoming second volume of my Comparative Grammar I propose to give my views in detail, and do not wish to lessen the interest of my work by giving it out in driblets beforehand. I wish, however, to say one or two words which may perhaps not be unacceptable to the high contending parties.

I think Dr. Hoernle will agree to give up his derivation of the Gujarâti genitive from the very dubious form *kuṇṇo* when I remind him that in old Gujarâti the *no, nî,* &c. of modern times appears in its fuller form, *taṇo, taṇi,* and this leads us, in my opinion, to the adjectival termination of Sanskṛ. तन, as in *nûtana, purâtana, sanâtana.* The purely adjectival character of the modern genitive is fully admitted, and we should naturally expect that one or other of the recognized adjectival endings of Sanskṛit would be called into operation to meet the necessities of the case.

No one can deny, moreover, that Gujarâti is merely a development of that early form of Hindi which was spoken by the Chalukya Rajputs, and by them brought into Gujarât. We must, therefore, not seek for an independent origin for Gujarâti forms, but must trace them through Chand and the Śaurasenî; or rather through that form of Apabhransa or spoken Prakṛit of which Saurasenî is the literary correspondent.

It may also be added that old Gujarâti knows the genitive form in *kero,* so that if *no* be from *kuṇṇo* we have the anomaly of derivatives from two forms of *kṛita* in use side by side. It may not be of much use to the argument, but I cannot refrain from stating nevertheless that I cannot go so far as Dr. Hoernle, and the connection of these forms with *kṛita* seems to me to get more and more impossible the more we study the subject. If the principle be admitted that the modern genitive forms are old Sanskṛ. adjectivals, Marâṭhi *châ,* &c. finds a natural explanation in the Sanskṛ. त्य, as in *ihatya, tatratya,* &c., in all of which cases the affix has the sense of 'production.'

It is no answer to these derivations to object that *tya* and *tana* are of partial application, because affixes of wide use in the spoken languages may well have been restricted to special cases in the literary style; and, on the other hand, affixes which properly are applicable only to one or two words often in the mouths of the vulgar become extended to all words in the language; as in our own English, where the *s* of the plural of nouns and the *ed* of the preterite of verbs have now been extended to words to which they do not of right belong.

Cuttack, Dec. 14th, 1873. JOHN BEAMES.

A ŚUDRA CUSTOM IN KOIMBATOR.

The practice of a woman having a plurality of husbands among the Todâs of the Nilghiris, and the Nairs of the Malabar coast, is well known. The latter assign certain Puranic reasons for tolerating this custom, which, besides being barbarous, prevents the son from inheriting his father's property. Hence *Maroomackathayum*—nephew inheriting—is the established custom in the *Kerula* country. The lowest vassal with the goad, and the highest Raja with his sceptre, are both governed by this law of inheritance, said to have been given them by Paraśu Rama.

The following custom, which is prevalent among certain classes of Śudras, particularly the *Vellalahs,* in Koimbator, seems to have no such foundation, Vedic or Puranic, but must be attributed to mere ignorance and immorality.

A father marries a grown-up girl, 18 or 20 years old, to his son, a boy of seven or eight, after which he publicly lives with this daughter-in-law until the youth attains his majority, when his wife is made over to him, generally with half a dozen children. These children are taught to address him as their father. In several cases this woman becomes the common wife of the father and the son. She pays every respect due to her wedded husband and takes great care of him from the time of her marriage. The son, in his turn, hastens to celebrate the marriage of his acquired son, say about six years old, with the usual pomps, ceremonies, and *tumasha,* and keeps the bride himself as his father had done. She will of course be not less than 16 years old. His lawful wife is now left under the guardianship of his father. When the course of time renders it necessary, he makes his son's wife over to him with a pretty good number of *buchkitch,* not forgetting at the same time to initiate the eldest boy among them in the great traditionary rule. So on the practice is perpetuated from father to son, for generations.

You will thus often find a man twenty years old having a son twelve years old. You will also notice instances of one who has just attained manhood, and about to marry, having a daughter who has already attained her womanhood, the two marriages being celebrated in the same Moohurtum almost.

One of the principal objects of infant marriages was to effect such disagreeable unions, to enable the parents and relations to fulfil their long-cherished wishes and monetary transactions; for children will not object, but rejoice, to be married even to a mummy.

J. D.

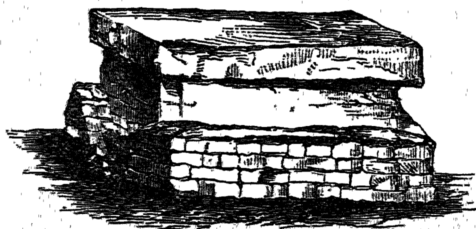
ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

THE loftiest elevations south of the Himalaya occur far down in the Peninsula, where, rather remarkably, the three highest and most important ranges, the Nilgiri, the Pălăni, and Shivarai Hills all lie within sight of one another: the former bounding the great plain of Coimbator on the north; the Pălăni, just within the Madura boundary, on the south; and the lesser range of all, the Shivarai, rising eastward in the district of Salem. It is worth noting respecting them archæologically, that while the Nilgiris possess a very remarkable group of pre-historic remains peculiar to themselves, and the Shivarai range has numbers of the underground chambered tombs or kistvaens, such as occur abundantly over all the southern districts and have been described by Col. Meadows Taylor as abounding in certain regions of Bombay, the Pălăni range, together with the mighty spine whence it branches, the High Anaimalai or Akka Mountain, possesses, so far as I am aware, no pre-historic relics whatsoever. The Nilgiri Hills are so much better known than the Pălăni, that it may be as well to say that the latter are nearly as extensive, and, though containing no summit quite equalling Doddabettâ, as high in general level, and exhibiting the same style of scenery and vegetation, as the Nilgiris; the climate, if anything, is somewhat superior. Several thriving and populous villages are scattered over the Pălăni, but there is no unique and striking race like the Toḍas, all the inhabitants being people from the plains. It were vain to speculate why this splendid range, with a delightful and equable climate, should have attracted none of the primitive peoples which have left their vestiges on the more stormy Nilgiri and Shivarai. The High Anaimalai is a colossal mountain mass trending north and south, whilst the Pălăni range runs out from eastward. A peak in its southern extension beyond the Travankor border has lately been ascertained to dethrone the Nilgiri Doddabeṭṭâ from its hitherto conceded supremacy, having been found to be more than 100 feet higher; this peak (named Anaimudi = Elephant village) is therefore the loftiest Indian point south of the Himâlaya; drawings of the scenery of these mountains may be seen in Dr. H. Cleghorn's volume *The Forests and Garden of Southern India*. Being swept by the full force of the south-west monsoon, they are wholly uninhabited and, as above intimated, destitute of any primitive remains.

But the last remarks do not hold true of the lower slopes of these mountains; for very high up, about 4,000 feet, on the approach to the Anaimalai plateau, a large-holed kistvaen exists in the jungle, and is delineated at page 292 of Dr. Cleghorn's work just referred to. Considerably under this point, on the lower slope above the Coimbator country, there are three or four villages (locally called păddies) of the half-savage jungle tribes, who dwell securely in the most feverish hill and forest tracts, in which neither Europeans nor natives of the plains live. These tribes, till some years ago, were virtually slaves of the villagers of the open country, who were hard taskmasters, exacting labour and forest produce at will; but now they are made free, and understand they are free, to dispose of their honey, wax, rattans, bark, &c., as they will. Their name—Malaiârâsar—'hill kings,' corrupted by Europeans into "Mulsers," points to the distant times when they occupied the plains whence the present Hindu race has driven them, and also hints the superstitious dread that tinges the contempt with which their masters regard them. Though very distinct from the Hindus of the plains, they present no very constant distinguishing style or cast of frame or visage. Often skinny and excessively meagre, they are sometimes tall and muscular, lips always thick and coarse, noses broad and flat, not much hair on the face, and—most distinctive and unfailing peculiarity—hair thick, bushy, and *fuzzy*, but not woolly; supporting, in this, Professor Huxley's theory of a common origin between them and the Australian blacks, whom they further resemble in their marvellous powers of following a trail. Their skins are of a sooty black, and light-coloured eyes, not unfrequent amongst lower castes on the plains, are never seen amongst them. I once observed a deformed hand amongst them, and one instance of legs shockingly twisted, which did not appear to have been the result of accident.

Many years ago I visited two or three of their villages on the lower slopes of the Ânaimalai range within the taluk of Udumălkoṭṭa, belonging to the district of Coimbator. Entering an inward curve of an outlying lesser ridge, a rough stony path led up to an undulating platform that stretched upward to the towering slopes of the great range. A long walk over this brought me to the first of the Malaiârâsar villages, named Pûndi, between 2,000 and 3,000 feet above the sea. It was an ugly collection of huts in an ugly and very feverish-looking spot—a deep hollow whence nothing could be seen, filled with scrub jungle. I resolved, however, to venture sleeping there that night on a rising ground above, and next morning started eastward along the flanks of the mountain to another village. After proceeding four or five miles over wooded platforms seamed with ravines, I crossed a high ridge, the top of which was open, rough, and rocky, and on a flat surface stood two large kistvaens close together, presenting some unusual peculiarities. The largest was much dilapidated, of oblong form, lying east and west; the centre consisted of a cist of huge rough slabs covered by an immense overlapping capstone, resembling so far the cists so common on the plains both in Madras and Bombay; but whereas the latter, when not laid bare by time and weather, are always covered by heaps of loose stones, this was enclosed for half its height by a low wall of *squared* stones, *built together*, and touching the sides of the kistvaen: the wall was perfect



on the north side, but more or less crumbled on the other sides. Not far from it was another kistvaen or cairn covered with loose heaped stones and evidently undisturbed; and near it three or four smaller open-sided kistvaens or cromlechs, very ruinous; ferns were growing in them. I should much like to have opened and explored both the walled-in and the heaped-over kistvaens, but had neither time nor means of moving the stones and slabs. I was never able to visit the spot again; they will, however, wait for any archæologist who, properly provided, will essay the mountain path between Pûndi and Kurumalai villages. The peculiarity, unique so far as I know, of the first described kistvaen, lay in the enclosing wall of square stones, nowise resembling or suggesting a circle of stones. The nearest approach is the extraordinary and characteristic tombs on the Nilgiris, consisting of circular walls of rough stones (vide Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, page 473), analogous to which are some North African forms (*ibid.* page 398), but these are circular, and never enclose a dolmen or kistvaen; moreover, the Pûndi example, being built upon a surface of rock, must always have been free-standing, but kistvaens on the plains were, originally at least, always subterranean. The Malaiârâsars said that similar tombs occurred in groups of two or three in several places in the jungle: an explorer may probably meet with interesting finds there. Their existence may seem strange in these difficult fever-haunted mountain tracts, when their builders possessed the wide fertile plains beneath which are so thickly sprinkled with their tombs, unless it be supposed they were the last raised after the primitive race had been driven to the hilly fastnesses by alien invaders.

Descending from the ridge and proceeding onward for three or four miles, I came to another village called Kurumalai, larger and better built and situated than Pûndi. Many women and children were scattered about it who had never seen a European before, and fled headlong into the bushes, from which they presently stole peeping, like wild deer. A fine stream from the high ranges above passed by the village and watered a small patch of rice cultivation in which stood another large kistvaen with side-slabs and capstone perfect. Passing on and following the stream, I came to the brink of an immense basin into which the water fell in a succession of rapids, and I also descended by a most precipitous path. Arrived at the bottom and crossing a low ridge, I came suddenly to the top of a very deep and abrupt lower valley which ran from the plains into the hills, like a bay, closed at the end and on each side by high steep rocky walls, feathered with trees. A valley of this sort is called in Tamil "combê"; whether there is any connection with the Eng-

lish terminations *combe*, *coomb*, signifying a valley (Ilfracombe, Edgcombe, &c.) and the Welsh *cwm*, philologists may consider. In this valley stood Trimurti Kovil, *i.e.* temple, which I was anxious to examine, temples to the Trimurti being far from common: but here the Trimurti itself was the temple and a remarkable object. Where the Kurumalai stream found its way to the bottom of the valley, stood several large rocks and boulders, in front of which arose one huge broad obeliskal boulder about 40 feet high, and upon its side, at two-thirds of its height, there was indistinctly engraved the outline of a personage sitting with hands and feet folded in front, and wearing a tall mitre; on each side of it was another figure, very indistinct and smaller than the central; but the whole group was not in a perpendicular, but a horizontal position, with heads to the east; the outlines were all much worn and seemed very old, and being so high up, could only with difficulty be discerned. Beneath, at the bottom of the boulder, there was a step, and over it an emblem I could not make out, engraved on the rock, and copiously smeared with oil. A canopy covered with flowers, gilt, and filagree was raised over the step and emblem. None but a Brahman might approach it closely. A ceremony is held there every Sunday, and the rocky ground in front is covered with the graven prints and outlines of feet. Hard by there is a large stone *chattram* supported on eight rows of pillars, built by a Paligar in old days; the stream bathes the bottom of one side of the Trimurti Rock, and a rivulet was led from it by a brick channel under the first step of the chattram, in front of which stood a handsome stone pillar, ornamented with tasteful devices, and surrounding it in a circle were eight stone images with their faces turned inwards; some fine *champaca* and other flowering trees stood near, and on their branches were hung many dozens of native shoes or sandals, some old and weather-worn, some quite new, and some of Brobdingnagian dimensions, evidently made for the occasion; many, too, with latchets elaborately worked and ornamented: these had been presented by pilgrims to the spot. The people had very vague ideas respecting the figures engraved on the boulder, and seemed uncertain whether they denoted three gods or one. The group certainly bears some resemblance to the ordinary representation of Buddha seated between two attendants, were it possible to suppose it having been appropriated wholesale by the Brahmans; and I know of another boulder on a wide desolate plain a few miles from Trichinapâlli bearing an entablature on which a seated Buddha with attendants is clearly cut, but this has no worship or observances whatsoever paid it. There can be no wilder and more picturesque spot than the narrow valley in which the Trimurti stands. Above the rocky walls that hem it closely in, the gigantic spires and peaks of granite that crown the High Anamalai shoot up grandly into the sky, and the spot is the water-shed of the whole Peninsula, for the stream that issues from the valley, after feeding several large tanks on the plain, joins the Palghâṭ river that flows through Malabar to the western sea at Ponani, whilst the river next succeeding it, 10 miles to the east, is an affluent of the Kâvêri, which runs to the Bay of Bengal.

I may add that Trimurṭi Kovil, and the Kurumalai and the Pûndi villages are laid down on sheet 62 of the Great Trigonometrical Survey Map of India;* but the villages are shifting, and when I visited them were situated much further back amongst the hills than the map would make them.

9, *Randolph Crescent, Maida Vale,*
November, 1873.

P.S.—I take this opportunity to remark, with reference to the five- and four-celled open-sided sculptured kistvaens mentioned in my "Memoranda on Nilgiri Antiquities," vol. II., p. 275, of the *Indian Antiquary*, that Major W. Ross King, in a paper on "The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills," printed in No. 1 of the *Journal of Anthropology*, mentions (at page 43) having found a beautiful and perfect two-celled kistvaen in very dense jungle at the head of the Koṭagiri Pass. "It consisted of several large vertical slabs, forming three sides of an oblong square, and having others laid horizontally on the top as a roof. It was divided by a central slab into two cells; the whole interior, that is to say, the inner face of each slab being covered over with carving." Here we have a two-celled sculptured kistvaen. Several single-celled are known, and I have mentioned

* Trimurti Kovil in N. Lat. 10° 28′, E. Long. 77° 13′; Kurumalai in Lat. 10° 26′, E. Long. 77° 11′; and Pûndi in Lat. 10° 27′, E. Long. 77° 9′.—ED.

four- and five-celled examples. Three-celled examples to complete the series may be presumed to exist, and may perhaps be heard of in Mr. Breeks's book. Cells more numerous than five can hardly be looked for. Major Ross King thinks these carved stones belong to the Koṭas, "seeing that they are the only hill-people acquainted with the use of tools;" but in this view I am, for many reasons, unable to concur.

AN ARABIC TALISMANIC CUP, USED CHIEFLY IN CASES OF PARTURITION.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

This cup, apparently of brass, but said to consist of a mixture of all metals, is a talismanic vessel from which pure water is to be sipped by a person in sickness or even in the agony of death; but the chief use it is put to, is to procure a happy delivery in childbirth. The cup is also at present, although not as much as formerly, in great demand, and is said to be used not only by Hindu, Muslim, and Parsi, but also by European women in Bombay, and to be a very effective talisman, inasmuch as all the confinements where it has been used are stated to have been happy ones. The present owner of this cup, Mr. Bahmanji Jehangir Lamna, who kindly allowed me to make drawings of it, and at whose house in Girgam, Bombay, it may be seen, informs me that his grandfather, Mr. Dadabhai Jijibhai Lamna, who traded to the Persian Gulf, brought it thence as part-payment of a large sum of money due to him by a Persian merchant who had become insolvent, and among whose assets this cup had been valued at a fabulous price on account of its miraculous efficacy, and that ever since then, some fifty years ago, it had remained in the Lamna family.

As the interior is extremely crowded with writing, I have given no facsimile of it here, but only of the exterior one, which is in some respects the most interesting since it contains a beautiful circular inscription in large characters, and a very curious representation of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, each of which is enclosed in a separate medal. I here give, however, the description of the concave side:—

The smallest circle contains the words علي يا محمد four times and is the invocation:— "A'ly! O Muhammad!" The circle adjoining this has four compartments with the following four inscriptions:—

كل هم و غم سنجلي * بتولايتك * يا علي يا علي
يا علي * ناعلک [ناد علي for] مظهر العجايب
تجده عونا لک فی النوايب *

"Every care and grief will disperse; under thy patronage, O A'ly, O A'ly, O A'ly; invoke A'ly the manifester of wonders; thou wilt find him an aid to thee in calamities."

There are twelve circles which intersect each other in such a manner as to form twelve almond-shaped segments, and also twelve intermediate compartments. The segments are to be read first, and the intermediate compartments afterwards; the former consist of a portion of the Surah *Ya sin* which it is customary to read to persons in the agony of death, as follows:—

1.

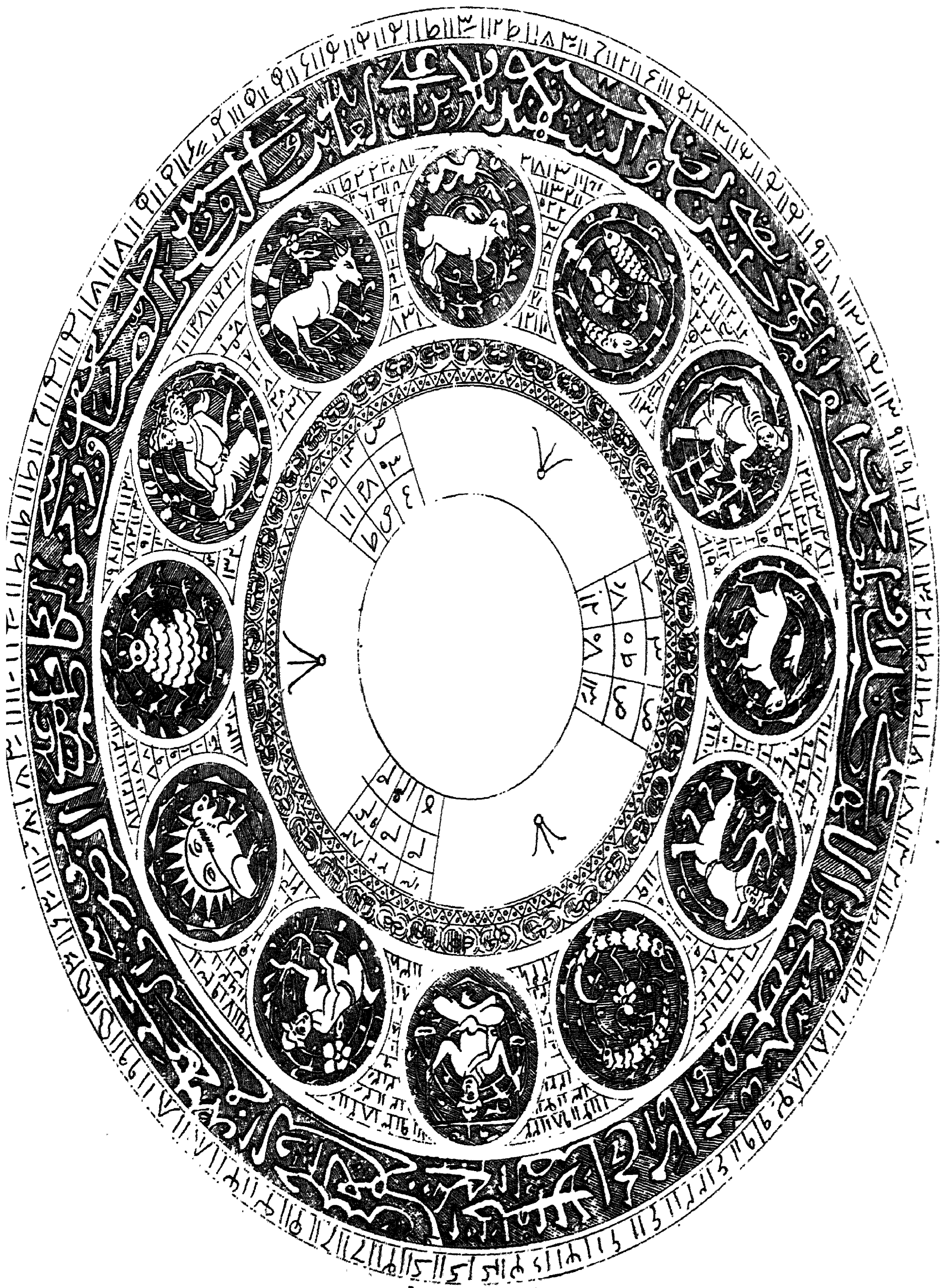
بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ ــ يٰسٓ وَالْقُرْاٰنِ الْحَكِيمِ
اِنَّکَ لَمِنَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ عَلٰی صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ تَنْزِيلَ
الْعَزِيزِ الرَّحِيمِ لِتُنْذِرَ قَوْماً مَا اُنْذِرَ آبَآؤهُمْ فَهُمْ
غَافِلُونَ لَقَدْ حَقَّ الْقَوْلُ عَلٰی اَكْثَرِهِمْ فَهُمْ لَا يُوْمِنُونَ
اِنَّا جَعَلْنَا فِی

"In the name of God the merciful, the clement! Ya sin! † And by the wise Qorân! Verily thou art one of the messengers on the straight way! This is a revelation from the mighty, the merciful [God]; that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and they are careless. Sentence has justly been

* This word is derived from ولی it being an article of the Shiah Faith that "A'ly is the *vely* of God," *i.e.* chief director of Eslâm on the part of Allah.

† The meaning of the two letters *Ya Sin* in this place, as well as of others prefixed to various Surahs of the Qorân, is mysterious and has not been satisfactorily explained by any one.—On the cup the vocalization is entirely omitted, but I give all the marks for every word taken from the Qorân.

Convex Side of an Arabic Talismanic Cup.



Drawn by E. Rehatsek.

pronounced against the greater part of them, and they do not believe. We have placed—

2.

اعناقهم اغلالا فهي الى الآذقان فهم مقمحون

وجعلنا من بين ايديهم سدا ومن خلفهم سدا

فاغشيناهم فهم لايبصرون وسواء عليهم اانذرتهم

ام لم تنذرهم لايومنون انما تنذر من اتبع الذكر

وخشي

"yokes on their necks up to their chins, so that their heads are forced up; and we have placed a bar before and a bar behind them, so that they are covered and cannot see. It is the same to them whether thou warn them or not, they do not believe. But warn thou those who follow the admonition and fear—

3.

الرحمن بالغيب فبشره بمغفرة واجر كريم انا

نحن نحيي الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و آثارهم

وكل شيء احصيناه في إمام مبين واضرب لهم

مثلا اصحاب القرية اذ جاءها المرسلون اذ

ارسلنا اليهم اثنين فكذبوهما

"the Merciful in secret. Accordingly announce to him the glad tidings of pardon, and a noble reward. Verily we resuscitate the dead, and write down whatever they have done and the memorials they have left; we have enumerated everything in a plain register. Propound to them the example of the inhabitants of the town [of Antioch] when the messengers [of Jesus] came to it; when we sent two to them, and they accused them of falsehood.

4.

فعززنا بثالث فقالوا انا اليكم مرسلون قالوا

ما انتم الا بشر مثلنا و ما انزل الرحمن من شيء

ان انتم الا تكذبون قالوا [ربنا يعلم انا اليكم

لمرسلون [words omitted on the cup] و ما علينا

الى [الا for] البلاغ المبين قالوا انا تطيرنا بكم

لئن لم تنتهوا لنرجمنكم

"Wherefore we strengthened them with a third, and they said:—Verily we are sent unto you. But they replied:—Ye are but men like ourselves, and the Merciful has sent down nothing; ye only lie. They rejoined:—[Our Lord knoweth that we are sent to you,] and our duty is only plain speaking. They [of Antioch] said:—We apprehend only evil from you, and if you do not cease we shall stone you.

5.

وليمسنكم منا عذاب اليم قالوا طائركم معكم

ائن ذكرتم انك [بل for] انتم قوم مسرفون

وجاء من اقصى المدينة رجل يسعى قال يا

قوم اتبعوا المرسلين اتبعوا من لا يسالكم عليه

[عليه not in our copies] اجرا وهم مهتدون

"And a grievous punishment will touch you from our part. They replied: Your evil suspicion will abide with your own selves; although you have been admonished, you are nevertheless a transgressing people. Then came from the extreme part of the city a man running and said:—O people! Follow the messengers [*i.e.* apostles]. Follow him who asketh no reward! And these are guided!

6.

وما لي لا اعبد الذي فطرني و اليه ترجعون

ا اتخذ من دونه آلهة ان يردن الرحمن بضر

لا تغن عني شفاعتهم شيا ولا ينقذون اني اذا

لفی ضلال مبین انی آمنت بربکم فاسمعون قیل
ادخل الجنة قال یا لیت قومی یعلمون

"What is the matter with me that I should not worship Him who created me? And unto Him you must return! Shall I take deities besides Him? If the Merciful afflicts me with calamity, their intercession will be of no avail, nor can they deliver me; in that case I should be in manifest aberration! Verily I believe in your Lord; listen therefore to me.—It was said:—Enter paradise! He said:—Oh, would that my people knew—

7.

بما غفرلی ربی وجعلنی من المکرمین وما انزلنا
علی قومه من بعده من جند من السماء وما کنا
منزلین ان کانت الا صیحة واحدة فاذا هم
خامدون یا حسرة علی العباد ما یاتیهم من رسول
الا کانوا به یستهزون الم یروا کم اهلکنا قبلهم من

"how much my Lord has pardoned me, and how He has placed me among those who are honoured! And we have not sent down upon his people, after him [*i.e.* after his murder], an army from heaven; we sent down nothing! But there was only one yell, and lo! they became dead!—Oh, the wretched condition of men! No messenger came to them but they derided him! Have they not perceived how many we destroyed of former—

8.

القرون انهم الیهم لا یرجعون و ان کل لما
جمیع لدینا محضرون و آیة لهم الارض المیتة
احییناها واخرجنا منها حبا فمنه یاکلون وجعلنا
فیها جنات من نخیل و اعناب و فجرنا فیها من
العیون لیاکلوا من ثمره وما

"generations? Verily they shall not return unto them, but all shall be present before us. One sign [of the resurrection] unto them is the dead earth; we fertilize it and produce from it grain, some of which they eat; we place therein palm-groves and vineyards, causing springs to gush forth in the same, that they may eat of the fruits thereof, and of what—

9.

عملته ایدیهم افلا یشکرون سبحان الذی
خلق الازواج کلها مما تنبت الارض ومن انفسهم
و مما لا یعلمون و آیة لهم اللیل نسلخ منه النهار
فاذا هم مظلمون و الشمس تجری لمستقر لها
ذلک تقدیر العزیز

"their hands have wrought. Will they not therefore be grateful? Praise be unto Him who created all the varieties of plants which the earth produceth, as well as of mankind, and of what they are not aware. And a sign unto them is the night, wherefrom we withdraw the light, and lo! they are in darkness! And the sun hasteth to his station. This is the decree of the Migh-

10.

یز العلیم والقمر قدرناه منازل حتی عاد
کالعرجون القدیم لا الشمس ینبغی لها ان تدرک
القمر و لا اللیل سابق النهار وکل فی فلک یسبحون
و آیة لهم انا حملنا ذریتهم فی الفلک

"ty, the Wise. And for the moon we decreed mansions, until it returneth like a withered old palm-branch. The sun must not overtake the moon, nor the night outstrip the day, but all move in their separate spheres. And it is a sign unto them that we carried their offspring in the ark—

11.

المشحون و خلقنا لهم من مثله ما یرکبون و ان نشا

نغرقهم فلا صريخ لهم ولا هم ينقذون الا رحمة
منا و متاعا الى حين و اذا قيل لهم اتقوا
ما بين ايديكم و ما خلفكم لعلكم ترحمون و

"filled; and we created for them similar conveyances. Had we so willed it, we might have drowned them, without any one to aid them; nor are they delivered except by mercy from us, and to enjoy life for a season. And when it is said unto them: Fear for your present and your past [transgressions], that perchance you may obtain mercy, and—.

12.

ما تاتيهم من آية من آيات ربهم الا كانوا عنها
معرضين و اذا قيل لهم انفقوا مما رزقكم الله
قال الذين كفروا للذين آمنوا انطعم من لو يشآء
الله اطعمه ان انتم الا فى ضلال [omitted مبين]

"[they turn aside], thou bringest not to them a sign of the signs of their Lord but they turn away from the same. And when it is said unto them:—Give alms of that which God hath bestowed on you, the unbelievers say unto those who have believed:—Shall we feed him whom God can feed if He pleaseth? Verily ye are in no other than in an [evident] error."

Here the twelve almond-shaped segments terminate, and it is curious how the above forty-seven verses of the Surah *Yasin* have been crammed into them. Six segments between those just given are also filled with writing in such a manner as to constitute together with them six complete circles. These compartments are not filled with verses taken entirely from the Qorân, but mostly contain phrases on the mercy, power, and beneficence of God. Of these passages, the one which contains the greatest portion of Qorânic sentences is that between the segments 12 and 1; it begins after a little preamble of the writer's own composition with part of XX. 3, and fills the space, ending with the sixth verse as follows:—

خلق الارض والسموات العلى الرحمن على
العرش استوى له ما فى السموات وما فى الارض
و ما بينهما و ما تحت الثرى و ان تجهر بالقول
فانه يعلم السر و اخفى

"He created the earth and the lofty heavens. The Merciful sitteth on his throne! His is whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and whatsoever is between the two, and whatsoever is beneath the earth. Though you may speak loud, He knoweth that which is secret, and what is more hidden."

The next piece begins with the words الله لا اله الا هو له الاسما الحسنى "God! There is no deity except Him! He has beautiful names!" The middle portions of these compartments are so extremely narrow that all the words are broken into pieces, and the whole writing appears to be intended merely to fill out the vacant spaces. This is certainly the case with the pretended talismanic writing, which contains scarcely any letters of the alphabet, and merely the arithmetical numbers ٢, ٣, ١, ٨, repeated many times; and in this way the remaining six segments are filled up. A few of these symbols are also placed beneath each circle and between the small triangular spaces above; in each of which is also inscribed the word حفظ *guarding*, *memorizing*, &c.,' or حفظة (pl. of حافظ *keeper*, *guardian*, also one who knows the Qorân by heart) *guardian angels*. After this nothing more occurs on the concave side of the cup except nine verses of the forty-eighth Surah, crammed very closely in a circular inscription all round the border as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم — انا فتحنا لك فتحا
مبينا ليغفر لك الله ما تقدم من ذنبك و ما تاخر
و يتم نعمته عليك ويهديك صراطا مستقيما وينصرك
الله نصرا عزيزا هو الذى انزل السكينة فى
[قلوب omitted] المومنين ليذدادوا [ليزدادوا for]

إيمانا مع إيمانهم و لله جنود السموات و الارض
و كان الله عليما حكيما ليدخل المومنين و المومنات
جنات تجري من تحتها الانهار خالدين فيها و يكفر
عنهم سياتهم و كان ذلك عند الله فوزا عظيما
ويعذب المنافقين والمنافقات والمشركين والمشركات
الظانين بالله ظن السوء عليهم دائرة السوء و غضب
الله عليهم و لعنهم و اعد لهم جهنم و ساءت مصيرا
و لله جنود السموات و الارض و كان الله عزيزا
حكيما انا ارسلناك شاهدا و مبشرا و نذيرا ولتومنوا
بالله [ورسوله omitted] و تعزروه و توقروه و تسبحوه
بكرة و اصيلا

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement! Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory, that God may forgive thee thy past and thy future sins, and may complete His favour on thee and direct thee on the right way, and that God may assist thee with a glorious assistance. It is He who hath sent down tranquillity into the hearts of Believers, to increase their Faith—and God's are the hosts of heaven and of earth, and God is knowing and wise—that He may lead the male and female Believers into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever, and may expiate their evil deeds from them—and this will be great felicity with God; and that he may punish the male and female hypocrites, with the male and female polytheists, who conceive an evil idea of God. They shall experience a turn of ill fortune; and God shall be angry with them, and shall curse them, and hath prepared hell for them, and an ill journey will it be! God's are the hosts of heaven and of earth; and God is Mighty! Wise! Verily we have sent thee as a witness and preacher of glad tidings, and a warner that they may believe in God [and his apostle*], and may assist him, and revere him, and praise him morning and evening."

The outside of the cup† is ornamented on the bottom with three meaningless magic squares containing a few arithmetical numbers and letters of the alphabet. The circle on the border is also a senseless repetition of so-called talismanic symbols consisting of a number of letters, to impose on ignorant persons, just like the pretended writing between the twelve signs of the zodiac, which are interesting. The only writing consists in the enumeration of the Emâms, as follows :—

اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى و على المرتضى
و حسن الرضا و حسين الشهيد بكربلا و على زين
العابدين و محمد الباقر و جعفر الصادق و موسى
الكاظم و على بن موسى الرضا و محمد بن على
التقى و حسن النقى و العسكرى الخلف الصالح
الامام محمد المهدى

"O God! bless Muḥammad the chosen, A'ly the approved and Ḥasan al-reẓâ, and Ḥusayn the martyr of Karbella, and A'ly Zain-al-'aâbedyn, and Muḥammad al-bâker and J'afer al-ṣâdeḳ, and Mûsa al-Kâẓem and A'ly Ben Mûsa al-reẓa and Muḥammad Ben A'ly al-taḳy and Hasan al-naḳy and Al-'askary the pious descendant [and] Emâm Muḥammad the Mohdy."

Here the twelve Emâms, the first of whom is A'ly, and the last the Mohdy, upon whom the writer invokes the blessing of God, are all enumerated, but not according to the universal belief towards the end of the list; as some of them have not yet made their appearance in this world, and the last is to be the harbinger of the destruction thereof. This belief in the twelve Emâms, *i.e.* the Asna-ashar Emamite religion, is now dominant in Persia, and has been so since the reign of Shah Abbas the Great. According to this religion the twelve Emâms are saints of the first degree after the prophets of the first order, and especially after Muḥammad; they are all معصوم 'protected,' innocent, and incapable of committing sin. This sect of Shiahs is also prevalent throughout India.

* Omitted on the cup.

† See accompanying plate.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE KINGDOM OF KÂNAUJ AND GUJARÂT, WITH REMARKS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RÂTHOR POWER IN MÂRWÂR.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

Colonel Tod thus describes* the limits of the ancient kingdom of Kânauj :—

"The power of Kânauj extended north to the foot of the Snowy Mountains; eastward to Kâśi (Benares); and across the Chambal to the lands of the Chandail (now Bundelkhand); on the south its possessions came in contact with Mewâr."

The early Arabian geographers, however, all make the frontier of Kânauj conterminous with Sindh, and Al Masudi styles the Kânauj monarch one of the kings of Sindh. The Persian historians of Gujarât describe the Kânauj sovereigns as lords paramount of Gujarât, and relate that they levied tribute from that province. Wanrâj Châwaḍâ is represented by them as a leader of banditti who intercepted the Kânauj tribute. The eloquent author of the *Râs Mâlâ*, † following the *Ratan Mâlâ*, etc., regards Kalyân as the seat of the lords paramount of Gujarât, and represents that it was the Kalyân tribute which Wanrâj intercepted. As Kalyân was a Solankhi principality, it would follow, if this account be received as correct, that the Solankhis, rather than the Kânaujia Râthors, were the feudal suzerains of Gujarât. With the exception perhaps of the Wâghelas (and this is very doubtful), there is not a single holding, that I am aware of, in Gujarât, held by Solankhis anterior to the 10th century of the Saṁvat era, bestowed by kings of Kalyân; whereas I can point out, at all events one holding in Gujarât, bestowed in the first half of the 10th century, direct from the throne of Kânauj. The holding in question is Etâ under Tharâd, which was bestowed in Sâśan on the ancestors of the present holders, Chibdia Brâhmans, by Śrîpat Râthor on his ascending the throne of Kânauj in Saṁvat 936, Mâgsar Sudh 5th, Thursday. On this occasion Śrîpat Râthor feasted the eighty-four tribes of Brâhmans, and bestowed sixteen villages in Sâśan on the sixteen branches of the Chibdia Brâhmans. All these sixteen villages so bestowed in Sâśan are situated in N. Gujarât. They are as follows:—1. Etâ. 2. Tetarwâ. 3. Râwali or Kaliânpurâ. 4. Khâsru. 5. Bhâtâsnu. 6. Kadol. 7. Chibdiâsru. 8. Radkâ. 9. Kawot. 10. Itoidi. 11. Dhol. 12. Kumbhârkâ. 13. Jejhru. 14. Thikriu. 15. Mâtar or Râmpurâ. 16. Chorilu or Lâlpurâ. Of these sixteen villages, Khâsru, Râdkâ, Kawot, Itoidi, Dhol, Jejhru, and Thikriu are now waste, but Etâ is still held by the descendants of the original grantee, Shedevrakhi. The Bhâtâs also still hold land in Bhâtâsnu. If we accept Saṁvat 936 as correct—and there seems no reason to doubt it—this grant was conferred direct by the crown of Kânauj as late as the reign of Śrî Bhuyad of the Châwaḍâ line of the Paṭan kings, and this would apparently go far to establish the fact that so late even as the 10th century of the Saṁvat era the crown of Kânauj exercised considerable influence in Gujarât. That this should be so, does not appear to me extraordinary. However local historians may magnify the power of the Châwaḍâ kings, the dynasty was only established in Saṁ. 802, so that in 134 years only we need not be surprised at finding the power of the Paṭan sovereigns, and the extent of their dominions, very much less than what we find them to have attained under Kumâr Pâl in the 13th century. After the collapse of the kingdom of Kânauj in A.D. 1193, and the death of the last monarch, Jeychand, Tod says‡ that his nephew Shiyoji established himself in Mârwâr. In another place he styles Shiyoji the son of the last monarch of Kânauj, and again in another place Shiyoji is described as the grandson of the last monarch of Kânauj. Colonel Tod had access to records of undoubted authority; where therefore he is contradictory, I may perhaps be excused if I relate the legends that have come to my knowledge as to the establishment of the Râthor power. Forbes, I may here mention, is equally vague§ regarding the date of Shiyoji. Following the *Dwyashray*, etc., he makes him contemporaneous with Mulrâj Solankhi; whereas in another place‖ he styles Shiyoji the reputed son of Jeychand. Now as Mulrâj reigned from Saṁ.

* See Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II. p. 2. † See vol. I. p. 81. ‡ See vol. II. p. 10.
§ *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 60. ‖ *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. p. 305.

998 to Sam̃. 1053, whereas the death of Jeychand was about A.D. 1193 or Sam̃. 1249, these two accounts are manifestly contradictory. Neither Tod nor Forbes (unless the bardic verses quoted in the *Rás Málá*, p. 60, vol. I., be considered to point out the name) gives the name of Shiyoji's father; and though Tod alludes to the acquisition of Pâli, my account differs somewhat from his, and is as follows :—

In Sam̃vat 1249, Muhammad Ghori defeated Srî Jeychand of Kânauj. Jeychand himself, while attempting to escape, was drowned in the Ganges. This battle is commemorated by the bards in the following stanzas, the last three lines of which are somewhat obscure :—

मळ्या हींदु दोवळा मळा हेमर गेमर दोअ गढ
गोरी महमद पादशा जेचंद भडीया गंगारेत्रठ
कटका लशकर कमधज तणा कटके कनोजो राजा
शीश तो ईशे संगरीयो तन तन टुंट गई त्वचा
पादशाह एपळ ओचरे येतत्र जुधमाजी मरण
उपाड शीस अपछर ग्रहे पड्यो केम लाधे राव रण.

Hindus (and Muhammadans) met on either side; horses and elephants were opposed to each other like ramparts.
The Ghori Pâdshâh Muhammad and Jeychand fought with each other on the banks of the Ganges.
The army of the Kamdhaj and King of Kânauj was broken in pieces.
The head was taken possession of by Śiva, and the skin of the body was lacerated.*
At that moment said the Pâdshâh, "After so great a battle has the king fallen."
"The Apsaras have carried away the head, how then should the Rao be found lying on the battle-field?"

After this defeat the Rânis of Jeychand became *satis*, but his son and his followers found shelter in the Badri Nârâyaṇ mountains, where they lived the life of outlaws. Jeychand's son (whose name is not mentioned in this tradition) had a son named Salkhoji, a warlike youth ever foremost in forays and predatory incursions into the territory of the Yavan. This Salkhoji and his Râni, finding they could not establish themselves in the vicinity of their ancient seat, determined to perform a pilgrimage to Dwârkâ, in hopes that the deity might be propitious and grant them a holding in distant Mârwâr, then held by the Parihâr, Gohel, Parmâr, Dâbhi, and other Râjput clans in common with Bhils, Mers, Minas, and others. On their way to Dwârkâ they halted for a few days at the village of Sanli, then subordinate to Khergaḍh, the seat of the Dâbhis and Gohels, between whom it was equally divided. Khergaḍh was situated on the Luni river, on the west of the Bhâtipâ or Bhâti country, and close to the Sindh and Gujarât frontier. Salkhoji and his Râni and servants alighted and passed the night near Sanli. Now it so happened that there was a man-eating tiger who infested the adjacent jungle, and from his ravages the population of Sanli had suffered severely, so much so that the Gohels and Dâbhis made a proclamation that whosoever would slay the tiger should receive the village of Sanli in *inâm*. The villagers warned Salkhoji that, unless he came within the village enclosure, some of his party would at night infallibly fall a prey to the tiger: Salkhoji, however, did not heed their warnings, but, staying awake all night, slew the tiger. In the morning he was about to continue his march, but the villagers would not suffer him to proceed until they had sent news to the Darbâr of the death of the tiger. They then informed him of the proclamation, and told him that they had sent the news to Khergaḍh. The Chiefs of Khergaḍh came and formally granted to him the village of Sanli. Salkhoji, having arranged matters at Sanli, proceeded on his pilgrimage to Dwârkâ. His Râni, who was with child, as her days drew near, returned from Dwârkâ to Sanli and there gave birth to a son named Shiyoji. When Shiyoji was about four months old, Salkhoji, with his Râni and family, returned to the Badri Nârâyaṇ mountains and continued his predatory incursions. In Salkhoji's time Pâli was governed by a Bhil chief; this chief's son, named Jâwâ, while walking through the city of Pâli beheld and became enamoured of a beautiful Brâhmani girl and determined to marry her. The Râja, hearing of this, endeavoured to dissuade his son, who, however, would not forego his purpose: the Râja therefore sent for the Brâhman and told him of his son's wish. The Brâhman was much vexed, but, seeing that it

* The head here may mean Jeychand, and the skin of the body the army.

would not be politic for him to oppose his chief, simulated assent, while inwardly resolving to adopt every artifice to avoid so distasteful a match, and determining to kill his wife and daughter and himself as a last resource rather than submit to such an indignity. He therefore, on pretence of making a pilgrimage, started from Pâli and went to Delhi, and besought the Viceroy of the Ghori Pâdshâh to help him. He discovered, however, to his disappointment, that the Viceroy and the Pâli Râja were on good terms, and that therefore he could not expect help from thence. He was therefore about to return without effecting his object, when he heard that Salkhoji Râthor had struck a city and levied a fine: he therefore inquired who the Râthor was, and when he ascertained that it was Salkhoji the Kuṅwar of Kânauj, and that he was in command of a well-equipped band, he went to the Badri Nârâyaṇ mountains and told all his story to Salkhoji, promising him, in return for his aid, to seat him on the *gâdi* of Pâli. Salkhoji gladly assented: he told the Brâhman to fix the day for the marriage, and to make a large undermined enclosure and to fill the mines with gunpowder, promising him that he and his band would come and aid him on the day of the marriage, and not suffer his daughter to marry the Bhil. The Brâhman now returned to Pâli, and fixed a day for the marriage, and also prepared a separate place for Salkhoji and his men, saying that he was expecting his relatives from Hindustân. All the Brâhmans now consulted together, and resolved that it would not be well to let the neighbouring Bhil chieftains escape, but that the best course would be to involve them all in one common ruin. They therefore all went to the Râja of Pâli and said: "Your son is about to mary this Brâhman's daughter; we also will give our daughters in marriage to the twenty-three other Bhil chieftains of the neighbourhood." The Râja was pleased at this, and invited the neighbouring chieftains. When the day for the marriages drew near, all the Bhil chieftains, together with the Pâli Râja and his son, assembled in the newly made undermined enclosure at Pâli. Salkhoji Râthor and his son Shiyoji, with their men, arrived also, and alighted in the enclosure specially made for them. The Brâhmans then commenced the marriage ceremonies, and plied the Bhil chieftains and their followers with liquor, and when all were careless from the effects of drink they sprang the mine, while Salkhoji and his Râthors attacked any of their followers who were outside. The stratagem proved entirely successful, and not a man of the Bhils escaped. In this way was the Râthor sway first established in Western Mârwâr. Salkhoji now established himself at Pâli. At this time, as mentioned above, Khergaḍh was the seat of government of the Dâbhis and Gohels. The Dâbhis were desirous to obtain the sole possession of the kingdom, and with this idea made overtures to Salkhoji and proposed that they should give a feast to the Gohels, and that then Salkhoji and his band should fall on the Gohels and kill them. Salkhoji agreed, and the Dâbhis proposed to the Gohels to settle certain mutual differences by amicable agreement, and suggested that the tribes should feast together and drink *kasumbâ* in token of reconciliation. The Gohels agreeing, a day was fixed, and it was arranged that the Gohels should sit on the right of the table, and the Dâbhis on the left. Salkhoji was informed of this, and instructed to kill those only who sat on the right hand. When, however, the tribes met and had eaten and drunken, Salkhoji considered that it would be better for him to enjoy a thornless râj, and, entering at the head of his Râthors, attacked both sides indiscriminately. Both Gohels and Dâbhis made as brave a defence as was possible, but, taken as they were at a disadvantage, were unable to withstand the impetuous onslaught of the Râthors. The *Pâtwi Kuṅwar* of the Gohels, Sejakji, fell covered with wounds, but was miraculously carried off by an eagle and set down in Jhâlâwâr, where his wounds were dressed and he recovered: shortly afterwards he obtained the favour of the Chuḍâsamâ Râ of Junâgaḍh (then called Jirangaḍh) and obtained a grant of some villages. One of the Dâbhi chiefs, who contrived to escape from the massacre, established himself at Bhinmâl, afterwards a possession of the Songarhas of Jhâlor. After the death of Salkhoji, Shiyoji succeeded him. Shiyoji enlarged the possessions of the Râthors, but his most famous exploit was his encounter with the celebrated Lâkhâ Phulâni whom he slew at Âtkoṭ (now called Âdkoṭ), in Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Shiyoji is said to have fought

with Lâkhâ on account of an old feud, and also at the instigation of the king of Paṭan. In reward to Shiyoji for this service, the sovereign of Paṭan bestowed lands in Gujarât on him: these lands are still enjoyed by his descendants, and are situated in the Râdhanpur Tâluka. It is said that when the tide of battle turned in favour of Shiyoji, Lâkhâ thus addressed the goddess of whom he was a devoted worshipper:—

डमरु डाक नवजियां नहीं नेशाने गज
लाखो पुछे इसरी तुं केम उभी लज.

The *damru* and *dâk* * have not sounded, nor have the banners fluttered.

Lâkhâ asks the goddess, Why dost thou stand ashamed?

The goddess, who knew that Lâkhâ's hour had come, replied:

जे दन लखीया अक्षरे सो दन मलीया अज
शीया आगळ शीव खडो ता मे उभी लज.

The day which was foretold has this day arrived:

As Śiva stands before † Shiya, therefore I stand ashamed.

The descendants of Shiyoji intermarried with the Indâ branch of the Parihâr clan, but this did not restrain them from enlarging their domains at the expense of the latter. Nine generations after Shiyoji, Viramdev and Mâlinâth, the sons of Salkhoji II., made numerous conquests. Mâlinâth was a worshipper of the Supreme Lord, and did not meddle in matters of government, and the administration was conducted by Viramji in concert with Mâlinâth's son Jagmâlji. At this time the Johyas rebelled against the Pâdshâh and came and sought sanctuary at Khergaḍh. Dalo, the Johya Chief, owned a mare of immortal breed: Jagmâlji asked Dalo for the mare, and on Dalo refusing to part with her, Jagmâlji prepared to attack the Johyas, and had a skirmish with them, killing several of them. Dalo then took refuge with Viramji. Enmity now sprang up between Jagmâlji and Viramji: Dalo and Viramji and the Johyas after this went to Johyâvati, in the south of the Panjâb, to the north of Jesalmer and Vikâner. While there, Dalo slew Viramji in a quarrel. The wife of Viramji, who was pregnant, fled, wishing to return to Khergaḍh, but ere she could reach that city the pains of labour came upon her. She therefore alighted at the village of Kâlâu, under Thal, and put up at the house of a Châran named Kâchar, where she gave birth to a son who was named Chondâ. This Chondâ, when he grew up, became a most distinguished warrior, and, collecting Râjputs, made numerous incursions into the territories of the Indâs. The Indâ chief of Mandowar gave a daughter to Râo Chondâ. Chondâ went to be married, at the head of 20,000 horse, and, after the celebration of the marriage, forcibly retained possession of Mandowar, expelling the Indâs, to whom, however, he allotted twelve villages in the vicinity of Mandowar as maintenance. It was when Chondâ was ruling at Mandowar that the old Châran of Kâlâu visited Mandowar and asked for admittance to the Râo, and on being refused stood under the balcony in which Râo Chondâ was seated and improvised the following lines:—

चुंडा नावे चीत काचर कालाऊ तणा
भड बेठो मे भींत मंदोवररे मालीये ॥ १ ॥

"O Chondâ, do you not remember Kâchar of Kâlâu, now that thou art securely seated in the lofty balcony of Mandowar."

Colonel Tod ‡ quotes these verses, I venture to think, incorrectly, as *Chondâ nahin âwe chit* does not scan. It also would appear by my version that Kâchar was the name of the Châran of Kâlâu, and this is perhaps a more probable rendering of the original. I do not pretend that Shiyoji was positively the fourth generation after Jeychand, but merely quote the legend for what it is worth. I can, however, attest the fact that Shiyoji's descendants still enjoy lands in Gujarât situated in Râdhanpur territory.

NOTES ON CASTES IN THE DEKHAN.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

The following notes relate to castes observed by me in the Puṇa and Solapur Districts. They do not profess to be either exhaustive or authoritative, but are simply my contribution to the general stock of knowledge on the subject. Most of the information presented, has

* Musical instruments. † Shiya is short for Shiyoji. ‡ Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II. p. 13.

been acquired in personal contact with the people themselves, and hardly any from Shâstris or books.

The following divisions are adopted for convenience:—

A. Brahmans.

B. Shankarjatya, or races said by the Brahmans to be mixed, chiefly commercial.

C. Military and Cultivating races.

D. Parwâris, or dwellers without the village walls—commonly called Hindu outcastes.

E. Wandering castes.

F. Hill or Forest castes.

G. Musalmâns.

H. Pârsis.

J. Jews.

K. Native Christians.

A.—Brahmans.

1. The Chitpâwan or Koṇkanasth Brahmans account for their origin by the following legend:—After Paraśurâma had reclaimed the Koṇkan from the sea, in order to populate it he restored to life a certain corpse that he saw floating in the subsiding waves; and from this reanimated ancestor are descended the Chitpâwans, or race of the corpse. They are physically and mentally very high in the scale of Hindu humanity; often tall and well-formed, light in colour, and sometimes grey-eyed; their appearance has given rise to many theories of "Western blood," "arrival by sea," and the like, founded on mere conjecture. Their women are considered beautiful among natives, and some families are accused of making the marriage of their daughters a source of revenue. They are, as a body, remarkable for ability and industry in public affairs, and have, ever since the foundation of the Marâṭhâ empire, enjoyed a great share of the government of the country. When the power of their caste-fellows the Peshwâs became supreme, this share grew to be nearly a monopoly; and to this day they hold, I should think, three-fifths of all non-hereditary appointments under Government, for which educated natives are eligible. Most readers of the *Antiquary* will be aware that the infamous Nânâ Sâheb of Bithûr was a Koṇkanasth Brahman, born near the foot of the Bor Ghâṭ. They study the Som Veda, White Yajur Veda, and Ṛig Veda. The Kirwaṇts are said to derive their name from the occupation (which they do not now follow) of killing insects (*kiḍè*) upon the leaves of the Betel vine (*Chavica Betel*). They read the Ṛig Veḍa, eat and intermarry with Chitpâwans.

2. The Deśasth Brahmans are those belonging to the open table-land above the Ghâṭs, called in Marâṭhi conversation *Deśa*. They are of three main divisions:—Ṛigvedî, or Deśasth proper; Yajurvedî; and Karhâḍe. The Ṛigvedî and Karhâḍe in many points resemble the Koṇkanasths, but are generally smaller of body, darker, and sharper of feature. They are as intelligent and industrious, and resent the claim of the Koṇkanasths to priority of rank, which indeed appears to be chiefly based upon the political power of the latter. They are numerous in the establishments of Government, and hold most of the Kulkarṇî watans or hereditary village-accountantships. They claim descent from the Ṛishis, or patriarchal saints.

3. The Yajurvedîs do not often take service with Government. They are chiefly engaged in trade, and are apt to be looked down upon by the castes above named, but do not admit inferiority. They are (in my observation) darker, the nose much less apt to be aquiline, and the whole physiognomy inferior to that of the handsome Koṇkanasths and acute-looking Ṛigvedîs and Karhâḍes.

4. The Devrukh Brahmans are chiefly agricultural. Their grand habitat is in the Southern Koṇkan, and I have only seen one or two in the Puṇa districts, where the other Brahmans professed to despise them.

5. There are in the Dekhan a good many Telangî Brahmans from the Karnâṭak, chiefly engaged in trade. They most resemble the Yajurvedîs.

6. There are also many Kanojya Brahmans from Hindustân. These are chiefly sipâhis in native infantry regiments and the police, or else subordinate *employés* upon the railway. These Hindustâni Brahmans appear to have no scruples about accepting such inferior service as those of the West and South would consider disgraceful; and Brahman officials like to have them as subordinates; because they can perform for them some services which must be rendered by a Brahman. They are also favourites with recruiting officers, from their good looks and superiority in education and intelligence to those of inferior caste. Their custom of seeking

employment in the Dekhan is very old. *Kalusha*, the favourite of Râja Sambhâji, was of this caste; and so was Ghâsî Râm, the Koṭvâl of Puṇa, lynched by Manâji Phâkray and the mob of that city in the time of Nânâ Faḍnavîs.

7. The Hindustâni Saraswat Brahmans are from a Marâṭhâ point of view indistinguishable from the Kanojyas; but are, I believe, inferior to the latter among themselves. I should here remark that there is in North Kaṇâra a race called Saraswat Brahmans who appear to be more like the Telangîs. I am told that a great many of them are clerks in Government employ there, which the Hindustâni Saraswats never are; and, as far as my observation goes, all remarks made about the Kanojyas apply to them too. Both Kanojyas and Hindustânî Saraswats make a pretence of keeping their women, who are sometimes very beautiful, "*parda nashîn*," or veiled; while the Western Brahmans allow them the fullest liberty. Education is very rare among the females of any race in Western India. The exceptions will be noticed as they occur. These Hindustâni Brahmans are apt to be a bad lot. Many of them, no doubt, are refugees, and they are, as a body, more often implicated in crime than any of the other educated races. I have known them to be Thâgs; and no race in the native army had a greater share in the treason of 1857.

8. There are in Puṇa one or two families of Brahmans calling themselves *Gaudas*, who told me that they came from Kashmir a few generations back. They are mostly in Government employ, very respectable and intelligent, and do not confine their women.

9. There are also a few Nâgar Brahmans from Gujarât, engaged in trade. This caste, which I believe to be of great consideration and power in its own country, is here unimportant, and I am acquainted with no details about them.

10. All these castes look down upon the Shenvi Brahmans of the Koṇkan, a peculiar caste who differ from the rest in eating fish. They are denied to be Brahmans at all, to possess the six privileges of expounding the Veda, &c., and are regarded with extreme jealousy and dislike. It is perhaps for this reason that the Shenvis, as a body, have shown a considerable tendency towards European science and literature, the practice of the law, and the more Anglicized branches of the public service. At the same time they stoutly assert their equality with the other Brahmans, and actually assume all the privileges considered sacred to the priestly order.

11. The son of a Brahman by a concubine of inferior caste is called in Marâṭhi Vidur or Brahmanzai (Sansk. Ambushta); this class do not now, as enjoined by Maṇu, of necessity follow the medical profession. They are generally engaged in trade, and take a respectable position among the commercial classes. Amongst all the Brahmans of Western India the profession of a priest is little honoured. The spiritual counsellors of certain great men have been held in high consideration, but those who gain their living as celebrants of worship are seldom much thought of. The Western and Southern Brahmans, as already mentioned, will not "take the belt" as soldiers or peons; or, if they occasionally accept of such employment, it is upon the understanding of speedy promotion. The Hindustânis, on the other hand, will serve even as ballastmen; and I have known them to be smiths. They are all glad of service as writers and native officers; and I believe the exclusion of the Yajurvedî Deśasths from the public service to be more due to the jealousy of the other castes than to their own "*nolo episcopari*." I know one Deśasth of good family, who is a horsebreaker at Poona, and a very good one, the occupation having descended to him from a father and grandfather who had served in the Marâṭhâ armies. None of them object to the use of arms in battle. The last Peshwâ is said to have been the best spearman in the Gangthaḍî (valley of the Gangâ or Godaverî, near Nâsik). I have seen a Deśasth kill a snake, and this not in self-defence; and I know another who has shot a tiger or two. It has always, however, been deemed impious in Mahârâshṭra to kill a Brahman by open violence; wherefore the Peshwâ's government used to make away with Brahman prisoners, chiefly by putting too much salt in their bread, a procedure which relieved them of their enemies, and which appears to have been considered no breach of the sanctity of the victims' caste.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FESTIVAL OF KṚISHṆAJANMÂSHṬAMÎ.

Translated from the German of Prof. A. Weber.

(*Continued from page* 25.)

The question now presents itself, as to what Christian land we are to think of as the *Śvetadvîpa* of the legend. As the journey is by sea, we must take the nearest, Alexandria. Lassen (II, 1100) prefers Parthia, "because the tradition that the apostle Thomas preached the Gospel in that land is an old one;" but I am unable to see how that can turn the scale one way or the other. The connection with Alexandria by sea is relatively the easiest, and we have documents of all sorts in sufficient number to prove that there was a brisk traffic by that route. Direct proof for this supposition there is none. We can therefore only posit it as a probability.

The case is somewhat better when we proceed to ask to what date the pilgrimage to the Śvetdvîpa is to be assigned. We can answer with confidence that it must of course have been at some adate previous to Muhammad; *i. e.*, as far as Alexandria is concerned, before the year 640, in which it was taken by the Moslems.* But can we define the time more closely? Here it would be of great consequence if we could find reason to suppose that the festival of Kṛishṇa's birthday, which is the starting-point of our investigations, and the pictorial representation of him as a suckling at the mother's breast, which forms an integral part of that festival, came to India as early as the journey of Nârada. For the picture could have been taken over only at a time when "the Madonna and Child" had already on their side won a firm and sure place in Christian ritual. But the legend of the *Mahâ Bhârata*† contains, as might have been expected from its character, nothing of the kind, and we cannot therefore avail ourselves of such an argument in fixing the probable time of *Nârada's journey*. But we may make use of such a chronological argument when we consider the birthday festival itself, and the way in which Kṛishṇa is represented in it. Here, however, we are on the strange ground of Christian archæology, and must try first to learn our way a little. According to the view hitherto almost universally accepted, the "Madonna with the Child" is a subject little known to the early Christian centuries. According to Piper's representation, for example, the adoration of the Virgin was even in the fourth century far from prominent, and we are to date its decisive introduction from the Nestorian disputes in the fifth century. The S. Maria Maggiore church, built by order of Sixtus III. (432), after the council of Ephesus in honour of Maria θεοτοκος (Mother of God), which still exists, and is adorned with mosaics of the same date representing "the beginning of the life of the Lord," from the Annunciation to the scene in the Temple, has no representation of the *birth itself.* And in fact the birthday of Jesus began to be celebrated after the fourth century.‡ Haas, in the *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central Commission zur Erh. der Baudenkmäler* (1,859 pp. 208, 209), bears similar testimony. So does Mrs. Jameson in her praiseworthy book *Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts* (2nd ed. London, 1857). And Mrs. Jameson discusses the very representations with which we are concerned here, those in which the Madonna is suckling the Child, and refers them directly to the Nestorian controversy. For Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, asserted that the Virgin Mary

* Conf. the previous note on the identity in Kâlidâsa's time of Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa.

† In the account of the ten *avatâras* of *Vishṇu* which follows immediately after, *Sâtvata* (*Kṛishṇa*) is spoken of only as a warlike hero who came into the world to conquer numerous demons and assist the *Pâṇḍavas*. It is true that *Kaṅsa* is at the head of these demons (the account begins *M. Bh.* XII. 12953: *dvâparasya kaleśchaiva saṁdhau paryavasânike | prâdurbhâvaḥ Kaṅsahetor Mathurâyâm bhavishyati*), but no details are given of the way in which he "appeared."

‡ I give the chief passages from Piper. "This omission of Mary (from a representation on Roman sarcophagi of the infant Christ) serves to prove how far from prominent the honour paid to her was at that time, that is, in the fourth century. And we know from other sources that the epoch of the Nestorian controversies which circled round the name 'Mother of God' (θεοτόκος) was the decisive one for the Maria-cult. The first Maria churches in Christendom were built at Rome and Constantinople immediately after the condemnation of Nestorius (who was not willing to use that name without a reservation) and the recognition of the title by the general council of Ephesus in the year 431. The church at Rome still stands. It is the Church S. Maria Maggiore, and is adorned with mosaics of that date, the oldest church pictures extant, in which the first part of the life of the Lord is represented, from the Annunciation to the scene in the Temple. The birth is not among these scenes, and in the adoration of the wise men the infant Christ. And is sitting, not in the lap of the holy Virgin, but alone on a throne; which is a departure from the traditional representation of the oldest Christian art, as we find it on sarcophagi and in the pictures on the walls of the catacombs. And the representation of the birth of Christ in general is rare at this date; it is found, among the many Roman sarcophagi, as we have shown above, only on two, and on the two sarcophagi from Milan and on one at Arles. This is of doctrinal importance, not so much as regards Mary, but on account of the conception of the person of Christ himself and of the whole work of redemption, and this prominence of the end of his life as contrasted with the beginning corresponds exactly to a similar phenomenon in the sacred calendar, where it is still more surprising. The celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ weekly every Friday and Sunday, and yearly at Easter, dates from the second century, while the birth of the Lord was first celebrated in the fourth."

was the mother of Christ's human nature only, not of his divine nature; while Cyril of Alexandria, and the synods of Alexandria (430) and of Ephesus (431), maintained that she must be considered the Mother of God, θεοτοκος, *deipara,* against the heretical doubts of the Nestorians, who exclaimed in the latter council (p. 63), "Can we call him God who is only two or three months old, or suppose the Logos to have been suckled and to increase in wisdom?" The representation of the "Virgin in the act of suckling her Child" appeared, according to Mrs. Jameson, the most fitting symbol of the holy Mother of God, and the picture of the Madonna with the Child became the symbol "which distinguished the Catholic Christian from the Nestorian dissenter" (p. 60). So much was this the case that "every one who wished to prove his hatred of the arch-heretic exhibited the image of the *maternal virgin holding in her arms the Infant Godhead,* either in his house as a picture, embroidered on his garments, or on his furniture, on his personal ornaments—in short, wherever it could be introduced." The oldest representations which Mrs. Jameson can adduce in proof of this are mosaics from the eighth century, as she asserts,* and these only in the West, the raid of that time (726-840) against pictures having destroyed the pictures of the old Greek churches. We must notice, however, in connection with this point, that the very work which Mrs. Jameson adduces as the oldest representation of the "Madonna Lactans" (the Madonna suckling), the mosaics, namely, on the façade of the portico of S. Maria in Trastevere,† are ascribed by Kugler, in his *Handbuch der Malerei* (2nd ed. by Burckhardt, Berl. 1847) I, 271, to the years 1139-53, so that it belongs not to the 8th, but to the 12th century, and that all her other examples‡ date from the best period of the Renaissance!

And the facts of the case are against the special weight which Mrs. Jameson lays on the idea that the representation in question of the Madonna must be looked on "as the visible form of a theological dogma," as a protest against Nestorianism. For it would be more reasonable to suppose that a purely human representation of this kind would be used as a symbol by those who were of opinion "that the Virgin Mary was the Mother of Christ considered as a man, but not the Mother of Christ considered as God." And in fact Mrs. Jameson herself gives as the reason why the older, purely human, representation of the *birth of Christ* ceased after the 14th century, that "it gave great offence." The greatest theologians insisted that the birth of Christ was as pure and miraculous as his conception, and it was considered little less than heretical to pourtray Mary reclining on a couch as one exhausted by the pangs of childbirth, or to exhibit assistants washing the heavenly Infant. [Compare what Piper says as to the way in which the human element is kept in the background in the oldest representations of Christ, p. 42.] Nor did the Nestorians absolutely deny to the Virgin the name θεοτοκος; they only used it with reserve, for fear of abuse: conf. La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme dans les Indes,* p. 36 (the Hague, 1724). Cosmas Indicopleuster, although a Nestorian, as La Croze (pp. 27-36) admits, expressly gives her this title (p. 260, ed. Montfaucon in the *Nova Coll. Patrum,* tom. 2). And in the *Gospel of the Childhood of Christ,* which H. Sike (Utrecht, 1697) edited in Arabic and Latin, and which, according to La Croze (p. 31), is the work of a Nestorian, the infant Christ is, in the 3rd chapter (*vide* Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti;* Hamburg, 1719, p. 170), expressly represented as drinking at Mary's breast, *infans fascio involutus divæ matris suæ ubera sugebat, in*

* "We find," says she (p. 61), "the primeval Byzantine type, or at least the exact reproduction of it, in the most ancient Western churches, and preserved to us in the mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, and Capua. These remains are nearly all of the same date, much later than the single figures of Christ as Redeemer, and belonging, unfortunately, to a lower period and style of art. The true significance of the representation is not, however, left doubtful; for all the earliest traditions and inscriptions are in this (p. 62) agreed, that such effigies were intended as a confession of faith, an acknowledgment of the dignity of the Virgin Mary as the "Sancta Dei Genitrix," as a visible refutation of the "infamous, iniquitous, and sacrilegious doctrines of Nestorius the Heresiarch."

The oldest representations of the kind are.:—

(1) The mosaic of the Cathedral of Capua; . . . . the Virgin is seated on a rich throne, Christ, seated on her knee and clothed, holds a cross in his left hand; the right is raised in benediction.

(2) The next in date which remains visible is the group in the apsis of S. Maria della Navicella (Rome), executed about 820; . . . Maria on a throne . . the infant Christ is seated in her lap and raises his hand to bless the worshippers:

(3) p. 63) In the Santa Maria Nova (Rome) the Virgin is seated on a throne, wearing a rich crown, as queen of heaven. The infant Christ stands upon her knee: she has one hand on her bosom, and sustains him with the other:

(4) On the façade of the portico of the S. Maria in Trastevere at Rome the Virgin is enthroned and crowned and giving her breast to the child. This mosaic is of later date than that in the apsis, but it is one of the oldest examples of a representation which was evidently directed against the heretical doubts of the Nestorians. The Virgin in the act of suckling her child is a motive often since repeated, when the original significance was forgotten."

† *Vide* Bunsen, *d. Basiliken des Christl. Rom.*, München, 1842, pl. xliv.

‡ In the library at St. Galle (No. 53) there is an Evangeliarium ascribed to the Abbé Tutilo (†912) with ivory boards, the upper of which shows Christ on a throne surrounded by cherubim and the Evangelist, below which on the one side there is a mother in a half-recumbent position hushing her child. Conf. the copies in E. Förster's *Denkmalen deutscher Baukunst Bildnerei,* etc. I, 7, in the same writer's *Gesch. der deutschen Kunst* (1860) I, 34, and in Otte's *Handbuch der christlichen Kunstarchäologie* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 658 (132). This, however, is not the Madonna Lactans, but, according to E. Förster, "Tellus with the horn of plenty and a child at her breast."

præsepi repositus. Another consideration against Mrs. Jameson's view is that this representation of the *Madonna with the Child* is in fact found in India, and something like it in China;* while we know that the entrance of Christian ideas into India and China, so far as it is to be referred to the older missionaries of the Middle Ages, was brought about by the Nestorians. Of course we must remark here, on the other hand, that the influence of their opponents must not be underestimated. In the list of the dependencies of the Constantinopolitan diocese, for which we are indebted to Nilos Doxopatrios in the 12th century, we find that formerly the Patriarch of Antioch had under his charge the whole of Asia, including India, "where even now he nominates the Catholicus of Rômogyri."† And in the case of India at least we must look on Alexandria as the chief source of Christian influence, whether directly by Christian messengers, or indirectly by Indians who had come there to trade, or from some spiritual want; and it is in Alexandria, according to Mrs. Jameson's view, that we are to look for the peculiar *locale* of the group of the Madonna and sucking Child. For, in her opinion, it is to be referred to an Egyptian model, "the Egyptian type of Isis nursing Horus" (Intr. p. xxii.), with which Cyril, "who was so influential in fixing the orthodox books," must have been acquainted, since he "had passed the greater part of his life in Egypt."‡ That the Madonna-cult has some connection with the worship of Isis, which took such a high place in the Roman time, has often been suspected, and the consideration just mentioned may be taken as a new motive in the calculation. Nor is this idea of Mrs. Jameson's new. Twenty years before it was put forth and defended by Raoul Rochette in his very interesting paper "*Discours sur l'Art du Christianisme*" (Paris, 1834), pp. 33, 39. Unfortunately he gives no example of "a Byzantine group of the Madonna Lactans" of whose date we can be certain, and my want of acquaintance with this field makes it impossible for me to supply this defect. We can scarcely suppose that a man like Raoul Rochette would have advanced such a supposition without a substratum of fact. The defect is, however, the more to be regretted, because, as we shall see in the sequel, one of our Indian pictures which represents "Krishṇa drinking from his mother's breast" bears a remarkable resemblance to the Egyptian picture of "Isis nursing Horus." The existence of Byzantine media would be of service in explaining what must be obscure in the absence of such media. A hope which I cherished with reference to this point has unfortunately been disappointed. Remember-

* The Gotha art-cabinet in the ducal castle of Friedenstein has in its Chinese division three small statuettes cut out of soap-stone, which are called in the catalogue (Nos. 835, 899, 906) "Tien hau (mother of heaven) or Shingmu (holy mother)," and represent a female figure who bears a child in her lap and stands on a lotus. The notice in the catalogue is taken from a popular work on China, in which it is stated that among the numerous idols in the Buddhistic and other temples is one which cannot fail to interest a Christian, and his curiosity will be heightened by the account the *bonze* gives of this object of his worship. It is a female figure which generally bears an infant in her arms, and is called Tien hau (mother of heaven) or Shingmu (heavenly mother). The greatest care is taken to preserve this image; it is generally found, with a green veil over it, in a niche behind the altar, and a halo round her head." According to Gützlaff in J. S. Davis's *China* (translated by Bazin, Paris, 1837) II, 48 ff., we must assume a Nestorian origin for this Tien hau and Shingmu, while others are inclined to date them from the time of the Portuguese. There is the same controversy about the monument of Singanfu, which purports to date from the year 781, and has been often described: compare Salisbury in the *Journal Am. As. Soc.* III, 401 ff., 1852. However the controversy about the authenticity of Singanfu may be decided, it is impossible to deny the existence of early Christian Nestorian missionaries in China: conf. La Croze, p. 48; Salisbury, 7. That the Chinese themselves see the analogy between their queen of heaven and the Virgin is evident from the Chinese description of the earth, of which Gützlaff gives an account in the *Z. der D. M. G.* VI, 577, where it is said of the Catholics (as contrasted with the teaching of Luther) that "the latter pray most to the mother of Jesus, Ma, who is the queen of heaven." Gützlaff adds the remark that "the Chinese have also a goddess called Ma, or Matsupa, to whom they pray." We may compare also the worship of the goddess Kouan-yin, to whom, according to the Marquis de Courcy, *L'Empire du Milieu* (Paris, 1867), p. 262, numerous altars are dedicated in China, and who is the divine symbol of justice, compassion, and omnipotent intercession, and is sometimes represented with a little child in her arms, bestowing blessings on unfruitful women. She is, remarks the author, not to be confounded with the "Queen of heaven, Tienheou, to whom the shipmen and passengers offer their prayers, and whose image is placed on board all Chinese vessels." Conf. with regard to Kouan-yin and her partly Buddhistic-Indian origin, Beal's interesting article in the *Jour. R. As. S.*, New Series, II, 403 ff., especially p. 424, where she is called "the great Manes," which Beal "has no doubt refers to the Persian Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect." That the borrowing of the representation in question, if it is to be looked on as borrowed, as appears probable to me, goes back to the first period of the Middle Ages, is confirmed by the fact that it has become incorporated with the religious system of the Chinese, while the relics of missions of more recent times have quite another character: conf., *e. g.*, what is said about the Miéso in Birma in the *Z. der D. M. G.* V, 263: "they honour as the highest beings Jova and his son, andthe mother of the latter." Dr. Bastian calls my attention to the fact that a group of a goddess with a child at her breast is found also in Japan: she is called there Kisibozin, or Schin-mù t'iên, "goddess, mother of the Daityas:" see Siebold, *Nippon*, tom. V, VI, p. 93 (and the Atlas, tom. V, tab. XXIV, fig. 445 and 294): according to the Japanese legend she was converted by Buddha, and in her joy at finding again the youngest of her thousand sons vowed "to protect Buddhism, to give children to the childless, and to guard women in delivery."

† Clearly a place called Râmagiri is meant here: but whether it be the Râmagiri of the Meghadûta (V, 1) is another question. I am indebted for the communication of this passage from Stephanus Le Moyne, tom. I, 2, var. sacr. p. 219, to our honoured colleague Parthey: see his paper Hieroclis Synecdemus, etc. Berlin, 1866, p. 271; and compare also Fabricius, *Bibl.-græca*, Hamburg, 1708, vol. III, p. 85.

‡ Compare also pp. 58, 59: "It is as easily conceivable that the time-consecrated Egyptian myth of Isis and Horus may have suggested the original type, the outward form, and the arrangement of the material group, as that the classical Greek types of the Orpheus and Apollo should have furnished the early symbols of the Redeemer as the good Shepherd."

ing the tenacity with which the Græco-Russic Church has in so many points clung to Old Byzantine types, I asked my honoured friend Schiefner in St. Petersburg for information with regard to some Græco-Russic representations of the "Madonna Lactans." By his kindness I received general information on this point from the Kais. russ. Staatsrath Wladimir von Stasow, to whom I offer my heartiest thanks. The purport of it is that such representations of the Madonna with bared breast are in Russian art, as well as in the Old Byzantine, on which exclusively the former is based, *extremely* rare, and almost always of very late date,—the 17th or 18th century,—and due to Western influence. To the kindness of Herr von Stasow also I am indebted for a copy of a picture of the kind from the cloister Karyais on Mount Athos, painted on a wooden tablet executed by Herr Prochorow, member of the Archæological Society in St. Petersburg, after a copy taken on the spot with the help of photography by one whose early death we have to deplore—Sewastjanow, well known as the photographer of the Athos MS. of Ptolemæus. Herr Prochorow remarks that this picture bears traces of a Western Catholic influence, in opposition to the Madonnas of the Russian Church, which fixes it for the second half of the 16th century: in Russian pictures, namely, the Madonna does not bear on her head a crown supported by angels: and the sequence of the letters ὁ ὤν (he that is) in the nimbus round the head of Christ is different in Russian pictures, being in them $\overset{o}{\omega}\ \nu$ while here it is $\overset{\omega}{o}\ \nu$). The Athos tradition, it is true, as Schiefner kindly tells me, puts the picture as early as the 6th century (Schewyrew, p. 3). In a Russian work, *The Life of the Most Holy Madonna* (St. Petersb. 1860; 270), we are told that it came from the cloister Mâr Saba at Jerusalem, whence it is said* to have been brought by the Servian Archbishop Saba to Karyais, the chief town on Athos. Further details with regard to it are given by Simon Wesmin, who died as a monk on Mount Athos in 1843, in the new edition (St. Petersb. 1865) of his collected writings published under the title "*Collection of the Writings and Letters of Swjätogorez to his Friends about the holy Mount Athos, Palestine, and the Russian holy places*" (II. 138). According to him the picture existed in the lifetime of the holy Saba himself (in the fourth year of the reign of Justinian) in his cloister, and he prophesied that one day a name-son of his should visit the cloister, to whom they should give the picture to protect him on his journey. This he takes from a letter of the Servian archbishop, the original of which is apparently still preserved at Karyais, of which Wesmin had only read a copy. Domenique Papety (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1847, XVIII, 769-89) compares the holy pictures of Mount Athos only with the *oldest* Italian mosaics, as old as those of S. Maria in Trastevere, that is, he considers them as Old Byzantine (he is not, of course, speaking expressly of our picture). In whatever way the question of the antiquity of this picture may be decided (and Hotho and Waagen, who have kindly communicated their views to me, agree with Von Stasow and Prochorow that it cannot be earlier than the 12th century, adding that it is apparently much later), there is in the picture itself nothing marked enough to prove Raoul Rochette's (and Mrs. Jameson's) derivation of the "Byzantine type" of the Madonna Lactans from the Egyptian group "Isis nursing Horus." The arrangement in the two subjects is completely different. We must add that Raoul Rochette is of opinion (p. 34) that the picture of "the Virgin with the Child" was proposed by the Council held at Ephesus against the Nestorian heresy "for the adoration of the faithful under a specific form," but he denies that the representation originated with the council, since more than one of the Christian sarcophagi of the Vatican are of an earlier date, though he adds that our group is extremely rare in the pictures of the Catacombs.

Strangely enough, there have recently been found among these some representations of the Madonna with the Child, and especially of the Madonna Lactans, which claim a date much earlier than any controversy between Nestorius and Cyril. In the *Imagines Selectæ Deiparæ Virginis* from the Catacomb pictures published by De Rossi, there is, among several groups where the Madonna holds the Child in her lap, a fresco in which where it is *feeling for her breast*, which, however, is covered. This comes from the *Cemetero di Priscilla*, and is ascribed by De Rossi, *vide* 14-19 of the French text that accompanies the tables (*Images de la T. S. Vièrge Choisies dans les Catacombes de Rome*), and his remarks in the *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1865, pp. 25ff. (there is an engraving of the group on p. 27), for manifold reasons, "*tolti dalla stile, dall' arte, dalla storia, dalla topografia, dalla epigrafia del luogo*," to the first decade of the second century. Nay, he thinks it may be contemporary with the

* And along with it a three-handed figure of the Madonna. (St. John of Damascus, who had taken the sacred images under his protection against the Emperor Leo, was reft of his hand by the Emperor's order; it was cut off, but grew again at night after he had prayed to the mother of God. Out of gratitude John gave the image a silver hand. This too remained in the cloister Mar Saba from the 8th to the 13th century.) A copy of this kind may be seen in Beard's *Historical and Artistic Illustrations* of the *Trinity* (London, 1846), to which it is the frontispiece, with the title "Mary with three hands holding the infant Jesus, with a nimbus of three rays—types of the Trinity."

action of Flavius Augustus in the first century, and so contemporaneous, or nearly so, with some of the Apostles. And Rossi's opponent P. Garucci, who attacks him vigorously on account of the figure which De Rossi supposes to be Joseph or the prophet Isaiah, but which Garucci takes to be Balaam, "*il profeta della stella*," raises no opposition to this date. The Abbé Martigny also, in his *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1865), p. 658, agrees with them. Abbé Archangelo Scognamiglio, who edited the picture with another at the same time as De Rossi (*Notices sur Deux Catacombes*; Paris, 1863) starts with the same assumption. Lastly, our own Hase, to whom we are so much indebted, though in the eighth edition of his *Kirchengeschichte* (1858) he was still of opinion that "the Mother with the Child" was not painted until after the Nestorian controversy, has now modified, at least, this view, on the ground of De Rossi's statement, in so far as to say that the pictures published by De Rossi "seem to belong to the time before the synod at Ephesus." * Now in this picture from the Catacombs there is no leaning whatever to the Egyptian type of "Isis nursing Horus." It is of independent classical beauty, and carries no proof with it of the correctness of Raoul Rochette's view with regard to the Byzantine pictures of which he speaks.

It follows, however, from this discovery of De Rossi's, that representations of the infant Christ at the breast of the divine maiden existed in the second century. And if I, on my side, can point to a second picture of the kind whose date—the 12th century—is certain, in the church of S. Maria di Trastevere, then though the space between remains unrepresented, yet the possibility that such a representation may have found its way to India as early as the first century is established. This does not, of course, give us the date at which the borrowing actually took place, but a *terminus a quo*, a point before which it could not have taken place.

Now this is only one part of the question we are dealing with, which has to do with a much wider circle of representations. The pictures of the festival of Kṛishṇa's birthday show in their other details special analogies† to Christian subjects, and especially to the festival of the birth of Christ. They imply unmistakably its yearly celebration as a recognized part of the Christian ritual. This gives us a second and surer *terminus a quo*.

According to recent investigations into the festival of Christmas, *vide* Piper in his *Evangelischen Kalendar* for 1856 (pp. 41-46), it is established that it had no firm footing in the first three centuries of the Christian era. ‡ It came into prominence for the first time "with the victorious position of the Church in the fourth century;" and the oldest document which speaks of Christmas as at its present date, the 25th December, is a Romish calendar of festivals in a chronological work. Bishop Julius (‡352) is supposed, according to a very untrustworthy tradition, to have introduced it; it was at least celebrated in the time of his successor Tiberius (352-366). "The festival then came from the West to the East. From a sermon of Chrysostom's preached in Antioch in the year 386, we see that it had begun to be celebrated there within the last ten years, though it was then, not without some objections being raised, almost universal. In Alexandria there was, it is true, a celebration of the birth of Christ, but it was held at the same time as that of his baptism, on the 6th of January; the independent and exclusively Christmas festival on the 25th of December took its place shortly before the year 431." (Piper, as before, p. 82.) When we consider that the *nâmakaraṇam*, the giving a name, forms an integral part also of the celebrating of Kṛishṇa's birthday, we are strongly induced to put the borrowing at the time during which the custom peculiar to Egypt obtained "of celebrating on the 6th of January the birth and baptism of Christ," that is (*vide* Piper, p. 44), the time from the *second half* of the *fourth century till the year* 431, when the *celebration of the birth alone* on the 25th December took its place.§ Or if this period, which suits admirably the dates that follow from the position of Kṛishṇa in Indian literature, seems too short, we may extend it to

* See *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik*, 2 Aufl. 1865, p. 318: "Some of the pictures of the Madonna found in the Roman Catacombs seem to belong to the time before the synod of Ephesus."

† May not, *e. g.*, the star which led the three Magi be connected with the great importance attached at the festival of the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî to the conjunction with Rohiṇî?

‡ Origen in the third century, and Arnobius in the beginning of the fourth, wage war against all birthday celebrations; the latter especially against the pagan custom of celebrating the birthdays of their gods. They could scarcely have done this if it had already become the custom to celebrate the birth of Christ (Piper, pp. 52, 55).

§ I cannot of course hazard any hypothesis as to what may have induced the Indians to fix as the date of the festival, instead of the 6th of January (nearly corresponding to the last quarter of *pausha*), the last quarter the eighth of the black half of *śrâvaṇa* (July—August) or, according to the *Varâha-Purâṇa*, the twelfth of the white half of *âshâḍha* (June—July).

According to Clemens Alexandrinus (beginning of the third century), there was in his time (see Piper, p. 43) a great variety of opinion as to the birthday of Christ. He himself puts it at the 19th of November; others took the 20th of May, others the 19th or 20th of April. One party decided in favour of the 28th of March (Piper, p. 53), another in that of the 5th of January, while the 6th of January was chosen by Ephraim the Syrian and the Egyptians of the second half of the fourth century. The 25th of December was fixed long afterwards from Rome as the *dies natalis invicti*, scil. *solis* (the birthday of the unconquered sun) because the Conception had been assigned to the spring equinox, the 25th of March, as the day on which the world was made: see Piper, pp. 45, 46, 55.

the year 640, with which the conclusions we have drawn from the age of the Indian texts which describe the festival of Kṛishṇa's birthday agree very well. In the train of this festival we must suppose that the other legendary matters came to India which are found in the accounts of the *Harivaṅśa* and of the *Jaimini Bhárata*, in some interpolated passages of the *Mahá Bhárata*, in the *Puráṇas*, especially the *Bhágavata Puráṇa* and its offshoots, which describe and embellish the birth and childhood of Kṛishṇa with notices which remind us irresistibly of Christian legends. Take, for instance, the statement of the *Vishṇu Puráṇa* (Wilson, p. 506) that *Nanda*, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, at the time of the latter's birth, went with his pregnant wife *Yaśodá** to Mathurâ "to pay his taxes" (conf. Luke ii. 4, 5), or the pictorial representation of the birth of Kṛishṇa in the cow-stall or shepherd's hut, that corresponds to the *manger*, and of the shepherds, shepherdesses, the ox and the ass that stand round the woman as she sleeps peacefully on her couch without fear of danger. Then the stories of the persecutions of Kaṅsa, of the "massacre of the innocents," of the passage across the river (Christophoros), of the wonderful deeds of the child, of the healing virtue of the water in which he was washed† &c. &c. Whether the accounts given in the *Jaimini Bhárata* of the raising to life by Kṛishṇa of the dead son of Duḥśalâ, of the cure of Kubjâ, of her pouring a vessel of ointment over him, of the power of his look to take away sin, and other subjects of the kind, came to India in the same connection with the *birthday festival* may remain an open question. Their Christian origin is, however, as certain as the assumption that (*Ind. Stud.* I. 423) the later, exclusively monotheistic direction of the Indian sects, which honour a distinct *personal God*, pray for his *grace* and believe in him (*bhakti* and *śraddhá*), has been influenced by the acquaintance the Indians had with the corresponding doctrines of Christianity; or in Wilson's words (Mrs. Speir's *Life in Ancient India*, p. 434; compare my paper on the *Rámatáp. Up.* pp. 277, 360) "that the remodelling of the ancient Hindu systems into popular forms, and in particular the vital importance of faith, were directly influenced by the diffusion of the Christian religion."

Now if the Christian Church furnished legendary matter for the Kṛishṇa-cult in particular, and for the development of Indian sects in general, it was only making a return for the numerous subjects and motives which, as we know, were taken from India in the early centuries, and found a place in the pictures and ritual of the Christian sects, especially of the Gnostics and Manichæans, but also of the orthodox Church. Buddhism more than all the others showed fruitful missionary activity in this respect: conf. on this what I have said in the *Ind. Skizz.* p. 92, *Ind. Stud.* III, 119.‡ In the latter of these passages I have acceded to Hardy's view (*Eastern Monachism*, p. 416) of the Indian origin of the nimbus.§ But L. Stephani's paper *On the Nimbus and Crown of Rays in the Works of Old Art* has made that doubtful again, and the reverse is perhaps the truth.‖ On the other hand, a philological conjecture, which I may give here, has occurred to me in support of the Indian origin of the rosary, which I am inclined, with Koppen (*die Rel. des Buddha*, II, 319), to derive from Śiva's garland of skulls (conf. *Lit. Cent.-Blatt.* 1859, No. 41, p. 650).¶ The name *rosary* was perhaps a mistranslation of the Indian word *japamálá* by some one who took it as *japámálá* and connected it with *japá*, a rose. The formation of the rosary from rose-leaves took its origin in the name, was not the reason of the name.

* In these foster-parents to whom *Kṛishṇa* the young prince of an old warrior race is entrusted, as in the transaction itself, the legend may have preserved traces of the later origin of the conception and worship of Kṛishṇa as an effeminate shepherd, which is such a marked contrast to his older position as a warlike hero and semi-divinity.

† Conf. the Arabian *Gospel of the Childhood of Christ*, cap. 17 ff. Fabricius, p. 180 ff. The water in which the Mahârâjas in Bombay wash is represented as possessing healing power.

‡ In the *Gospel of the Childhood of Christ* edited in Arabic and Latin by H. Sike (Utrecht, 1697) there is (cap. 49-51) an amplification of the legend of the appearance of the young Jesus in the temple which reminds us of the examination in all branches of learning which Buddha had to undergo. (See *Lalitavistara*, cap. X.)

§ Buddha is said to have been attended by an appearance of glory extending six cubits over his head. See Köppen, *die Religion des Buddha*, I, 509; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 617 (the 33th *anuvyañjana*), 620. The Jainas observe nothing of the kind of their founder Mahâvîra, see my paper on the *Bhagavatî*, 2. 306, 311, for the comparison of his head to a parasol cannot be taken in that way, and the "glory of his face surpassing that of the full moon" does not necessarily imply a nimbus.

‖ It was not, according to De Rossi (*Images*, p. 20), till the second half of the fourth century that the figure of Christ had the nimbus round the head. Conf. also Didron, *Iconographie*, p. 90 ff.

¶ Besides *akshamálá*, *akshasûtrâ*, *japamálá* (conf. *Jaṭādhara* in *Śk.* under *akshasutrâ*), the rosary is also called *rudrákshamálá*, and is indispensable at the Śiva-pûjâ: *Yathâ Lingapuráṇe.*

viná bhasmatripuṇḍreṇa vina rudrákshamálayá |
karoti japahomâdi tat sarvam nishphalam bhavet. ||

It was also, but not in the earliest times (in which small staves were employed for a similar purpose, see Haug on the *Aitar. Br.* pp. 238, 239; Pet. W. V. under *kuśa*), used to guard against omissions in the Vedic stotras and śastras—*vide* Schol. to *Káty.* 25. 4, 23. The oldest mention of it in the text included under the Veda I remember is in *Ath. Par.* 43. 4, 11: *gáyatrâakshamáláyâm sâyamprâtaḥ śatam japet*, "morning and evening one should pray a hundred *gâyatrís* on the *akshamálá*.—What is said in *Śk.* of the one to fourteen *mukha*, i.e. *aya*, of the *akshâsutrâ*, agrees exactly with our rosary, which generally has a larger bead after every ten small ones.

Or *japámálá* may have had at that time a form *japămálá*, in accordance with the shortening of the feminine *á* or *í* at the end of the first part of a compound, which is found in the Magadhi of the Jainas (see my paper of the *Bhagavatî*, 1, 407), and in the Prâkrit of Hala, in which case the two words would be identical.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME KUMBHAKONAM.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

It is thus related in the Sthala Purâṇa: "When the Deluge commenced, men, mountains, birds, &c. were covered over by water; the stars, sun and moon were invisible; but on the great Mount Meru there was a strong wind, and the jar containing the elements of creation having the *Dharba* grass underneath it, and, being hung in a hoop (as articles usually are suspended from the rafters of native houses), began to move, and floated to the southern side of Mount Meru, and the grass underneath dropped to the earth. This grass became invisible, and the place it lay on was considered more holy than any other. Where it fell, a *linga* grew, and a *vanney*-tree full of leaves and buds. And the seven virgins worshipped the *linga* originating from the *Dharba* grass; so also did the Devatas.

"The distance from the spot where the grass fell, to that where the jar stopped floating, was a *kôs* (two Indian miles). When the jar arrived at that place, a shower of flowers rained down, and a bodiless voice from heaven said 'Health, holiness, goodness, preëminence, joy!' and a second time a shower of flowers fell, and Brahma told the Muni Nârada that he was so much pleased that the hairs of his body rose on end. The jar containing the seed of creation obtained the name of Sata Kumbha, holy jar. To the south-east of this jar grew a tree of white colour, and its fruits *lingas*, and seeing them Brahma perfumed Arjuna with the leaves of the *vilva*-tree and camphor. And as the strands of the rope with which the jar was tied or suspended grew up in this place a *vilva* forest, and as the shadow of the *vilva* forest fell on the *lingas* or fruit of the tree, it was called the Lord of Creation of Pâtâla.

"When the water of the Deluge had decreased, Śiva, disgused as a hunter, with his court, leaving Kailâsa, came to earth, and having travelled from place to place arrived at length at the spot where the jar was. For a distance of three *kôs* all round, he found it illuminated, and, being astonished, he let fly an arrow at the jar, but it glanced off; this he did seven times but with no result: he then placed five thousand hunters at three of the cardinal points, while he stayed at the fourth, and sent a messenger, Eka Bana, but without success. Śiva (the hunter), now becoming enraged, tells the messenger: 'Remain here; see, I will go and break the jar in pieces with an arrow and will return. If I do not, I am no hunter.' He now took an arrow, so as to frighten the earth, to make the sea to roar, and all the world to be in darkness, and he broke the jar with it. And the *amṛita* (ambrosia) in the jar saturated the earth to the distance of a *yojana*. Seeing this, he, with his court, made a *linga* of the saturated clay and sand. Then a shower of flowers fell from heaven and the Devatas danced and played. *In the month of February* the hunter Śiva established the *linga* and washed it with milk, and having made Arjuna with flowers, leaves of the *vilva*-tree, sandal, and an oblation of incense, he worshipped it. And he also adored Mangaḷa Ambeikei, having prepared a place for her close to this *linga*, and he became, with his court, absorbed in the *linga*. From that time the *linga* was called Kumbh Eswara, and the Devî, Mangaḷa Ambeikei, *and from the* linga *exuded* amṛita (*ambrosia*) *which formed a* tîrtha. And as from the *kumbha* or jar *amṛita* issued and spread over the earth in a wandering, crooked, or tortuous manner—*konam*—the place obtained the name Kumbha-Konam—*Combaconum*."

The origin of the Mahâ Mâga festival is accounted for also in the Sthala Purâṇa. The legend given at page 151 of the *Antiquary* Vol. II. has no foundation in the local Purâṇa.

A RUDE STONE MONUMENT IN GUJARAT.

BY MAJOR JOHN W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PALANPUR.

Recently while visiting the Pâhlanpur Âbu road viâ Bhattânâ I discovered that the road passes through the Dhârâsar Tank, and took advantage of the occasion to visit the ruined site of Dhârâpurâ. Dhârâpurâ was evidently a mere hamlet with a rampart or wall of loose stones surrounding the village. I could find no traces of carving, nothing in fact but loose uncut stones. The village well is built of brick. In examining the Dhârâsar Tank, however, I discovered a very singular megalithic structure called by the neighbouring Kolis the Mandwo. As far as I am aware, it is the only megalithic structure known in Gujarât. The pillars of the porch are about four feet high, and the great capstone is some ten feet long by six feet broad, and the capstone of the inner chamber is somewhat less. The accompanying sketches will give a rough idea of it. Inside the inner chamber is an upright stone like a Pâlio, but without any figure or any inscription, and with the upper part cut out, leaving a raised rim about three inches broad. This Pâlio or stone is bricked in

at the base. The structure would, I suppose, come under the denomination of Kistvaen,* both on account of the inner chamber and from the presence of the Pâlio or monumental stone. It is, I conceive, somewhat older than Dhârâpurâ, as the Kolis of these parts are not given to constructing megalithic chambers of any sort. The existence of a Pâlio inside, although without any inscription or figure, shows that it cannot be very ancient, as I am not aware of any Pâlio older than the 10th century of the Vikramâditya era. Indeed the striking feature of Pâlios is their extremely modern dates. The great majority are of the 18th and 19th centuries Saṁvat; but the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, though rare, are not very uncommon. The oldest Pâlio that I know bears the date Saṁvat 900, and records the apportioning of certain lands as *gaochar* or common of pasture. It is difficult to say what was the object of hollowing out the upper portion of the stone, or to account for the entire absence of either figure or inscription, but I remember seeing a Pâlio hollowed out in a similar manner, and equally devoid of either figure or inscription, at Bhilrigaḍh, the ancient seat of the Bhilria Wâghelas. On the whole I should be inclined to assign the ninth or tenth century of the Saṁvat era as the probable date of this structure. Should there be other megalithic structures in Gujarât, it may hereafter be possible to offer a conjecture as to the race who built it; and if there be no other, the existence of this megalithic chamber is the more extraordinary.

Camp Waghel, December 28th, 1873.

MOUSTACHES.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGÂR, BANGALOR.

Those who are in any way acquainted with the South of India cannot have failed to be struck by the scarcity of moustaches among the Brâhmaṇs of the Drâviḍian race. Whilst all Hindus living north of the Tungabhadrâ implicitly believe that it is unmanly to shave off the hair on their upper lips, the Draviḍians feel no scruple in doing so. Draviḍians of the Smârta sect, who hold any official or commercial status, have generally adopted the custom of the Deśasthâs in this respect, and are distinguished by the name of Laukikâs. The Vaidikâs (religious) most rigidly observe the custom of their ancestors.

Among no community is the aversion to the moustache more pronounced and emphatic than among the followers of Râmânujâchârya, known as Śrîvaishṇavâs. It is stated that up to about fifty years ago official men of this class used to pride themselves on the luxuriant growth of hair on their upper lips, but a local celebrity of Maisûr laid an embargo on the practice about 1830-31, and at the present time both the Vaidikâs and Laukikâs of this sect have clean-shaven visages.

It is difficult to account for this very unique practice. There is nothing in the writings of the great Râmânujâchârya, or of his followers, some of whom have been deified, to show that one's religion is affected in any way by growing moustaches. The Âḷvârs, or Draviḍian sages, whose preachings have somewhat replaced the Vedâs and Purâṇas, so far as this sect is concerned, were mostly men of no caste, and systematically cultivated them; whilst the Ṛishis, whose hirsute physiognomy has been rendered familiar to us by the fifth-rate daubs of our mural and picture painters, were remarkable, like the modern Sikhs, for their hatred of the razor.

All the other sects and sub-divisions of Hindûs, who are governed by the same Śâstrâs, consider it a matter of perfect indifference in a religious point of view. But among the Śrîvaishṇavas it is sacrilege not to shave the moustache. Omnipotent custom is chiefly pleaded in support of this singularity, but when closely pressed for a more rational justification these people adduce the following texts as prohibitory of the wearing of moustaches by Brâhmaṇs:—

I. Kḷipta-keśa nakh śmaśrur
Dântas śuklâmbaras śuchih.—*Manu.*

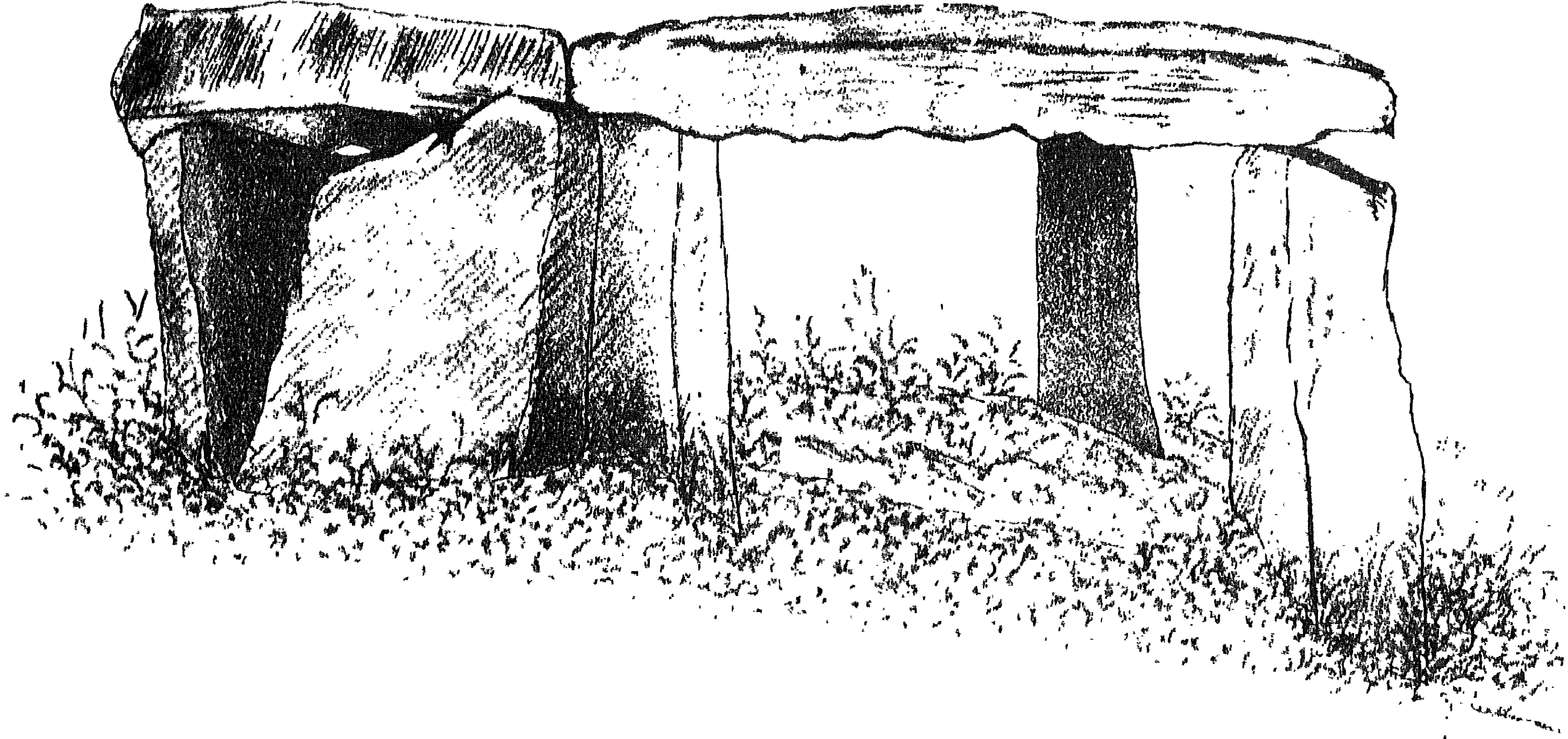
II. Śuklâmbaradharo nîcha
Keśa śmaśru nakhaḥ śuchih.—*Ib.*

III. Yastu dhârayate śmaśru
Kalikâlâśrito dvijaḥ,
Unmattas Sabahishkâryo.
Daivê Pitrye cha Karmaṇi.—*Yallâjîyê, Kâlika Purâṇa.*

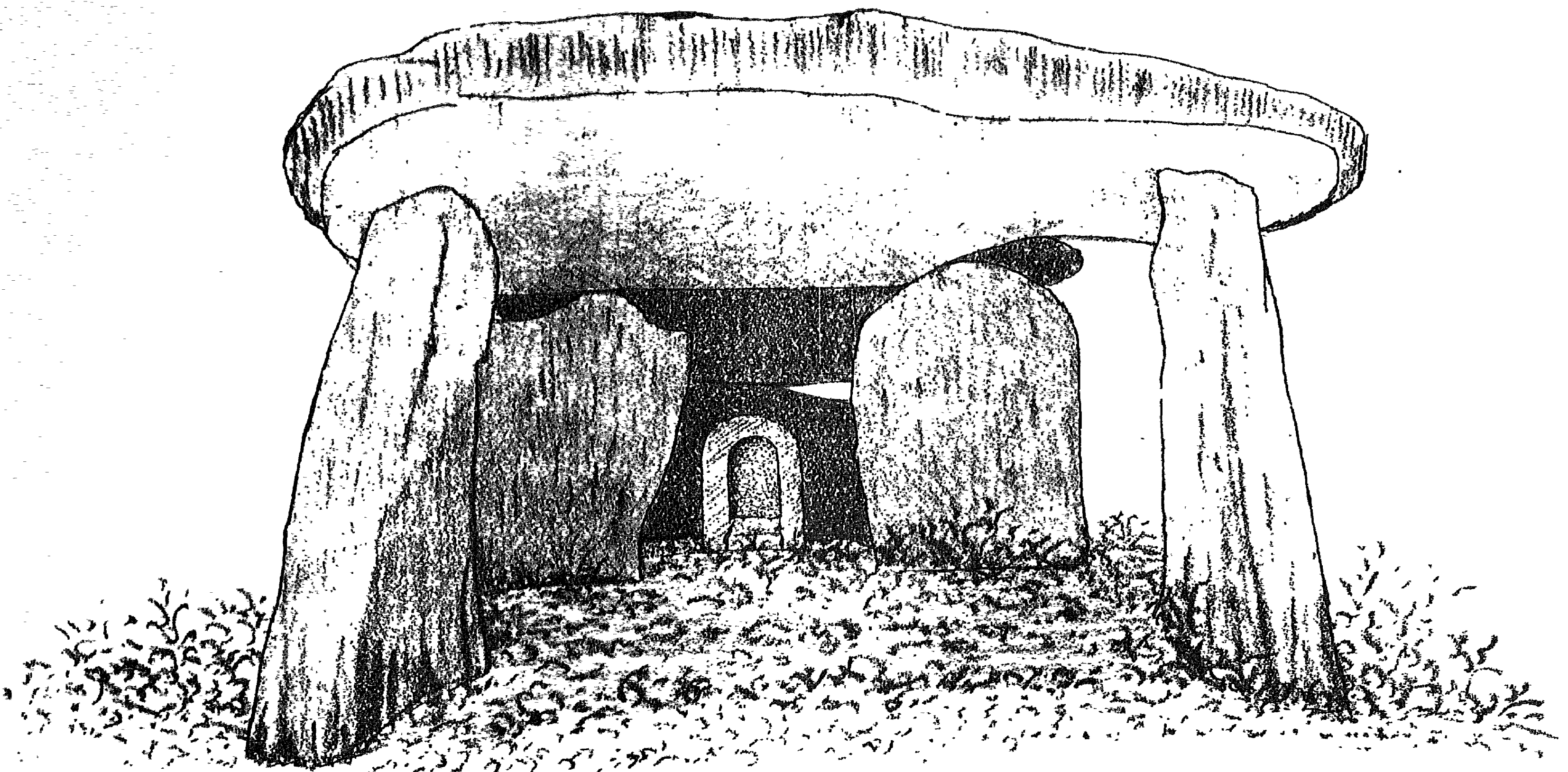
IV. Mâsi mâsi grahasthânâṃ,
* * * *
Śikhâbhru koshtha varjam
Syât.
Grahasthânâm tu sarvatâh.—*Pâdma Saṃhitâyâm.*

In the first of these texts, it is clearly laid down that the whole of one's hair on the head, nails, and moustaches should be shaved off. The Brâhmans contend, however, that the lock should be excepted,

* Its standing above ground and with the open table-stone at the front, would rather bring it under the denomination of Dolmen; but the whole is evidently the rude embryo of a Hindu temple with the open *Maṇḍapa* in front, and the garbha or shrine behind.—ED.



THE "MANDWO" AT DHÂRÂSAR TALÂO.—SIDE VIEW



THE "MANDWO."— END VIEW.

as per exclusion elsewhere denoted. In the second extract, the word 'nicha' is translated in the glosses as meaning shortened (hrasvî kṛitam), and such an interpretation is quite reasonable. But the Râmânujâs do not accept this meaning, and say it means 'shaved.' The third text is considered by most learned Pandits to be apocryphal. According to the fourth ordinance, we ought to exclude only the lock, the eyebrows, and the two fore-arms. If so, the eyelashes should be shaved off—a *reductio ad absurdum* at which the Śrîvaishṇavâs themselves would be horrified. There are some other verses, which however are not quoted, not being of the class of "Vidhîs," and the utmost that can be said for them is that they refer to particular occasions, such as funeral ceremonies, sacrifices, &c.

Our prolific Śâstras are not altogether devoid of authority for wearing the hairy ornament. As for instance:—

I. Śmaśrûn dhârayituḥ pumsah
Dirgâ bhavati Santaliḥ.—*Bhârata.*

II. Yat Śmaśruṇah
Tat purushâṇâgum rûpam.—*Sânti Parvaṇi.*
Yajur-veda.
Samhitáyâm
Kanda V.
Anuváka I.

The word rûpam in the second text above is defined by vidyâranya as 'Lakshaṇam,' or "an indispensable attribute," of manhood.

It is a pitiable sight to see these modern Pharisees so very intolerant in a harmless matter which no sophistry can invest with moral importance, whilst in their very midst, immorality and sin run riot unchecked. Even educated Śrîvaishṇavâs, who make much of their learning and liberal opinions, pay allegiance to the blind superstition of their community, and insult their own reason by pleading expediency. This is the most deplorable feature of the matter. But these people can no more stem back the tide of Reform and Progress than they can resist the eventual collapse of idolatry and caste.

THE 'AULIAS' OR SAINTS OF THE MUHAMMADANS.

BY DINSHÂH ARDESHIR TALEYARKHÂN, RÂJKOṬ.

During my travels in the South of India I remarked that the general condition and feelings of the Muhammadans are almost the same all throughout this vast peninsula. In all the Muhammadan centres that I visited I scarcely ever failed to find a *darghah* or mausoleum revered by the Moslem inhabitants, about which the most ridiculous stories, beliefs, and superstitions, handed down through several generations, are current among them. The instances I here give may both amuse the reader and illustrate the nature of the religious and moral condition of the country, which, even after the lapse of generations, still remain unaffected by Western civilization.

Just at the extremity of one of the most crowded thoroughfares of *Pent*, or the native town of the charming station of Bangalor, is one of the relics above alluded to, guarded by a lot of faqirs. Herein, they say, lies buried an "Aulia" (a saint or a simpleton) who was possessed of miraculous powers. Sometimes he used to play with children and sometimes with dogs. He got rice from one house, *dâl* from another, curry from a third, and he sat down to eat this in the company of dogs, which ate from the same dish. After this he would sleep and roll on the bare ground, and his neck, his hands, his feet then separated one by one from his body. When any one asked him why he was reduced to this frightful condition, he would at once stand up all right and answer that nothing was the matter. He would carry off any number of wine bottles from a tavern, but none dared to question him; and he would drink them off like water. If any one expressed astonishment that he should imbibe so much of the forbidden fluid, he would challenge them to prove whether he drank anything except milk; and when the people brought him bottles of wine, and he poured it into his throat, it did not appear to be wine at all, but milk: so they were convinced.

Beside this tomb is another, that of the *Aulia* Kamul Kosh Qadry by name. He lived, they say, for full 250 years. On his interment, his followers, who worshipped him for the various miracles he had performed, addressed the ground thus:—"We consign this corpse to you for forty days; until that time preserve it as it now is; after that time we shall take it back from thee." When they went to open the grave after forty days (this occurred at Nâgpur, whither the saint is said to have gone from Bangalor and died) an *Ingrez Amaldâr* of the place prohibited the act, holding it opposed to sanitary regulations. His followers tried to persuade the official to cancel his "unholy" order, but in vain. The same night his wife, who was pregnant, all of a sudden felt very ill, and no efforts could subdue her illness. But the saint appeared in a dream to the *sâheb*, and informed him that if he allowed his devotees to do what they wished, relief would be felt by his lady. The command was obeyed, and the lady all at once recovered. The *sâheb* was so rejoiced

that he allowed the disinterment of the corpse, and had it removed to Bangalor in a palanquin at his own expense.

Such pitiful credulity forms at present the only scanty source of livelihood to a large mass of the Muhammadan population in India.

As another instance I may refer to the tomb of Khâkhishâh Pehlwân in the town of Maisur. It is built on the Kâlyâṇi maidân, opposite the castle, and is somewhat remarkable for its ornamental carving, as are many of the Muhammadan religious structures in and about this town. Every Musalmân passing by considers it his duty to fall prostrate before this tomb and state his wishes, which are supposed to be granted by Khâkhishâh. Except a few pious lines from the Qorân, there is no inscription to help one to the history of this "saint." But a faqir generally stands in a crowded thoroughfare, not far from the monument, with incense sticks burning in his right hand, demanding alms from the passers-by. And he tells you Khâkhishah was a Pîr to whom no exploit was impossible. Once upon a time the city was the abode of wild beasts and was in the possession of a demon named C h â ṃ a r d i, by which name the hill is known at the foot of which the city of Maisur is built; because this demon, after being humiliated by Khâkhishâh, is said to have gone to the top of the hill, where he has been worshipped ever since by thousands of people, and is the means of maintaining more than a hundred Brahmans. Khâkhishâh forced his way into this place; he discovered the demon, cut off his nose, then converted him into a stone idol and made the desert a thickly populated city. If he were to get over a wall and order it to move, it would do so till he told it to stop. By simply uttering the words "Ìa Huk," he crossed a wide and deep trench such as the Purnyah's Khunduk.* Every one got from him whatever was asked. When he opened his mouth, a stream of gold mohars flowed therefrom. When he wished, he would have bazars plundered by the poor for their benefit, and so forth.

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN 1871-72.

[*From the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1873.]

No other department of Eastern research has, perhaps, engaged so much the attention of English Orientalists during the last fifty years as the wide and fertile field of Indian Archæology; and it is to their inquiries that much is due of what is now known of the history of that people whose literature is so signally devoid of historical and geographical facts. For investigations of this kind the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Indian branches of this institution have naturally enjoyed far greater facilities in acquiring the requisite materials and local information than could have been possible in this, or still less in any other European country. The brilliant discoveries of *James Prinsep*, the decipherment of the Aryan Pali legends of the Bactrian coins, and still more of the Edicts of Aśoka, which introduced a new era of Indian archæology, form, perhaps, the brightest epoch in the annals of the Bengal Asiatic Society. At a subsequent period the Bombay branch of our Society also rendered very material assistance in the elucidation of the ancient Buddhist inscriptions, especially that of Girnâr, by the contributions of Captain (now General Sir G.) Le Grand Jacob, Mr. J. Bird, Rev. J. Stevenson, Dr. Westergaard, and others. Though the publications of those Societies must chiefly be consulted for complete and authentic information on these important documents, this Society may justly claim to have added some very valuable materials, and to have largely contributed to their thorough investigation. The decipherment of Mr. Masson's impression of the *Kapur di Giri* rock inscription by *Mr. E. Norris*, then Secretary to the Society, whose recent loss we deeply lament, proved a most important accession to the knowledge of the palæography and ancient history of India, and contributed materially to the fuller interpretation of the two copies of Aśoka's Edicts known by Prinsep, those of Dhauli and Girnâr. It was chiefly the assistance of this document which afterwards enabled Prof. Wilson to furnish a more correct translation of these Edicts, and to explain much that had remained obscure and doubtful after the publication of the other two copies. Further, it has been through the Kapur di Giri inscription, together with some other documents in the Bactrian Pali character, so satisfactorily treated by *Prof. J. Dowson* (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX.,—Vol. IV. N. S.) that a more correct reading of the legends of Bactrian coins has become possible. Among other documents the investigation of which has materially added to the knowledge of the history of India, the foremost rank, in point of time as well as of copiousness

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* "Purnyah's Khunduk" is, to the best of my memory, situated outside the Maisur castle, and was dug by order of Purnyah, the Prime Minister to a former Mahârâja of Maisur, for the benefit of the townspeople, who then suffered much from want of water. It is a very large half-done work, but is now the receptacle of noxious matters, at least it was so when I saw it in 1868.

and variety of new information, has to be assigned to *Sir Walter Elliot's* admirable essay on the dynasties of the Dekhan, continued in the fourth volume of our Journal, being the result of a careful examination of a very considerable number of grants on stone and copper plates, of which either the originals or copies had been obtained by him. This highly useful summary was in later years supplemented by the same scholar, chiefly with the assistance of Southern Indian coins, in the Journal of the Literary Society of Madras. A number of original copperplate grants, which were published in the early volumes of this Society's Journal, with translations by *Mr. Wathen,* have likewise added some information on the history of several of these dynasties. Two of these, the Châlukya and Chera dynasties, form the subjects of two papers by *Prof. Dowson;* whilst *Mr. J. Fergusson,* in a recent volume of the Journal, has once more examined all existing materials, in order to arrive at a more satisfactory settlement of the mediæval chronology of India. A former volume contains this author's well-known memoir on the Rock-cut Temples of India, in which the differences of style were first pointed out and made use of for approximately fixing the dates of the cave-temples known at that time. To the rude stone monuments of India, on which so much light has of late been thrown by the researches of *Mr. J. Fergusson, Col. Meadows Taylor,* and other inquirers, the attention of the Society was drawn at a recent meeting by *Mr. M. J. Walhouse,* who read an interesting account of the numerous remains of that kind in the Koimbatur district.

The results of *Mr. E. Thomas's* extensive Archæological, chiefly numismatic, researches, extend, in papers published in the Society's Journal, over the last twenty-five years. These essays, as is acknowledged on all hands, contain most valuable material on almost every period of the history of India: the portion, however, most fully and satisfactorily illustrated by them is the chronology of the Muhammadan dynasties. Mr. Thomas has further rendered good service by placing together, and commenting upon, all the known Sassanian documents, including the famous Hájiábád inscription of Sapor I., a subject on which *Dr. E. W. West* has likewise published in our Journal the results of his own studies and those of *Professor M. Haug,* of Munich.

On one of the later periods of the literature of the Parsis, their Persian writings, some information has been given in a paper by *Dr. E. Sachau* containing accounts of some hitherto unknown, or but partially known, works.

The geographical and historical condition of India from the time of Ptolemy to the Muhammadan invasion was, up to a recent period, enveloped in an impenetrable mist, with but here and there a faint glimpse of light afforded by inscriptions and the somewhat doubtful authority of the Purâṇas and other Hindu writings. The detailed accounts given by some Chinese Buddhists of their pilgrimages to India between the fifth and seventh centuries of our era,—especially that of Fa Hian, brought to light by Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, and the still more important travels of Hiwen Thsang, translated with such laudable perseverance by our late lamented foreign associate M. Stanislas Julien,—have fortunately dissipated much of this obscurity. The materials furnished by these scholars have been investigated with much success by *M. de St.-Martin, Professor Lassen,* and *General Cunningham.* At the time of publication of the French translation, the late *Professor Wilson* contributed to the Journal of this Society two papers on these travels, which contain some valuable remarks; whilst *Colonel H. Yule* and *Mr. J. Fergusson* have, more recently again, subjected portions of those materials to a critical examination, and have proposed a number of new identifications of the localities visited by the Buddhist pilgrims. The Council are not without hope that some satisfactory progress may at last be made in the official exploration of the ancient Architectural and other remains in India.

The intercourse of India with ancient Greece and Rome during the early centuries of our era has been made the subject of inquiry by *Mr. O. de B. Priaulx;* the results of his studies on these points are contained in several papers, published in the Journal, on the travels of Apollonius of Tyana, and on the Indian Embassies to Rome between the reigns of Augustus and Justinian.

As far back as the year 1844 the Council, having its attention drawn to the neglected state of ancient Hindu monuments, many of which were in the course of actual destruction and obliteration, not only by the wear of time, but also by the careless treatment of individuals, took an opportunity of addressing to the Hon. Court of Directors an earnest request that some competent person might be engaged, under their orders, to prepare accurate drawings and descriptions, and thus preserve to science the memory of those curious remains. This representation was most favourably entertained by the Hon. Court, and three years after, in accordance with suggestions from Lord Hardinge, a liberal sanction was given to an arrangement for examining, delineating, and recording the most important of the antiquities of India; but, from some reason or other, very little seems to have resulted from these official transactions.

It was not until 1861 that a memorandum, addressed to Lord Canning by *General* (then *Colonel*) *A. Cunningham*, drew once more the attention of the Government to this important subject, when, in accordance with an admirable minute of the Governor-General, the systematic investigation of the Archæological remains of Northern India was resolved upon, and the work entrusted to General Cunningham. The four years succeeding his appointment were spent by that officer in carrying out the programme laid down in his memorandum, viz. the survey of all the principal interesting places of Northern India; and a report on the operations of each season was submitted to Government and printed for official circulation. In 1870 a still wider measure, the General Archæological Survey of India, was determined upon by the Indian Government; and General Cunningham was again called upon to take charge of this important undertaking, and returned to India for that purpose in the autumn of 1870. As yet the only result has been the republication, with plans and other illustrations, of the General's previous reports; and this, the Council are aware, has occasioned disappointment to many who had looked to the reinstalment of this distinguished archæologist as promising the prompt exploration of new fields and the collection of fresh materials for comparison and study. It is now understood that the General is preparing for the press a report comprising his explorations of various places in the Gangetic Valley during the cold season of 1871-2. This report, which is to form the third volume of the series, will contain forty-seven plates; whilst a fourth volume will consist of two reports on Agra and Delhi, with seventeen plates, by General Cunningham's Assistants, Messrs. Beglar and Carlleyle. The publication of these volumes having been provisionally sanctioned in February last, they may apparently be expected in this country before the end of the year; and it is hoped they will add considerably to our knowledge of the antiquities of these countries.

The Council, however, observe with regret that the operations of the Survey have hitherto been confined to the single party directed by General Cunningham himself, and occupied only in exploring the valley of the Ganges, one of the best-known and most-frequented provinces of India. Nothing has apparently been done to investigate the antiquities of the recently acquired Central Provinces, and the still more *terra incognita* of the Nizam's territories; and, so far as can be ascertained, no steps have been taken to survey either the Madras or Bombay Presidencies, without which the knowledge of Indian antiquities must remain one-sided and fragmentary, as hitherto. With regard to the last-named Presidency, the Council cannot but regret that the Government of India did not comply with the earnest request of General Cunningham, conveyed in his official letter of February 7th, 1871, that Mr. Burgess should be appointed Archæological Surveyor of the Bombay Presidency. Had the services of that accomplished antiquarian been engaged, not only would most important information have been obtained, but, as General Cunningham points out, a fit person might have been secured to succeed him hereafter as Director of the Archæological Survey of India.

The Council are glad to learn from the recent publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal that General Cunningham has transferred to that Society a large number of miscellaneous inscriptions collected by him during his recent tours, and they hope that the partial explorations lately made by Mr. Broadley in the classic district of Behar will be further prosecuted by means of the larger resources at the General's command.

Mr. Burgess continues to conduct the *Indian Antiquary* with undiminished success. That periodical has now reached its 16th number, and contains a series of valuable papers on subjects connected with the antiquities and literature of India. During the past month the Government of Dutch India has presented to the Council, through the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, a collection of upwards of 300 excellent photographs representing part of the antiquities of Java. In 1862 the late *Rev. J. F. G. Brumund* was, at the suggestion of the Batavian Society, appointed by the Dutch Government to survey, and furnish a detailed account of the Hindu remains in Java. This important undertaking was unfortunately cut short in the following year by the untimely death of the reverend gentleman. He left, however, a highly interesting account of several of the most important monuments, which was afterwards published in vol. xxxiii. of the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1868). Shortly after, *Heer van Kinsbergen* was entrusted with the task of reproducing by accurate photographs the most interesting and characteristic of these monuments, in detail and from a scientific point of view. The collection, of which a copy has now reached England, is the first instalment of a series which when finished will furnish an excellent and pretty complete view of the pre-Muhammadan remains in Java. The same gentleman is at present engaged in reproducing the splendid and extensive remains in the residency of Radu, generally known under the name of Boro-Budur,* after which

* See p. 62.

his camera will be brought to bear on monuments of still earlier periods in that part of Java. Thanks to the enlightened policy of the Government of Dutch India, and the praiseworthy and successful labours of the Batavian *Genootschap*, the student of Eastern Art will thus in a few years be able to avail himself of what will have to be considered as the first comprehensive view of the antiquities of an Eastern country. Even in its imperfect state, this collection is sufficient to make it evident that the antiquities of Java are much more extensive and interesting than was suspected by Raffles and Crawfurd, and it is probable that they will hereafter admit of arrangement in a consecutive series with at least relative dates. If ever anything equally systematic should be obtained from India, it may be possible not only to distinguish at what time the various migrations from India to Java and Cambodia took place, but also to ascertain from what place they embarked.

In Ceylon a series of some 200 photographs of the Antiquities of Anuradhapura and Tolamarua was taken by the late Mr. *Lawton;* and it is understood that the present enlightened Governor, Mr. Gregory, of that island, intends to continue the series, and to complete it by adding plans and other illustrations. When this is done, it may rival the Dutch series in completeness and interest. At present only one set of these photographs is known to have reached this country, and to be in the Colonial Office. But as they are without texts and subsidiary illustrations, they can hardly be said to be available to students for the elucidation of the antiquarian history of the island.

The Council are not aware of any new photographs having been taken in India since the date of the last report, which have any bearing either on the antiquities or the architecture of India. Dr. Hunter has added a few to his Mahawalpur series, alluded to in a previous report; and Messrs. Shepherd and Bourne have sent a photographer through Rajputana in company with Mr. Burgess; but neither in Bengal nor Bombay has anything new been attempted.

REVIEW.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP: or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ, from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sânchi and Amravati. Prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Second edition. Revised, corrected, and in great part rewritten. By James Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., M.R.A.S., &c. London: India Museum, 1873.

The history of this work and the materials of it is a somewhat curious one: In 1797 the attention of Colonel Mackenzie was attracted by the remains of the Amravati tope on the Krishnâ in Gantur, then recently dug into for building materials by the petty Râja of Chintapilli, and he communicated an account of them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* In 1816 he revisited them, and during the two following years his assistants made plans of the building and maps of the surrounding country, together with eighty very carefully-finished drawings of the sculptures. These are "unsurpassed for accuracy and beauty of finish by any drawings of their class that were ever executed in India. Three copies were made of all these drawings. One was sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, another was deposited in Madras, and the third sent home to the Court of Directors, in whose library it still remains." "At the same time, Colonel Mackenzie sent several specimens of the sculptures to the three museums just mentioned, and they have remained their principal ornaments to this day."

Again, when Mr. (now Sir Walter) Elliot was Commissioner of Gantur, in 1840, he excavated a portion of the monuments which had not before been touched, and sent down to Madras a large collection of the sculptures, which were first deposited in the old College there, whence they were carried to the Central Museum on its establishment, and ranged in and around the hall on the left hand of the entrance. They were sent to England in 1856, and some of the slabs placed outside the Museum at Fife House, under a veranda roof which protected them from the direct action of the weather, where, however, they were so corroded by the atmosphere, as, in a great measure, to obliterate the delicate carving: the rest were stowed away in the coach-house, under such rubbish as an old tent, three or four bales of seed-cotton, and a skeleton model of an Indian temple. There they remained till accidentally heard of by Mr. Fergusson in January 1867. The study of these sculptures led the author to write a paper on this Tope in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1867. Subsequently he appealed to the Secretary of State for India in Council for the necessary aid to publish photographs of these marbles through the section of the India Museum devoted to the reproduction of works of artistic value.

The Sânchi or Bhilsâ Topes were discovered by General Taylor of the Bengal Cavalry when encamped near them during the campaign of 1818. The great Tope was still nearly perfect when Cap-

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 272 *seqq*.

tain Fell visited it in 1819; but shortly afterwards "some bungling amateurs dug into the monument, and so completely ruined it, that the form of its superstructure can now only with difficulty be made out." The whole of the Topes at Bhilsâ were afterwards opened and examined by General A. Cunningham * and Lieutenant-Colonel Maisey, and the results published in Cunningham's *Bhilsá Topes.* A beautiful series of drawings, made by Lieut.-Col. Maisey in 1854, were in the Library of the India Office, and attracted Mr. Fergusson's attention while engaged on the Amravati Tope. A set of photographs of the same monument was at the same time received from Lieutenant Waterhouse, R.A., and, there being now ample means at his disposal for illustrating the Sânchi Tope also, a second application was made to the India Council and met in a liberal spirit. The result is now the production of perhaps the only work of the kind yet published under Government auspices really reflecting credit upon its patronage. Nor, notwithstanding deficiencies which he himself candidly confesses, has the author or his readers cause to regret his having undertaken the work: for, to use his own words—"No professional author could have devoted the years requisite to its performance without remuneration,—and that the nature of the work does not admit of,—and no amateur that I am acquainted with, has, with the requisite leisure, that devoted love of the subject which would induce him to enter on so thankless an undertaking, and to submit to all the annoyances which its performance is certain to entail on him. I consider the attempt, however, well worthy the sacrifice of any amount of time and feeling which it may give rise to, for the more I study them, the more convinced I am that the plates of this work—I speak of the plates and the plates only, wholly irrespective of the text—are the most valuable contributions that have been made to our knowledge of Buddhist history and art, since James Prinsep's wonderful decipherment and translation of the Aśoka inscriptions." And, as he again remarks, "The plates of this work present us with a picture of religion, manners, and arts of India at a remote and hitherto dark period of her history such as has not been found elsewhere, and, as such, I cannot but think it well worthy of the attention of all those interested in the welfare or antiquities of that great and most poetic region of the globe."

As stated on the title-page, this second edition is not a mere corrected reprint of the work as it appeared in 1868: it is to a large extent a new work. In sending forth the first edition, the author remarked in the preface, "If this work is really of the importance and interest which from its illustrations I believe it really is, the very limited number of copies to which this edition extends will soon be exhausted, and the work must appear again either in a similar or a more popular form. Whether, in that event, it will also be more complete or perfect, depends more on others than on myself. If those who are more competent, or who have special opportunities of gaining knowledge, will aid either by criticisms or communications to the public press, or by imparting information to me privately, a great deal may easily be done. I urge this the more earnestly, because it seems to be only by such co-operation, either in such a book as this, or under some more competent leadership, that we shall be able to follow the worship of the Tree or the Serpent through all their ramifications, or to trace them back to their source." The criticisms of the press, however, presented no suggestion for the improvement of the work, nor supplied any addition to our knowledge of the subject. But the attention thus directed to it led to its discussion in the Journals of the Asiatic Societies, and notices in Indian publications, * which, with the drawings and casts brought home from the Sânchi topes and the photographs of the Katak and other caves, have added considerably to the information at the author's command, and enabled him greatly to improve the work. "The description of the two Topes themselves, and of their sculptures, have been, to a great extent, re-written, and a sufficient number of the subjects have been identified to make the history and purpose of the whole sufficiently intelligible. The small balance that remains can easily be explained by any one resident among Buddhists, who will no doubt be able to recognize the legends."

The Introductory Essay is divided into two parts,—The first treating cursorily, but with considerable learning, of Tree and Serpent worship in the West—Europe, Syria, Africa, and America; the second, of the same cultus in Eastern Asia—Persia to China, and Oceania, of the rise of Buddhism and of the Hindu religions. With this part of the work are interwoven the author's ethnological

* Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. vol. III. pp. 132 *seqq.*

* Beal—'Some Remarks on the great Tope at Sânchi,' in Jour. R. Asiat. Soc. N. S. vol. V. pp. 164-181, and 'The Legend of Dipañkara Buddha' in vol. VI. pp. 377 *seqq.*; V. N. Mandlik—'Serpent Worship in Western India,' in Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc. vol. IX. pp. 169 *seqq.*; Pratâpachandra Ghosha—'The Vastu Yâga and its bearings on Tree and Serpent Worship in India,' in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXIX. pp. 199 *seqq.*; *Nagananda, or the Joy of the Snake World*, translated by P. Boyd, 1872; *Old Deccan Days*, by Miss Frere; *The Sacred City of the Hindus*, by Rev. M. Sherring; *Annals of Rural Bengal*, by W. W. Hunter, B. C. S; *Cornhill Magazine* for Nov. 1872, p. 598; *Ruins of Nâlandâ Monastery*, by A. M. Broadley; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. pp. 153, 335.

theories respecting the races with whom originated, and who were specially addicted to, these forms of worship,—theories which, however ingenious, it is not necessary to endorse, in order to appreciate the true value of the work as a contribution to the history of Indian Art.

The description of the Topes is prefaced by a brief outline of the general characteristics of Buddhist architecture, which, as might be expected from the author's reputation, is a well-written, interesting, and instructive chapter. For the age of the Sânchi Topes we have no definite information, but there are indications that help us to approximate dates: thus on the southern gateway of the Great Tope is an inscription read as "the gift of Ânanda the son of Vaśishṭha, in the reign of Śrî Sâtakarṇi," which may be taken to indicate that it was being carved during the lifetime of Christ. This is supported by the style of the carving, and the other gates follow in the order—north, east, and west—of which the last was probably completed about the end of the first century. The Tope itself is older, and may even belong to the age of Aśoka.

About half of the bas-reliefs on the gateways at Sânchi represent religious acts, such as worshipping the Daḥgoba, Trees, the Wheel, or other emblems. There are also a few scenes that can be identified with more or less certainty as representing events described in the legendary life of Buddha. Of these the scenes depicted on the lower beam of the Northern Gateway, have been identified by Mr. Beal with the Wessantara Jâtaka, and those of the right-hand pillars of the Eastern Gateway, with the conversion of the Kaśyapas and subsequent events. This last also appears on the great Boro Budur temple in Java. Some others have also been identified with more or less certainty, and the rest will probably be explained "when scholars familiar with the ordinary representations of such subjects in the East at the present day, turn seriously to their investigation." A considerable number of other bas-reliefs are "representations of scenes in domestic life, regarding which it will probably be impossible ever to feel sure that we know who the actors in them are." But "eating, and drinking, and making love are occupations so common among mankind, that it matters little who the parties are who are so engaged in the Sânchi sculptures. But, besides all these, there are several important bas-reliefs representing historical events, which it would be very interesting to identify, if it were practicable."

The following remarks on the merits of the sculpture, are both just and interesting:—"Neither at Sânchi nor at Amravati are there any of those many-armed or many-headed divinities who form the staple of the modern Hindu Pantheon. There are none of those monstrous combinations of men with heads of elephants, or lions, or boars. All the men and women represented, are human beings, acting as men and women have acted in all times, and the success or failure of the representation, may consequently be judged of by the same rules as are applicable to sculptures in any other place or country. Notwithstanding this, the mode of treatment is so original and so local, that it is difficult to assign it any exact position in comparison with the arts of the Western world. It certainly, as a sculptural art, is superior to that of Egypt, but as far inferior to the art as practised in Greece. The sculptures at Amravati are perhaps as near in scale of excellence to the contemporary art of the Roman empire under Constantine as to any other that could be named; or, rather, they should be compared with the sculptures of the early Italian Renaissance, as it culminated in the hands of Ghiberti, and before the true limits between the provinces of sculpture and painting were properly understood.

"The case is somewhat different as regards the sculptures at Sânchi. These are ruder but more vigorous. If they want the elegance of design at Amravati, they make up for it by a distinctness and raciness of expression which is wanting in these more refined compositions. The truth seems to be that the Sânchi sculptures, like everything else there, betray the influence of the freedom derived from wood-carving, which, there can be little doubt, immediately preceded these examples, and formed the school in which they were produced."

This study of these sculptures leads us to point to the Greek kingdom of Baktria as the fountain-head from which the art of sculpture in India was introduced. "We can thence follow it through the time when, from being a rude and imitative art, it rose to its highest degree of refinement in the fourth or fifth century of our era, at which time it had also become essentially localized. From that point our history is easy, though somewhat discouraging, from its downward tendency towards the present state of art in India."

The Amravati Tope Mr. Fergusson identifies with the Avaraśilâ Sangharâmâ of Hiwen Thsang,* and also the Temple of the Diamond Sands mentioned in the Tooth-Relic traditions, the Danakacheka of the Chinese pilgrim being the modern Bejwâdâ, and the evidence he adduces as to its age, taken all together, seems to indicate the erection of the great rail in the fourth century.

The Sânchi Tope is illustrated by 45 plates, 12

* *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 188; and *Si-yu-ki*, vol. II. pp. 110 seqq.; and see *Ind. Antiq.* vol. I. p. 153.

of them photographs; and that of Amravatî by 54 plates, 37 of them photographic. The work is by no means so exhaustively full and detailed in illustration as the great work just completed by the Dutch Government of the Buddhist Temple at Boro Budur,* but the drawings, if much less, are more truthful in minute details. When we have, if it is now possible to obtain them, equally good representations of the frescoes and sculptures from the Western Cave-Temples,† we shall have the materials for throwing a flood of light not only on these sculptures, but also on the history both of Buddhism and of Indian Art. To this edition is added an Appendix on the Udayagiri or Khaṇḍagiri caves in Kaṭak, illustrated by a photograph of five casts of sculpture from them, of which, but for its insertion here, we might have longer remained in ignorance. Another paper contains a reconstruction of the gate of Herod's temple, which the author believes was a propylon somewhat in the style of the Sânchi gateways.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTE ON PAUNDRA-VARDDHANA.

Questions in ancient Indian geography may sometimes be settled by reference to village registers, but oftener a name survives in territorial divisions, made for fiscal or other purposes, long after the important place, which gave its name, has ceased to exist even as a little village. This is especially the case with the sarkârs and mahâls of Akbar's settlement. Tajpur, an important military post under the Muhammadans, and continued as such for the first generation of British rule, would now be sought for in vain on the frontier of Purneah and Dinajpur, though the Parganâ and the sarkâr of Tajpur still retain the name. In this manner I conceive that the position of the kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana, visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiwen Thsang in the seventh century of the Christian era, may be ascertained by an examination of the name of the sarkârs and zamindâris in the neighbourhood in which that traveller places the kingdom. Mr. Fergusson, in his paper on Hiwen Thsang,‡ shows that the pilgrim, coming from the west, crossed the Ganges somewhere near Râjmahâl, and continuing his journey towards the east found himself in the kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana. In the present day the same route would traverse the districts of Maldah, Dinajpur, and Bogra, and, further on Rangpur. Compare the name Paundra with that of Pâṇjara, the *ṇ* representing the nasal sound, and the first syllable is in pronunciation identical. To a foreigner the sound of *j* might easily be mistaken for that of *d*, and so Pâṇjara becomes Paundra. Pâṇjara is at this day the correct manner of writing the name which Gladwin, in his translation of the "Ayeen Akberi," spells Pinjerah, and Akbar's sarkâr of Pinjerah formed the nucleus of the great Dinajpur estates, of which I gave an account in the *Calcutta Review* § (Oct. 1872), and of the British district of the same name. Roughly speaking, the sarkâr is divided on the N. E. from Rangpur by the river Korotoya, on the west from Sarkâr Tajpur by a line running through the western thânâs of Dinajpur, on the south excludes the Sarkârs Barbokabad and Jonotabad, which occupy the southern part of Dinajpur, and on the south-east Sarkâr Pâṇjara extends into the district of Bogra. In the article before referred to, I explained at length my reasons for believing that Akbar's officers created the Sarkâr of Pâṇjara out of an estate already existing, of the same name, and I think it probable that this state may have been a representative remnant of the ancient kingdom which Hiwen Thsang calls Paundra. The Parganâ of Pâṇjara forms a central portion of the sarkar of the same name.

A discovery of the name of Varddhana in the same neighbourhood would corroborate my position identifying Paundra with Pâṇjara. The Sanscrit *v* in Bengali becomes *b*, the short vowel is pronounced *o*, and the final vowel is not pronounced; so Vărddhănă becomes Borddhon. For this we have not far to seek. Adjoining the sarkâr of Pâṇjara on the south-east were the estates of a zamindâr who, as Dr. Buchanan in his account of Dinajpur‖ has recorded, died childless some time in the sevententh century, when part of his estates became the property of the Râja, or Zamindâr, of Dinajpur. The remaining portion was, during the earlier years of British rule, as I find from papers in the Dinajpur collectorate, known as the zamindâri of Idrakpur, or Edrakpur. The original estate is called the zamindâri, sometimes, of Khyetlal, sometimes of Borddhon-kutî, and here is the name I am looking for. At Borddhon-kutî was to a late period the residence of the zamindârs known as the Borddhon-kutî family.

Finding in this way an estate called Pâṇjara

* *Vide ante*, p. 58. † *Vide ante*, p. 25.

‡ *Jour. R. Asiat. Soc.*, N. S. vol. VI. (Nov. 1872) p. 237.

§ *Calc. Rev.* vol. LV. pp. 205-224.

‖ *Apud* Montgomery Martin—*Eastern India*, vol. II. pp. 622-685.

and an estate called Borddhon in juxtaposition, I cannot but feel that we have come near to a kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana.

I must confess that Mr. Fergusson, to whom I mentioned my conjecture, was not satisfied with it, as not corresponding with sufficient accuracy to the measurements of Hiwen Thsang. We have, however, no accurate knowledge how far the kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana may have extended, and I think the Chinese pilgrim may have entered the dominions of the king without being near those central portions which still retain the name.

An alternative suggestion might be the discovery of the name of Paundra in that of Poṛrowa (Beng. पंड्वा) which Ghayâs-ud-din and several of the earlier Muhammadan kings of Bengal made their capital, calling it Firozpur or Firozabad. It still exists, containing the shrines of two Muhammadan holy men, a few miles to the north of Maldah, and in the region where we are certainly to look for the kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana. Writing at sea, without means of referring to a map, I think a straight line drawn from Râjmahâl to Gauhatti would pass very near Borddhon-kutî, which may have been the capital visited by Hiwen Thsang.

I do not remember the direction in which the monkeys in the Ramâyâna were sent, to whom the Paundra were mentioned as one of the tribes among whom they were to search for the lost Sîtâ, but I think the name should be remembered in connection with the kingdom of Paundra.

Mr. Fergusson* places the kingdom of Paundra-Varddhana between the Kusî on the west, the Brahmaputra on the east, and Ganges on the south. These limits would include the whole of Dinajpur, Maldah, and Bogra, part of Purneah, and part of Rajshahye, and the identification of names which I have suggested brings the tracts indicated within those districts. I make the suggestion for what it is worth, courting criticism, and glad if I can attract the attention of any one capable of solving the question more satisfactorily than I can.

To the remarks made above on the name of Poundra, I must add that I think it much more likely that the name of a kingdom should survive in that of a large tract, like that of the Sarkâr of Pâṇjara, than in that of a single town like Poṇduwa or Poṛruwa, which does not appear to have ever given a name to the adjacent country.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT,
Bengal Civil Service.

January 9th, 1874.

HINDU RITES.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. page 5[illegible], a Madras custom is described which consists in the village school-children going round from house to house at the *Dasará* festival, singing songs, beating together painted sticks, and asking for presents, which form a perquisite of the schoolmasters. It is curious that an exactly similar custom prevails in the town of Karnâl (करनाल), but the day is *Ganesh Chauth* (4th *Sudi* Bhâdur), called also *Chauk chakri*. The songs sung by the children are all *chaupáîs*.

Would it not be useful to describe minutely, as occasion offered, some one of the ordinary Hindû ceremonies as practised in a particular place, and to invite communications regarding the localities where it is, or is not, observed, and any local varieties in ritual that may exist? It would be convenient if each monthly part of the *Antiquary* were to contain such a description of the ceremonies peculiar to the month next but one to that of publication, as readers could then easily compare the account given with the actual celebration in their districts. It appears to me that we should, in this way, arrive at a comparative view of Hindu ritual, as practised in various parts of India, which would be of no inconsiderable value.

DENZIL IBBETSON,
Assist. Settlement Officer, Karnâl

THE DIVINE AND THE PHYSICAL LIGHT.

From the Mesnavi of Jellal-aldyn Rûmi—2nd Daftur.

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

نور حق بر نور حسّ راکب شود
انکهی جان سوی حق راغب شود
اسب بی راکب چه داند رسم و راه
شاه باید تا بداند شاهراه
سوی حسّی رو که نورش راکب است
حسّ را آن نور نیکو صاحب است
نور حس را نور حق تزیین بود
معنی نور علی نور این بود
نور حسّی میکشد سوی ثری
نور حقّش میبرد سوی علا

* p. 255 of the paper above referred to.

زانکه محسوسات دونتر عالمی است
نورحق دریا وحس چون شبنمی است
لیک پیدا نیست این راکب بر او
جز بآثار و گفتار نکو
نور حسّی کو غلیظ است و کران
هست پنهان در سواد دیدگان
چونکه نور حسّ نمی بینی زچشم
چو ببینی نور آن و نی زچشم
اینجهان چون خس بدست باد غیب
عاجزی پیشه گرفت از داد غیب
که ببحرش میبرد گاهش ببر
گاه خشکش میکند گاهیش تر
دست پنهان و قلم بین خط گزار
اسب در جولان و نا پیدا سوار
که بلندش میکند گاهش پست
که بلندش میکند گاهی شکست
که یمینش میبرد گاهی یسار
که گلستانش کند گاهش خار
تیر پران بین و نا پیدا کمان
جانها پیدا و پنهان جان جان
تیر را مشکن که این تیر شهی است
نیست پرتابی ز شست آگهی است
ما رمیت اذ رمیت گفت حق
کار حق بر کارها دارد سبق
خشم خود بشکن تو مشکن تیر را
چشم خشمت خون نماید شیر را
بوسه ده بر تیر و پیش شاه بر
تیر خون آلوده از خون تو تر
آنچه پیدا عاجز و پست و زبون
وآنچه نا پیدا چنان تند و حرون
ما شکاریم اینچنین دامی کراست
گوی چوگانیم چوگانی کجاست
میدرد و میدوزد این خیاط کو
میدمد میسوزد این نفاط کو
ساعتی کافر کند صدیق را
ساعتی زاهد کند زندیق را

The light of God illumes the light of sense,
And then the soul aspires to meet its God;
A steed without a rider knows no way,
It wants a king to know the royal road.
Behold the sense which governed is by light,
A fine companion is this light to sense.
God's light adorns the sensual light,
This is the meaning of *Light on light*.*
Light physical drags down to earth beneath,
But light divine exalts to heavenly bliss.
All things of senses in a base world are,
God's light an ocean is, but sense a drop of dew.
Although this motor cannot be perceived,
Unless in virtuous effects and in speech.
The sensual light is ponderous, inert,
Concealed within the eye's recess.
As you the sensual eye-light cannot see,
How find you light which is not of the eye?
This world is swayed like chaff by the unseen wind,
Obeying helplessly the grace of God,
Which now conveys this chaff to sea and now to land;
Sometimes it moistened is and sometimes dry;
The hand unseen is; but see the writing pen!
The horse gallops, no rider does appear,
In mountains now it roams, and now in vales,
It now exalted is and now abased,
It now drives to the right and now to left,
Is now in rose-groves, now in thorny paths.
Behold, the arrow flies without a bow!
Life can be seen, but where is Life of life?
Break not the shaft, it is a royal one,
Although its nullity the mover knows;
God said: *thou hast not cast it, but I cast.* †
The acts of God precede all other acts,
You must your anger break and not the shaft,
Your wrathful eye turns milk to blood.
O kiss the arrow, bear it to the king,
That shaft defiled, and moist with blood of yours.
The seen is weak, and mean and base,
But quick and strong the invisible is.
We are the game, but who is master of the net?
We are the ball, but cannot see the bat.
Where is the artist who now tears, now sews?
The naphtha-thrower who now quenches and now burns,
Who now an infidel will make Siddiq,‡
And now a saintly hermit of Zandiq?§

* *Qorân*, xxiv. 35. † *Ibid.* viii. 17.

‡ *Siddiq*, epithet of the Khalif Abu Bekr, here taken to represent piety.

§ *Zandiq* here means a heretic, but literally one who follows the *Zand* books, *i.e.* a Zoroastrian.

THE CUSTOM OF "KAREIYÎḌ" OR PERIODICAL REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN TANJORE.

BY H. STOKES, C.S., NEGAPATAM.

IN 1807 a Committee appointed to report on the project of making a permanent settlement in Tanjore found that there were three classes of villages in the district, which were named according to the tenure on which they were held. These were :—

1. Samudâyam, of which there were 1,774
2. Palabhôgam, of which there were 2,202
3. Ekabhôgam, of which there were 1,807

Total villages 5,783

We are not now concerned with the two latter, which are villages the lands of which are possessed by several or by one holder; but need only speak of the Samudâyam holdings. This class, which I conceive to be the most primitive, must be subdivided into two, namely, those villages in which the produce of the land was divided, and those in which the land itself was temporarily apportioned. The word *Samudâyam* is Sanskrit, and means "common." The villages, to which this term specially applies, are those in which the members of the community, or Mirâsdârs as they are now styled, cultivate the lands in common, and divide the produce, according to each man's pangu or share. That is, there are no separate allotments of land to individuals, and the property was a right to a certain share or a number of shares in the produce. In such villages each holder possessed his proportion of the common stock, and contributed his share of the labour. The only separate land he could hold was the garden or back-yard attached to his house, and situated within the limits of the village-site. There are hardly any villages now remaining in which this tenure still exists, and it will doubtless soon die out. There are, however, lands in many villages, generally waste or inferior fields, of which the cultivation is precarious, which are called "Samudâyam," and held and tilled in common by the landholders: they are such lands as it was expedient to hold in common, or such as were not worth dividing, and in them the ancient tenure, which was probably at one time universal, is found to survive.

But, as under this system there is little encouragement to individual industry, and as therefore the cultivation is slovenly and the yield poor, there inevitably arises the necessity for the next step in agricultural improvement, namely, that of allotting to each shareholder in the village a certain portion of land to cultivate. A village in which this arrangement has taken place is called in Tamil a "Pasun-Karei," or "Kareiyîḍ" village. The word *pasun* is an old Tamil word cognate with the Kanarese verb *pasu*, 'to divide;' and both names mean "Field-division." At first the allotment was probably made anew each year; at least such would be the natural commencement of the change, and we find that such was actually the case in some of the richest villages in what used to be called the Jâghîr, and is now the Chingalpat district around Madras;* but in Tanjore I am unaware of any instances being known where the changes were so frequent. The periods usual in this district vary from eight to thirty years, according to the pleasure of the Mirâsdârs.

The manner in which the redistribution of lands takes place will best be described by an example. In a village, say, of twenty *vêlis* (1 *vêli* = 6·6 acres), a certain unit is fixed on, which is called a pangu or 'share,' and is in some villages 1 *vêli*, and in others varies from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 *vêlis*. The village is divided, according to its extent, into from four to ten "Kareis" or blocks, to each of which so many shares are allotted. Thus in a village of 20 *vêlis*, there might be 15 shares apportioned to 4 blocks of land among 12 shareholders, each block containing the land of three shareholders.

In the month of June, July, or August, before the seed is sown, the operation of division, or "*Kareiyîḍ*," commences. First of all, the whole area of the village is measured, and a measurement account prepared. Then for each *karei* (*block*) a head-man is chosen from among the landholders, who is known as the Karei Kâran,† or Kareisvâmi, the manager or master of the karei. He is generally one of the largest shareholders in the village; though

* *Papers on Mirâsi right*, edited by W. Hudleston, p. 67.

† Also called Kareisvân or Shêṭṭi kâran; the latter name being obviously from the Hindu "Shet," Sans. "Kshêtra."

nowadays if he cannot read and write, the larger holder is passed over in favour of the smaller who can. He is appointed by the common consent of the sharers who are allotted to the karei of which he is to be the head, and retains his position until the next division takes place. If he die before that time, or sell his property, his office does not pass by inheritance nor to the purchaser. No new appointment is made; and the name of the original karei kâran is attached to the karei throughout the time during which the distribution of the land is to remain in force. When he has been chosen, and when certain shareholders have been allotted to each karei, an agreement is executed by them to abide by the karei kâran and the allotment, and binding themselves to execute the necessary repairs and improvements, and to carry out certain other usual arrangements. Then the lands of the village are divided, without reference to previous enjoyment, into so many shares, 15 in the case we have taken; these again are embodied in 4 kareis. Then a slip of *kadjan* (*palm-leaf*), called "*kareiyôlei*," is prepared for each of the four kareis, and on it are written the names and extent of the fields composing the karei. Four other smaller slips are inscribed with the names of the karei kârans, each bearing one name; and then all the eight slips are thrown down together on the ground. A child of four or five years old, who cannot read, is sent to pick out a large and a small slip, and this decides the karei and the karei kâran.

The lots are drawn in some public place, either before the temple, or at the maṭh, or at the village *choultry*. An auspicious day, chosen according to the position of the star of the village, (which is determined by the first letter of its name) is appointed for the allotment; and the proceedings are to some extent of a religious character. If the drawing takes place at a temple, it is done in the presence of the deity; or if elsewhere, a new figure of the favourite village god Pilleiyâr is made with saffron powder; as many cocoanuts are broken before it as there are mirâsdârs in the village, and after betel has been presented, and worship is over, the drawing of the lots takes place. After the lottery, the slips of *kadjan* are deposited with the karei kârans; and the agreement executed by the shareholders, and the measurement-account, are entrusted to the village priest, or schoolmaster, or astrologer, who is supposed to be a common friend to all parties. To make matters more secure, each mirâsdâr (*shareholder*) can have a copy of these documents for himself.

Within a week or so of this ceremony, which is properly the kareiyîḍ, each karei kâran divides the lands of the block which has fallen to him among the mirâsdârs who have agreed to abide by him. This division is made either by the same process of casting lots, or by common consent. It need not be conducted in any particular place, nor is it attended with any ceremony. Each mirâsdâr receives, and keeps by him, a slip of *kadjan* on which his lands are entered.

In order to place more clearly before readers, who care to examine the subject closely, the details of the working of this kareiyîḍ tenure, I shall here introduce a translation of a kareiyîḍ agreement. This document is one of those above mentioned, which are executed by the mirâsdârs before the lots are drawn.

"This is the agreement which we Dêvayyan "and others the undersigned, mirâsdârs "of the village of Nannilam, have made "with one consent on the 22nd of Âni in the "year Raktâkshi [4th July 1864].

"All the mirâsdârs* of the pangus (*shares*), nine in number, of the above village, have enjoyed the nanjei (*wet*) lands, etc., in the village by dividing them according to kareiyîḍ, without âchandrârkam.† They have agreed with Government some years ago for 'amâni' management, some years on the estimate system, and some years for grain or money rents. From the Prabhava (*year*) before last to Îshvara (11 *years*) a kareiyîḍ of nine kareis (*was in force*). From Vikrama to Saundari (8 *years*) there was a kareiyîḍ of six kareis; and from Virôdhi to Vilambi (9 *years*) a kareiyîḍ of nine kareis. But whereas during this space of making kareiyîḍs for short periods

* This word, so well known here, may require explanation elsewhere. It means a possessor of "mirâs," or holder of land in the village with all the rights attached to ownership.

† When redistributory is abandoned for permanent tenure, the village is called "âchandrârkam," or "as long as sun and moon endure," perpetual. The compound is *â-chandra-arka*.

they did not prosper, thinking that if a kareiyîḍ were made for a long period they might attain prosperity, they made one of six kareis for twenty-five years, from Vikâri to the 30th of Chittrei in the year Raktâkshi. But there was great loss, as, by reason of the lands being (*split up*) into various little holdings, the customary repairs by the villagers, and the construction of banks (*were neglected*), and the dams and boundaries were not repaired; the channels and sub-channels were not properly cleared; and no matter how much manure or leaves were put on the nanjei (*wet*) fields it did no good to the crop. The mirâsdârs were for the most part badly off, and suffered hardship and distress. So, having considered the necessity of obtaining ordinary prosperity without the recurrence of such (*misfortunes*), and of the Government revenue being paid without the least trouble or deficiency; and whereas now in this present year the time has come for making kareiyîḍ, we have essayed to make a kareiyîḍ for a long period, and in accordance with the division now prevailing. Towards that end we have made a petition in the Tâlûk that the necessary assistance may be granted, and all the mirâsdârs have voluntarily assembled in the presence of the Tâsildâr, and have asked him. Besides the undersigned, (*who form*) the majority of the mirâsdârs, Kanagasabhei Cheṭṭi, Appu Cheṭṭi, Râma-Sâmi Cheṭṭi, and Vengappayyan who has obtained land from the mirâsdâr Chinna Kishnayyan on tenancy, these four persons, only owning $\frac{15}{16}$th of a pangu (*share*), refuse to act in concert with all in the village. With the intention of causing embarrassment and strife, just as they please, the above four persons, in a dissentient spirit, have declared that, contrary to custom on voluntary agreement [i. e. *as opposed to decision by lot*], an allotment must be made to them four alone of good land, without reference to its various qualities, in one part (*of the village*), or of various detached portions to be measured off for them from the several fields. In default of this they will not agree to make kareiyîḍ, and will keep the same lands as they have held hitherto. And whereas permission has been given for all the mirâsdârs who are willing to unite and make a kareiyîḍ, all the mirâsdârs who have signed this have united, and, with a view to the proper execution of the customary repairs above specified in order that prosperity may be attained, have measured and classified the low- and high-level and other lands; and excluding the low-assessed service lands, which are held by right of purchase, and the lands shown in the account as set apart for temples, Brâhmaṇs, artisans, and others, as entered in the former agreement, and enjoyed by the several persons and institutions from the time of their ancestors, have classified such of the remaining lands as are Nanjei (*wet*), and have allotted the shares (*pangus*) in four kareis. And the following is the account of the division:—

1. Sundarappayyan's "karei."

	Name.	Shares in eighths.
The above	Sundarappayyan	6½
	Venkatâchalayyan......	¼
	Subharayyan............	½
	Gôpâl Kṛishṇayyan ...	½
	Suppu Kutti-Ayyan ...	½
	Kṛishṇayyan	2⅞
	Ammân Subhayyan ...	1
	Chinnammâl	1
	Râmasâmi Ayyan ...	⅜
	Venkatâchala Cheṭṭi...	2½
	Total...	16 eighths.

2. Âneiyappayyan's "karei."

Total (*ten sharers*) 16 eighths

(and so of the other two kareis, in which there were respectively eight and five sharers).

Total for all four kareis 64 eighths of a share or pangu.

"Out of the common land the above four kareis have been divided and distributed.

"Suri Dêvayyan's younger brother Shivarâmayyan has half an eighth-share (*pangu*). Altogether there are 65½ eighths. In this way, following the pangu (*share*) method, the division has been effected. And so for the four kareis, when lots have been thrown, according to the kareiyôlei* which falls to them, the sharers shall enjoy the nanjei (*wet*) lands of their respective kareis, on a just and proper distribution, for twenty-five years, commencing from this year.

"Moreover, as it is necessary to provide for the repairs and restoration of the temples in

* A slip of *kadjan* on which the specification of the lands is written.

the above village which have fallen into disrepair, for that purpose 15 *mâs* 31 *guḷis* in the wet land called Shembaḍayân on the east, 12 *mâs* 40 *guḷis* in the Dêvadânam wet land, 9 *mâs* 80 *guḷis* in the Angalamman Kôvilpaṭṭam—these lands (1 *vêli* 17 *mâs* 51 *guḷis*) * in common shall be rented out for seven years, and after deduction of the tenant's share each year the remainder shall be applied as follows:—

Two years' income to the temple of Râmasvâmi.
Do. do. ...Kṛishṇasvâmi.
One ....Îshvaran.
Do. ....Ayyanâr.
Do. ....Pilleiyâr.

"In such manner must the income of the several years be employed in the service of the said temples. The Government revenue on these lands is to be paid rateably on the 64½ eighth-shares. Hereafter from the year Prajôtpati the common land, set apart for the service of the aforesaid temples, shall be enjoyed in a just and proper division for the rest of the present *kareiyîḍ* by the several sharers to whom it may fall in the present distribution. The income obtained from the above-mentioned lands set apart for the restoration of the aforesaid temples shall not be spent in any other way. As 180 *guḷis* of land, belonging to the eighth-share of the aforesaid Kṛishṇappa Nayak, are in the possession of Kanagasabhei Cheṭṭi, an equivalent deduction will be made from Kṛishṇappa Nayak's share, and he may sue Kanagasabhei Cheṭṭi and get the land. The other sharers have no interest in it.

"The punjei (*dry*) lands were formerly divided permanently (*âchandrârkam*) and the mirâsdârs of the aforesaid 64½ eighth-shares have made wet cultivation in some of those lands; those who have so done shall continue to enjoy those lands and pay the wet-land assessment on them. Of the remaining dry lands, that on the outside of the river-bank, and that inside and outside the bank of the Kâvâli channel, shall be measured, and inequalities are to be adjusted in the division of the outside lands only; and the land is to be enjoyed according to the former kareiyôlei.

"The (*land called*) Kîlvêli, the Kâvâli channel bank water-spread lands, the Puduchêri-vêli dry lands, the dry lands entered in the other †perpetual distribution account, are to be measured, and their inequalities adjusted. He who has less is to take of that which is given up by him who has more (*than his fair share*).

"The Kîlvêli river-bank, the river-bed lands, the dry lands, and others, are to be measured as entered in the former agreement, and redivided in the month Tei of the present year in compact blocks. The Âḍi crops which now stand in the aforesaid lands are to be rented, and the rent divided among the mirâsdârs according to share. The tree-tax which may be assessed on trees growing in dry, river-bed, and waste lands as yet unassessed, shall be paid rateably according to share.

"In accordance with what is proper for cultivating tenants and others, the Pariah street, the Chucklers' street, and the house-sites on the far side of the Puttâr (*a river*) shall be measured according to the former perpetual division, and inequalities (*which have arisen*) adjusted. He who has too much shall give up to him who has too little in the Kîlvêli lands, and in the dry lands on either side of the Kâvâli channel.

"The common boundary banks which are established for the wet fields, both banks of the Kâvâḷi channel, the channel for supplying the tank, the common banks in all the other lands, and the irrigation and drainage channels shall be cleared, strengthened, and maintained at the common cost.

"And whereas now, in the manner aforesaid, the lands have been divided, their Government assessment is to be paid according to share. The Government assessment on waste dry land, and on waste fit for wet cultivation, which is now assessed on individual mirâsdârs, shall be paid according to the above shares.

"For the lands now distributed, the entry in the Government accounts shall be made according to enjoyment.

"The lands allowed to tradesmen and artisans shall be divided and enjoyed according to the above shares, and the Government assessment on them paid in the same way.

* 1 *vêli* = 6·6 acres;
1 *mâ* = ·33 do.;
1 *guḷi* = ·0033 do.

† Âchandrârkam Kareiyôlei of the dry lands formerly divided.

"And for all the lands as aforesaid the irrigation and drainage shall be maintained according to custom.

"If a scarcity of water occurs, an agreement must be drawn up (specifying the turn of each cultivator for taking water from the channel, and the length of time he may so take it), and the irrigation shall be conducted accordingly. A double dam shall be made east of the Kiḍarâ Konḍân sub-channel, and the water led on to the wasted Kadamban field.

"A sub-channel shall be cut from the Mûleimangalam channel, and the water led on to the aforesaid field. In all other places the irrigation shall be carried on according to agreement. An aqueduct shall be put over the Kâvâli channel, and the water led on to the temple lands.

"None of the aforesaid lands can be sold outright by any sharer; and even if so sold the sale shall be null and void. In all other affairs which have to be carried on in the village, the practice laid down in former agreements is to be followed. To this effect have we all with one consent agreed."

I have thought it best, at the risk of being tedious, to give this curious document in full, as it illustrates so completely the system of redistribution. It points, too, to the causes which lead gradually to the abandonment of the system. These are the neglect of banks, channels, and other repairs and improvements owing to the short and uncertain tenure each cultivator has of his land; and the intrusion of outsiders into the community. It will be observed from the names that three of the landholders who refused to consent to the proposed redistribution were Cheṭṭis, that is, tradesmen; and they may be presumed to have acquired their portions of the village from persons to whom they had advanced money. These outsiders would have no respect for the customs of the village, and little sympathy with the community into which they had thrust themselves. Hence doubtless the provision in the end of the agreement, forbidding all sales of land.

NOTES ON THE DÂBHI CLAN OF RÂJPUTS.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

So very little is known about the ancient clan of the Dâbhis that perhaps even the following incomplete notice of them may not be unacceptable to your readers. The ancient clan of the Dâbhis has been mentioned by both the Râjput annalists, Colonel Tod and Mr. Forbes, but neither of these accomplished authors is able to give them more than a cursory notice. Colonel Tod indeed (*Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 105) says that little is known of this tribe except that it was once celebrated in Saurâshṭrâ. But the Dâbhis were celebrated throughout Gujarât. It is said that in remote times they ruled at Gajni (Cambay) and Edar, as well as at Bhilaḍigaḍh, and also at Kheḍagaḍh on the Luni. Although there is now no longer any great principality held by this tribe, their name still survives among the thirty-six races. The *gotrâ* of the race was, as far as I have been able to ascertain, as follows:—*Yajur-Veda*, Dâbh-Rakhi, Bharadwaj Gotrâ: Kâlkâ Devi, Kâlkâ Hari Devi, Khemaj Devi. The tribe derive their origin from Bramhâ, from whom sprung Vishvâmitrâ, from whom Durvâsâ Rakhi, from whom Dâbh Rakhi, who is numbered among the *Penates* of the tribe, and from whom they derive their name. The legend relates that when Sîtâ was deserted by Râma she gave birth to Lava in the forest, and that one day Sîtâ went to bathe. leaving Lava in charge of Durvâsa Rakhi, The Ṛishi, however, was soon wrapt in meditation, and became unconscious of what befell his charge. Sîtâ, on her part, having seen a bad omen, returned and took Lava with her, and did not return to the Ṛishi for some little time. The Ṛishi in the mean time, awaking from his trance, missed Lava, and dreading the reproaches of Sîtâ made another son for her out of Dâbh (possibly Darbha grass), and presented him to her on her return. The creation of the Dâbhi is celebrated in the following verses:—

कवीत.

अशो राम अवतार जोध दशरथ घर जायो
संभुरो व्रज सती पत्री जनक घर पाइ
(के)जाम हुइ वरजोग आप खट दुणा उपर
राव अजोध्या राम शेश्रो नव खंड सहर वर

जनके जगन रचीयो खरो आदन कळ क्षत्री
श्रीराम दशरथ सतन जन परणावी जानकी पुत्री
॥१॥
वळी सती वनवास देव श्रीरामे दीधो
शीताजी चालीयां कनखल वासो कीधो
पुरा मासज पेट ए कुंवर लव आयो
अशो कुंवर अवतार जशो तथ पुनम जायो
सुंपे कुंवर रखीयां सती सीता धुवणने चालीयां
वनंचरी देख पाछां वळां हेत करे लव लीयां॥२॥
पल खोली रूखी देव तहां बाळक नहीं दीशे
मार्यो कोई मंझार सींह शीयाळ के शशे
(के) धरे रखी हर ध्यान डाभ पुतळो बनायो
वचारे जजर वेद डाभ रख नाम देरायो
ओथ वहे आवीयां बाळ जम दीसे बीजो
वात कुण तेड बे शगती तेरो ॥३॥
मास जेठ पख शाम कृत जगतणो अधताम
सोम सधवार शवज्जे दरवासा रूख डाभ
हेक भड जोध ऊपायो चोरासी रख आये नर
डाभीने पायो ॥ गंगेवगर डुंगर गणा हेक
पत जुजवो ॥
समसर पंदर चोरासीए महा जोध पेदास हुओ

Such was the incarnation of Râma, who was born at the house of the warrior Daśaratha.
Of the seed of Sambhu, a (*future*) *satî* was found in the house of Janak:
When the damsel became fit for a husband and attained the age of twice six years,
The Lord of Ajodhyâ, Râma, who was served by the lords of the cities of the nine continents.
Janak then instituted a *jugan*, and he, of the first and true family of Kshatris,
Srî Râma, son of Daśaratha, married the daughter Jânki:
Dev Srî Râma then banished the (*future*) *satî* to the wilderness.
Sitâji went forth and took up her habitation in the forest.
When her full time had expired, then Kuṅwar Lava was born:
The avatâr of this Kuṅwar was as that of the 15th day of the light half of the month.
Having entrusted her son to the Rishi, Satî Sîtâ went to bathe;
But seeing a female monkey she turned back and took Lava with much affection.
When the Rishi opened his eyes, the child nowhere appeared.
(*He thought*) he must have been slain by some cat, lion, jackal, or hare.
On this, deeply meditating, he made an image of Dâbh:*
Having thought of the Yajur Veda he gave him the name of Dâbh Rakhi.
When she (*Sîtâ*) returned, she saw, as it were, another infant.
(*Said the Rishi*) What need for words? take them both as thy own, O Shakti!
In the month of Jeyt, in the dark half, when half of the Krit Yuga had elapsed,
On the pure day of Somavâr, sacred to Siva, Durvâsâ Rakhi created from Dâbh a mighty warrior.
The 84 Rishis were assembled and the man Dâbhi was created,
At the place of the Gangevagar mountain, a lord of a new sort:
(*Thus*) was this great warrior created in the year 1584 (*of that yuga*).

After Dâbh Rakhi, in the 20th generation, comes Amarsen, of whom it is said that quitting Parshomgadh he conquered Pramângadh, expelling the Chohâns from thence. Twelve generations from Amarsen is Surpâl. Surpâl is said to have quitted Pramângadh and conquered Kâshmir, driving out the Tuars. Sixteen generations after Surpâl, Jodhâ, leaving Kâshmir, conquered the famous fortress of Tambol, then a possession of the ancient clan of Padhiâr. Jodhâ was succeeded in the 10th generation by Akhirâj, who, leaving Tambol, seized on the Fort Châtranga * or Satranj, destroying the Jâdavs. A Duhâ exists regarding this exploit, as follows:—

दुहो.

अखे तंबोलरे ऊठीए चातरंगो गढ ले साओ
दुआण खेदे डाभीअे जादव काढा जोड ॥१॥

Akhâ, leaving Tambol, took possession of Fort Châtranga.
The Dâbhi having sought out and defeated

* Probably the Darbha, or sacrificial grass.
* Probably Chitor or Śatruñjye. Another version of the Duhâ has Śatranja instead of Châtranga.

his enemies, the Jâdavs, expelled them (*from thence*).

Seven generations after Akhirâj, Debhâ succeeded him in the chiefdom, and this chief, in the Saṁvat year 1372, left Châtranga and conquered Kheḍagaḍh, driving out the Korambhâs. The following Duhâ is said concerning this conquest :—

डेभा दस वाटे कीधा नरवन कोरंभा
खेड गढ खाटे बेठो पाट बे ओतरे ॥ १ ॥

Debhâ, you have dispersed in all directions the crowd of Koraṁbhâs,
And having conquered Kheḍagaḍh you have seated yourself on the throne in the year 72.

The Dâbhis retained Kheḍagaḍh until expelled by the Râthors, 41 generations after Debhâ, in the time of Shâl Dâbhi, who, escaping the massacre, established himself at Bhinmâl. Eight generations, however, before Shâl Dâbhi, during the chiefdom of Dudâ, the Dâbhis conquered Bhîlaḍîgaḍh from the Kachavâhâs,* and made Bhîlaḍîgaḍh their capital, while still retaining Kheḍagaḍh, a share in which, however, at this time belonged to the Gohel clan. I am unable to say whether this share was acquired by the Gohels from the Dâbhis, or whether the Dâbhis conquered Kheḍagaḍh in concert with the Gohels, but perhaps the former supposition is the more probable. Five generations after Dudâ, and three generations anterior to Shâl Dâbhi, Someśvar Dâbhi, the then Chief, granted the village Sotâmlâ to a bard named Mehrâj in *sâsan*, and his descendants enjoy land in Sotâmlâ to this day. Shâl Dâbhi had a son named Salkhaṇsi, who was succeeded by his son Âderâm. Âderâm had a son named Âsal Dâbhi. Âsal Dâbhi, it is said in consequence of a domestic quarrel, left Bhinmâl and took service at Edar, where the Chief of that principality made him one of his Sirdârs and gave him the command over 10,000 horse. Âsal Dâbhi made Bhîlaḍîgaḍh the seat of his rule, and firmly established himself there, bringing under his rule five hundred villages. His son, who had remained at Edar, went towards Asâval with 10,000 horse to collect tribute, and arrived at Kâlikoṭ, near Asâval, where Kâli Bhîll reigned. This Bhîll had two beautiful daughters. A Râthor Râjput with Âsal's son married the elder daughter, and going to Mondetâ acquired several villages, became the lord of a petty chiefdom and was called Ṭhâkarâ. Âsal Dâbhi's son married the younger daughter, but being ashamed of his conduct, and dreading to meet his caste-fellows, instead of returning to Edar he went to the Choteylâ Hill, near Âbu, and there performed severe penances before the shrine of the Bhateśrî Mâta. The Mâtâ, being pleased with his austerity, looked favourably on him, and directed him to go to the Sirohi Râjâ, who would give him some territory. He accordingly went, and the Sirohi Râjâ granted him the Roh Sarotrâ Chorâsi. As he had been successful in obtaining this estate through the favour of the Bhateśrî Mother, he assumed the name of Bhateśriâ, which is borne by his descendants to this day. The Bhateśriâs still own lands in Roh Dâbela Sarotrâ, etc. I am not acquainted with the name of Âsal Dâbhi's son, but it was probably Âval Dâbhi, after whom the village of Âval was named. This Âval was a noted freebooter, and the following couplet is said of him, alluding to his raids :—

आवळ घोडा दुबळा केम : नदी नीलो घास
ऊलटे बांध्या जव चरे : पाणी पीये बनास

Âval, why are (*thy*) horses lean ?
The grass in the river grows green :
They eat barley in their mangers,
And drink the water of the Banâs.

The following poetry is said of the Dâbhis and their principal seats of government :—

कवीत.

प्रथम घढ प्रमाण राज दुणो रखे
काशमेर घढ कोट सोळ पेढी घर सख्खे
त्रीजो घढ तंबोल राज पेढी दस रहीओ
चोथो घढ शेतरंज सात पेढी घर सहीओ
खाग तणो बल खेड लुणो सुत अरजण लीधो
पेढी खेड पांत्रीस कोटांसरे राजस कीधो
भडां खाग बल भीलडी लाखण सुत दुदे लीधो
डाभीआं राव मालमदने कोटासरे खाटे राजस कीधो

The first seat was Pramâṅgaḍh;† doubly extending their rule,

* Kachavâhâ Bhîlls.
† This may mean that they retained Parshoṁgaḍh, from which it is stated above that they originally sprang.

The fortress of Kâshmeragaḍh remained securely in their possession for 16 generations.
The third seat was Tambolagaḍh, where their rule lasted for ten generations.
Their fourth fortress was Śetrañj,* which they retained in their possession for seven generations.
At the sword's point Arjaṇ the son of Luno conquered Kheḍ.
At Kheḍ, the chief of fortresses, they ruled for thirty-five generations.
Dudo the son of Lâkhan conquered Bhilaḍî by the prowess of his warriors with the sword.
Thus the Dâbhi Râos, in the intoxication of wealth, having conquered the best of fortresses, reigned there.

The above *kavit* is somewhat difficult, and this translation may very probably be incorrect.

There is also the following *duho* on the conquest of Bhîlaḍî and the granting of Sotâmlâ in *sâsan*:—

कचवाहा काढे भेल दुदे लई भेलडी
साढे असी व्रष तपेयो अमर ॥ १ ॥
दान लख दुदो दए मेहराजने सोतामलु
समते सोमेश्वर समापेयो ॥ २ ॥

Having driven out the Kachavâhâ Bhîlls, Dudâ captured Bhilaḍî,
And remained immortal on the throne for eighty and a half years.
Dudâ was wont to bestow a lâkh in alms
While Someśvar, with charitable intentions, bestowed Sotâmlâ on Meharaj.

Bhîlaḍîgaḍh, the last seat of the Dâbhis, is said to have been named after a beautiful Bhîll maiden—in fact, the literal translation of the word is "Fort of the Bhîll Maiden," *ḍî* being the feminine termination. The legend is of Jain origin, and is to the effect that the far-famed Râjâ Srenik of Râjnagaḍi, in the country of Magaḍh, fleeing from his country, came to Benap (now under Wâo, in Northern Gujarât) and there married the daughter of Dhanvâsâ Sheṭ of Benap, and resided there. After a time the dissensions on account of which he had quitted his kingdom were appeased, and he set forth on his return to Râjnagaḍi, leaving his wife, now with child, at her father's house at Benap. On his way thither, he alighted at a small Bhîll hamlet close to the ruined site of Trâmbâvati-nagri. Srenik Râjâ was exceedingly handsome, and the Bhîlls, seeing this, determined to marry him to a beautiful maiden of their tribe. They therefore solicited him to marry her, but he refused: on which the Bhîlls determined to compel him to espouse her. Srenik, hearing of this, contrived to escape, and fled to his own country; but in his flight he dropped one of his shoes on the plain of Trâmbâvati. The Bhîll maiden kept the shoe of him who was to have been her husband, and, refusing to marry with any other, reverenced the shoe as a relic of her husband. Meantime the wife of Râjâ Srenik, who had remained at Benap, brought forth a son who was named Abhe Kuṅwar. When he attained the age of about 17 years he went to Râjnagaḍi, where Râja Srenik had published the following proclamation, viz. that a ring would be thrown into a well and that he would make that man his minister who, sitting on the edge of the well, should extract the ring. Abhe Kuṅwar agreed to do this, and Râjâ Srenik threw a ring into the well. Abhe Kuṅwar now directed the Râjâ to cause the well to be emptied of its water, and this was accordingly done, and the ring appeared at the bottom of the well. Abhe Kuṅwar then threw on to the ring a quantity of wet cowdung, and afterwards dropped a quantity of hot ashes near it, until it was dry; he then directed the Râjâ to fill up the well to the brim: this was done, when the cowdung, being dry, floated on the surface with the ring adhering to it. Abhe Kuṅwar then took out the cowdung, and extracting the ring gave it to the Râjâ. Seeing Abhe Kuṅwar's wisdom, the Râjâ made him his minister. Abhe Kuṅwar now told the Râjâ that he was his son, and that his mother and the Bhîll maiden (Bhîlaḍi) were awaiting his return. Hearing this, the king set out for Trâmbâvati, and on arriving there he heard that the Bhîlaḍî had died two or three days before his arrival. He was now filled with admiration at her constancy, and determined to perpetuate her fame, and with this idea he built a temple in the plain of Trâmbâvati and installed Pârasnâth. This image is worshipped to this day by the name of the Bhîlaḍia

* This is in some versions written Châtranga.

Pârasnâth. The Râjâ also founded a new city on the ruins of Trâmbâvati, and named it Bhîlaḍîgaḍh, after the Bhîll damsel. This city was founded in Saṁvat 470 of Vikram's era. After thus founding Bhîlaḍîgaḍh, the king went to Benap, and taking with him the mother of Abhe Kuṅwar he returned to Râjnagaḍi. Bhilaḍigaḍh under its Dâbhi and Wâghelâ lords was a city of considerable splendour, and was built of white marble. At the present day but little remains, as the marble has been carted away to Pâhlanpur and neighbouring cities; but a large marble well or two, and a few marble pillars, still remain. The temple of the Bhîlaḍia Pârasnâth is of some little local repute, but the style is rude. Here, as at Pattan, the old marble ruins are dug up and sold in the neighbouring towns and villages. Thus, of Bhîlaḍîgaḍh, once so famous, now little but the name survives.

NOTES ON CASTES IN THE DEKHAN.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page 46.*)

B.—Śankarjâtya, or mixed castes.

Under this name the Brahmans include a great number of races, mostly commercial, who come, they say, between them and the cultivators (the latter being considered pure Śûdras), and spring from various forms of miscegenation. A good many, however, of the castes in question consider themselves to be of pure Kshatriya, or even (in the case of the Sonârs) of Brahman race.

1. The highest, in my opinion, are the Prabhûs (Purvoes). These are divided into two castes, Kâyasth and Pataṇe Prabhûs. The former are not to be confounded with the Kâyasth or writer caste of Hindustan, though in many respects similar to them. They are chiefly engaged in trade as clerks, sometimes in the public service—seldom as capitalists upon their own account. In the Dekhan they hold a few village and district hereditary accountantships (Kulkarnî and Deshpâṇḍê watans), and the names of several figure in the early history of the Marâṭhâ empire as faithful servants and brave soldiers. They claim descent from a Râjput race which they say was formerly in power at Kalyâṇ in the Koṅkan, and they eat flesh accordingly. They are usually of good stature for Hindus, have intelligent but not handsome faces, and affect the Brahman costume, with sometimes a slight difference in the turban, which is smaller, more tightly wound, and cocked rather jauntily. They educate their women more than any other Hindus of Western India, have shown much spirit in the adoption of European ideas, and as public servants rank high for good sense and application.

2. The Sonârs, or goldsmiths, have two or three sub-divisions :—

(*a.*) The Koṅkanasth Rathakara Sonârs, very powerful in Bombay, claim openly to be of pure Brahman race! and actually exercise the duties of the priestly caste among themselves. A good many of these are general merchants and bankers.

(*b.*) The Aurangâbâde Sonârs, numerous in some parts of the Puṇâ collectorate, do not claim so high a rank, at least in public; but some of the village hereditary accountantships usually monopolized by the Brahmans are held by them, especially in the old Pâbal Taraf, lying upon the Ghoḍ River. There are other castes of Sonârs of which I have no personal knowledge worth noting here.

3. There are a great many castes of Vâṇîs* (Banias or Banians), who are properly grocers and grain dealers, but who engage also in usury and general trade. The most numerous are those from Gujarât, with the details of whose history I am little acquainted, but I know that they count 84 castes among themselves, the best known of which in the Dekhan are the Kapol, Śalâd, and Śrîmalî. They object much to the destruction of animal life, and are the chief supporters of the Pâñjarapoḷ and similar institutions. They are in these districts en-

* "The trading community *par excellence*; the higher class of 'Wânîs' are from Marwar and Gujarât, whence they have spread, and become permanently settled in the Dekhan and Koṅkan; still retaining some intercourse with their original country: many profess the Jain religion, others are worshippers of Vishṇu, and both divisions assume to be of high caste, *i. e.* superior to the Kuṇabi: they are merchants, traders, money-dealers, and usurers, and are very keen in business, often holding the lower orders of borrowers in durance vile."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. of Bombay*, No. XI. p. 245.

tirely engaged in commerce. To my mind, they are physically much inferior to the races of Mahârâshṭra; the men usually gross in face and figure, and the women featureless and clumsy, especially when seen beside the *Caryatides* of the Dekhan.

4. The Bhâṭiyâs are also a Gujarâtî race, chiefly engaged in the cloth and cotton trade. They resemble the Gujarât Vâṇîs in their reverence for animal life, and belong chiefly to the Vallabhâchârya sect.

5. The Khattrîs* are a caste from Gujarât and Râjputâna, generally distinguished by the title *Sah* in their names. They claim Râjput descent, eat flesh, and deal in cotton and cloth, and in Puṇâ especially in gold and silver lace.

6. There are a few Sinde Vaishṇavas, well known to Europeans as dealing in Kâshmîr cloth, Delhî and Sindh embroidery, and other fancy articles.

7. There is a caste belonging to the Dekhan which retains the old term of Vaiśya. They engage in general trade, but are not numerous or well known. They are, I believe, eaters of flesh.

8. The Mârvâḍî merchants form a very notable element in the business affairs of this Presidency, and may be divided as follows:—

(*a*.) Mârvâḍî Brahmans, comparatively few in number, and more inclined to live by religious beggary than by commerce, though some are thriving merchants.

(*b*.) Mârvâḍî Vaishṇavas, an exclusively mercantile race; also not very numerous.

(*c*.) Mârvâḍî Jains, very numerous. These are to be distinguished from the Jains of the Dekhan and Karnâṭaka, who differ from them in many points of race and religious observance, and who will be noticed as cultivators. Dr. Hewlett, in his paper accompanying the Bombay Census Report, has classed the Jains as a sect of Buddhists, a mistake unaccountable to me, the more so as he quotes Mountstuart Elphinstone, who certainly thought nothing of the kind. The Jains resemble the Buddhists† only in the same general way that Muhammadans do Jews, and have a separate (and more recent) history, literature, and architecture. I never saw or heard of a native Buddhist in Western India. The Jains are Śravakas or laymen, and Bhojaks or of priestly race, the latter being descended from certain Brahmans who adopted the Jain faith *peṭ ke vâste*, and so got the name "Bhojaks" or "eaters." The office of priest in some temples is reserved to the Ośvâl tribe,‡ which derives its name from the town of Ośî in Râjputâṇâ, and is also the most numerous and active in trade here. The Mârvâḍî merchants deal in grain, groceries, cloth, precious metals, and cash, seldom in hardware or Europe goods. They have deservedly the reputation of being unscrupulous usurers in their dealings with external clients; but they are particularly exact in fulfilling their contracts with other business-men, though it bring them to ruin.

9. The caste of Agarwâlas is the subject of some confusion. The races of Mahârâshṭra consider them "all same as Mârvâḍî," *i.e.* Jain, and Dr. Hewlett, upon what authority I do not know, gives them in his list of Jain tribes. Mr. Javerîlâl Umiashankar, a good authority, places them among the 84 castes of Gujarât Vâṇîs; and Mr. Sherring gives them a separate place, with a description which shows a descent similar to that claimed by Khattrîs and Prabhûs. My own knowledge of them is very slight, but leads me to agree with the last-named writer. They are general merchants—not numerous, but nearly always rich and respectable.

10. Of the Śiṁpîs, § or Tailors, I know two divisions, the Asal or Dekhan Śiṁpîs, and Namdev Śiṁpîs, and there are probably more. They somewhat resemble the Deshasth Brahmans in general appearance, but their features are coarser, and their expression less intelligent. In the wild Native States of the Dangs, and in the Mawâs States north of the Taptî, the Kârbhârîs or managers are chiefly Śiṁpîs, generally unable to read or write, and only one degree more intelligent (though many less honest) than the half-savage Bhîll

* "A caste of w..kers in silk, which they clean, dye, and weave; of middle rank, numerous in Southern India, found also in Gujarât and in the Konkan, where they have long been settled (at Cheol, &c.). They are reported as of as fair complexion as the Brahmans, and much addicted to polygamy."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 219.

† On this *vide ante*, vol. II. pp. 15,16,194,197-200, 259-265.

‡ The Ośvâl Banias present the Bhojakas with a horse and *chauri* on marriage occasions, and with a present of money (tyâga) when caste dinners occur.—Ed.

§ "A caste of inferior status, tolerably numerous; some are Marâṭhas, others Telangîs: their proper occupation is to sew clothes and dye cloth, preparing the colours, whether permanent or otherwise. One division of the caste sells cloth, and all occasionally engage in other trades."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 240.

chieftains whose affairs they mismanage. Their offices are sometimes hereditary. In general, however, the Śimpîs stick to their goose, or at least to the cloth trade, which they consider rather more honourable than actual operative tailoring.

11. In Puṇâ there are a set of Gosâvis called Danglî, who are well-to-do traders, and some of them in particular have speculated with much success in building-sites. Married ones are called Gharbârî.

All the castes above enumerated, when they get on well in the world, adopt the Brahman turban and slippers, even the immigrant Gujarâtîs and Mârvâḍîs. Those which follow usually adhere to the Marâṭhâ turban and forked slipper, though there are exceptions. Some of them are considered inferior in rank to cultivators, and are named here only for convenience with relation to their trades, which I consider more important than the precedence, always disputed, and usually impossible to enforce.

12. There are two or three classes of Sutârs,* or carpenters. The Badhês or Sutârs of Mahârâshṭra are the most respectable and numerous. They are industrious and saving, and generally pretty well off, skilful in the use of their own simple tools, and easily trained to handle those of the West. The regular tools of a Sutâr are the *vâkas* or chisel-edged adze, the morticing chisel, and drill revolving by means of a barrel and bow. The second is usually imported from England, but the adze and drill are of native make. They use the saw comparatively little, and the back of the adze serves as a hammer. There is hardly anything, from the making of a cart to the rich carving of a house-front, which the Sutâr will not do with this insignificant apparatus.

13. There is a caste of immigrant Mârvâḍî Sutârs, Vaishṇavas by sect, less numerous, skilful, and respectable than the Badhês.

14. The Sikalghars are turners and sharpeners of weapons; their lathes and whetstones are turned with a strap passing round the axle, and pulled to and fro by the alternate motion of the arms. They also lay on lacquer-work with the lathe.

15. There is a wandering caste of Sikalghars, with which those of towns hold no communion.

16. There are four castes of Lohârs, or smiths. Those of Mahârâshṭra are, as in the case of the carpenters, superior in every respect. They use native tools not unlike those of Europe, except that the bellows, which are made of a goat-skin like a water-bag, have no stiff. sides, and are compressed horizontally. The European bellows, however, are being very generally adopted. They take readily to European teaching, after which they can do anything that can be done with fire and iron. Some spears which I took home in 1873 were pronounced, by the firm of Wilkinson and Son, equal in all respects to the best English cutlery, and in one matter (the shape of the point) superior; while it is impossible to produce them in England but at three times the price. They were made at Ahmadnagar, Aurangabâd, Nâgpur, and Salem.

17. The Hindustânî Lohârs† are not often found at work in these districts. They are often sipâhîs in N. I. regiments.

18. The Panchâls are a wandering caste of smiths, living in grass-mat huts, and using as their chief fuel the roots of thorn bushes, which they batter out of the ground in a curious way with repeated strokes of the back of a very heavy short-handled axe peculiar to themselves. They are less common in the Dekhan than in Khândesh.

19. The Gisâdîs were a similar tribe, and of very bad reputation for their thieving propensities. They are now mostly settled in villages, and I know nothing worse of them than that their forges seem to breed a great thirst for country spirits. Both these castes are inferior in respectability and skill to pakkâ Lohârs.

20. The Kâsârs are of two divisions, Tambaḍ Kâsâr and Bângaḍ Kâsâr. The first are coppersmiths, and many are employed in the railway workshops as fitters. They are very clever at working in copper and brass, especially in the sheet, and in *kâṇsê* (bell-metal). The Bângaḍ Kâsârs make glass bangles. Brass castings are made by men called *Otîvas*, who are of various castes, generally Marâṭhâs. There are some Hindustânî Brahmans employed

* "They are either Marâṭhâs or Gujarâtîs; or Paradeśîs from Hindustân: there are few villages of size without a Sutâr, who has a recognized place in the Balloti establishment, and makes ploughs, &c. for the Kunabis or rayats."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 241.

† "Those from Hindustân are termed Bundele."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 226.

as smiths in the G. I. P. Railway Company's workshops.

21. There are two divisions of Telîs, or oilmen: the Marâtha Telîs (not to be confounded with pure Marâṭhâs); and Jeshvar Telîs. Of the latter I know little. The former live by expressing and selling vegetable oils, and will have nothing to do with animal or mineral oils. In the north of the Puṇâ district they often live by keeping pack-bullocks and carrying goods up and down the Ghâṭs. Their press is a sort of wooden pestle weighted with stones, which revolves in a huge stone mortar by the power of one bullock or buffalo.

22. There are Hindustânî and Mahârâshṭra Nahâvîs* or barbers, the latter said to be divided into three; besides which, as no Nahâvî will shave a Parwârî, these have barbers of their own caste. They are absurdly like their European brothers in trade, in their garrulous gossiping ways; and the connection of barbering and surgery, so familiar to ancient Europe, exists in the Dekhan, more particularly when a woman cannot be delivered;—the Nahâvî is summoned, and with his shears he cuts the child to pieces in, I am told, a wonderfully skilful manner, all things considered. One curious duty of the village barber is to run before travellers of rank at night with a torch. In Tâluka Sowdâ, Zillâ Khândesh, there are several villages of which the Pâṭîls and most of the cultivators are Nahâvîs. Some Nahâvîs hold it *infra dig.* to shave beasts, and others do not. This, so far as I can find, is a matter less of caste than of taste.

23. Of Weavers there are the Koshtîs and Sâlîs:† the former are the higher caste, and make finer stuffs.

24. The Jinagars are saddlers, some are whitesmiths; but they all eat and intermarry together, and are apt to be great rogues. They are said to have come originally from Dekhan Haidarâbâd.

25. The Kumbhârs are potters. There are said to be four divisions of them; viz. one of Hindustânîs, and three of Dekhanîs, who are (*a.*) Tile- and brick-makers, (*b*) Pot-makers, (*c*) Image-makers, but I am not aware of the distinction between these. They make no fine china: the highest form of their art is to put a rough black or yellow glaze upon pots, and they have little idea of variety in form, though what patterns they do use are not wanting in utility and grace. In the Bhimathaḍî Tâluka of Puṇâ they sometimes make temples, or rather shrines, of one piece about five feet high, which are considered objects of high art, and great additions to the beauty of the field or garden whose tutelary deity they protect. Other castes sometimes make their own bricks, but never their tiles or pots.

26. The Kachîs are an immigrant race from Bundelkhand, employed in the manufacture of flower-garlands for festivals and for the service of the gods. Notwithstanding their idyllic occupation, they are a bad lot, and when subordinate magistrate of the city of Puṇâ, I had more cases of assault, abusive language, and adultery from among the Kachîs than from any other caste, relatively to their number. They are not often found in small villages.

27. The Halawaîs are confectioners. There are Hindustânî and Dekhanî Halawaîs. Hindustânî Brahmans sometimes exercise this trade at railway stations and in public places, having this advantage that almost any one can take food from their hands.

28. The Bhaḍabhuṅjyas are a caste from Hiṅdustân who parch grain, and also prepare the black sand used in our offices for drying manuscript.

29. Hiṅdû Bhistîs, or water-bearers, are usually of the caste of Kolîs, which has four divisions, viz.:—

(*a.*) Hill or Koṅkanî Kolîs, who will be treated of under the head of wild tribes;

(*b.*) Coast or fishing Kolîs, who are not known in the Dekhan;

(*c.*) Khândesh Kolîs (subdivided again, but not known in the Dekhan);

(*d.*) and the caste now under consideration It is considered low among Marâṭhâs to draw one's own water—that should be done by the Kolî; and accordingly he and his buffalo, laden with a pair of huge dripping water-skins, are very important characters in every Dekhan village. He is one of the Bârâ Balutedâr,

* "The lower section shave the hair from all parts of the body, and apply the tumbadi (cupping-horn) and leeches; in the Karnâṭaka others cut off the hair of camels and buffaloes, and some act as mussals."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 233.

† "They are weavers of white or undyed cloth: they are not allowed to eat animal food or drink spirituous liquors."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 239.

or twelve principal hereditary village officers, who are as much *reipublicæ columnæ* in Mahârâshṭra as the *duodecim homines jurati* are said to be in England: and though I have had complaints from every other class of village officers about the non-payment of their dues in kind and service, I never heard of the Kolî Bhistî going without his. They are often fishermen, and ferrymen, as well as bhistîs, and they sometimes show a good deal of enterprise in setting up ferries, and much courage and skill in managing them. They are fine, well-built men, and are good swimmers and divers. They have also a sort of hereditary taste for the cultivation of melons and cucumbers in dried-up river-beds. Fishing Kolîs are called Kolî Bhuîs.*

30. The Kahâr Bhuîs are fishermen, cultivators of melons, and bearers of palanquins. They are inferior to the Kolîs in appearance, character, and social status. They are not village officers, but the rivers are divided among their tribes and families by custom and courtesy, and, although their rights are unprotected by any law, they very seldom poach upon each other's ranges, or infringe the rules adopted by the caste from time to time as to size and species of nets, or the like. Hindustânî Kahârs I have found as mercenary swordsmen in the retinues of native chiefs resident in Puṇâ, especially in that of the Râja of Jowâr. They chiefly use the casting-net, but have a way of tying many nets together so as to form a sort of seine, or draw-net, and they have small light trammels called *phânse* (*i. e.* nooses), on account of their action, and basket-traps; but they very seldom use poison.

31. The Parîts, or washermen, whom we call by the Hindustânî name of Dhobîs, have three divisions: Unch-Parîts, who will only wash the clothes of men of good caste; Nîch Parîts, who are less particular; and Hindustânî immigrants.

They usually do nothing but wash; but on the Girna river in Khândesh, in the Nâsirâbâd and Erandol Tâlukas, there are several villages inhabited by cultivating Parîts, including the Pâṭîls. The Gavalîs, or cowherds, are not a separate caste in the Dekhan; the occupation is followed by men of several castes, especially by Marâṭhâs, generally of the surname of Gaikavâḍ, and of such is the royal family of Baroda.

32. The Lonârîs† are dealers in salt.

33. The Guravas‡ are a caste who enjoy the monopoly of the trade of menial servants (*pujâris*) in temples of Śiva in any of his forms. They have a right to the food offered to the god, which is called *naivedya*. They are cultivators and Pâṭîls in at least one village of the Khed Tâluka of Puṇâ.

34. The Burûḍs are makers of baskets, cages, mats, &c.

35. The Raṅgârîs are dyers. In Khândesh this name is applied to tanners.

36. The tanners of the Dekhan are called Ḍhôrs.§

37. The leather-cutters and shoemakers are called Chambhârs. Both are held very low castes, and where they were permitted under native rule to live within the town wall it was a matter of grace and sufferance.

38. The Gondhaḷîs are singers and musicians.

39. The Ghaḍaśîs are also musicians, and their social status is a matter of dispute. They assert themselves to be pakkâ Śûdras, and have an opinion of a Shâstrî to that effect; but all the other castes say that they are descended from the adultery of Hindû women with Musalmâns.

40. The Lakerîs make bangles and other things of lac, and they varnish wood.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 154.

† "They are lime-burners in the Dekhan: rank low; they prepare and sell chunam and charcoal; others prepare salt (mith lonârî), and in Southern India are known as "Upar" caste.—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 226.

‡ They are blowers of the horn in processions, &c., and receive food from visitors."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 212.

§ "They make water-buckets for cattle, wells, and hand-carriage: they also dye leather."—*Trans. Med. & Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 207.

PROF. H. KERN'S DISSERTATION ON THE ERA OF BUDDHA AND THE AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS. ‖

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., Edinburgh.

The writer begins by remarking that the year 543 B.C., adopted by the Southern Buddhists as that of the Nirvâṇa or death of Buddha, has, ever since Turnour argued in favour

‖ Over de Taartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist, door H. Kern. Uitgegeven door de Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. C. G. Van der Post, Amsterdam, 1873, pp. 120, 4to.

of its correctness, in the Introduction to his edition and translation of the *Mahávanso* (Ceylon, 1837), been pretty generally accepted by scholars as the real date of that event. And yet the first maintainers of this view, as Turnour and Lassen, admit that in this calculation there is an error of 60 years in reference to King Chandragupta, the Sandrakoptos of the Greeks, whose date we know with certainty from classical sources. How any value could be attached to a calculation which is thus shown to be erroneous as regards the end of the 4th century B.C. would be inexplicable, were it not that the dates adopted by the other Buddhists (the Tibetans, Chinese, and Japanese) were less probable. The Cingalese chronology stands favourably contrasted with their more extravagant estimates. But, as Dr. Kern remarks, there is a great difference between relative or comparative value and absolute credibility. And even this comparative value of the Cingalese chronology must undergo some deduction, as, though the later Buddhists of the North place Buddha far too early, yet their older books contain other data, consisting of a determination of the time of the first two councils and of Aśoka's reign. And the question is, whether, with the help of these data, the age of Buddha may not be fixed with more probability than it can be by following the Cingalese books. This problem can only be completely solved when the entire literature of the Northern Buddhists shall have become accessible to us in the original languages.

Prof. Kern thinks that in so far as the books of the Northern and Southern Buddhists are yet known to us, the latter are in many respects undoubtedly the more trustworthy. But, as we have already seen, by the miscalculation of 60 years, they are not to be implicitly depended upon. Anything, therefore, that they contain which is improbable in itself and is not confirmed from other quarters, may reasonably be regarded as open to doubt. One of these doubtful points is the account which they give of the three Councils, one of which is unknown to the Northern Buddhists. According to the Cingalese, the first council was held immediately after the Master's (Buddha's) death; the second exactly 100 years later, under a king called Kâla-Aśoka; and the third 118, or 135, years after the second, under King Aśoka or Dhârma-Aśoka. Here we have (1) the improbability of two successive councils being held by kings of the same name; (2) neither the Buddhistic nor the non-Buddhistic books of the North know anything of two Aśokas; (3) the name Kâla-Aśoka, the chronological Aśoka, is suspicious; (4) the *Mahávanso* is at variance with itself, for in chapter V. 218 years are said to have elapsed between the *Nirvâṇa* and the inauguration of Aśoka, which took place four years after his accession; whilst at the end of the same chapter we are told that the third council took place in the 17th year of Aśoka's reign. The third council would thus, according to the *Mahávanso*, have been held in the 235th year after the *Nirvâṇa*, though on p. 22 of the same work it is said to have occurred 218 years after that event, which is, indeed, the ordinary assumption.

The Northern Buddhists know only of two councils down to Aśoka's time, one immediately after Buddha's death, and the second 110 years later, under Aśoka. A third council is placed by them under Kanishkâ, more than 400 years after the *Nirvâṇa*. In this chronology Dr. Kern finds nothing improbable or suspicious: on the contrary, the correct determination of the distance in time between Aśoka and Kanishkâ forms a strong argument in favour of the credibility of this particular Northern tradition. In order to justify its rejection, an extraordinary degree of credibility must be assigned to the Cingalese books, to which they cannot justly lay claim. For in addition to the specimen already given, as Dr. Kern goes on to say, almost every page of the *Mahávanso* offers evidence that it is not a pure source of information for the earlier history of Buddhism. He then proceeds to adduce various instances of this untrustworthiness, in the shape of exaggerated numbers, miscalculation, contradictory, improbable, and absurd statements, and concludes that a work of which the chronology abounds with inconsistencies, and which contains a loosely connected narrative mixed up with all sorts of absurdities, must be undeserving of reliance. The chronology of the Southern Buddhists, where we can control it, is unsatisfactory. To assume that it is correct, where we have no means of controlling it, can only be the result of extraordinary prejudice.

After introducing some remarks on the Pâli

language (to which I shall return), and other matters (pp. 12 ff.,). Dr. Kern returns (in p. 25) to the question of the Cingalese chronology, and combats Mr. Turnour's arguments in favour of the correctness of the date assumed by the Southern Buddhists as that of their great teacher's death. He urges—in reply to Turnour's assertion that "there is a chain of uninterrupted evidence in the historical annals of Ceylon from B.C. 161 to the present day, all tending to the confirmation of the date assigned" to the *Nirvâṇa*—that even if a book written 460-470 A.D. could be good evidence of what occurred in the interval between 161 B.C. and 460 A.D., as Turnour assumes, it could afford no proof regarding events which occurred before 161 B.C., and then proceeds to remark that Mr. Turnour's reasoning in favour of the date 543, if he understands it rightly, appears to resolve itself into this: the chronology of the Cingalese, in almost all the points where we are able to control it, is faulty and falsified; but we cannot show that the date assigned to the *Nirvâṇa* is false: therefore it is true. Dr. Kern himself prefers to reason otherwise, and say that our inability to disprove this date is a result of the want under which we labour, of contemporary dates; that the date of the *Nirvâṇa* is inseparably connected with those which follow, and must stand or fall therewith. And further that the upholders of the date 543 must at the same time show, or make it probable, that the *Nirvâṇa* is not to be placed 218 years before Aśoka, but 260 years or more. As we cannot, Dr. Kern proceeds, accept any date on the ground of tradition alone, we must choose between the divergent suppositions, and must hold that to be the most probable which is least in conflict with facts and dates that are historically ascertained. It must, at the same time, be admitted that the most probable date may some time or other be disproved by thediscovery of sources of information at present inaccessible.

Prof. Kern proceeds as follows to determine the date of the *Nirvâṇa* which, in the present state of our knowledge, appears to him to be the most probable. He places the beginning of Chandragupta's reign in 322 B.C. He reigned 24 years, and his son 28, making together 52 years. Thus Aśoka, who came next, became Emperor in 270 B.C. From the names of the Grecian kings who are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, and from the dates when they ruled, as well as from the date assigned for Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism, it is to be concluded that these inscriptions must date from 258 B.C., or not long after. And as it is independently established that Aśoka began to reign in 270 B.C., we may, from the concurrence of the two calculations, safely infer that Chandragupta's reign commenced in 322 B.C., and his grandson Aśoka's in 270 B.C., and that Lassen's calculation or conjecture is wrong. According to the *Vâyu Purâṇa* Aśoka reigned 36 years, and 37 according to the *Mahâvanso*. His death is consequently to be placed in 234 or 233 B.C. If we assume, with the *Aśoka-avadâna* (see Burnouf's *Introduction*, &c. p. 370) that Buddha's *Nirvâṇa* took place 100 years before Aśoka's accession, we obtain 380 B.C. as the date of the former event. * This date, Dr. Kern remarks, approaches so near to the year in which the Jina Vardhamâna, or Mahâvîra, is said to have died, that it is difficult to think that the coincidence can be accidental. The Buddhists and Jains seem originally to have formed one sect. Notwithstanding the notable difference between the legends of Jina Śâkyamuni and Jina Mahâvîra, there are also, as others have pointed out, striking points of resemblance. The Jina Mahâvîra is said to have died in 388 B.C. As, further, it appears, for the reasons stated above, that the assumption of the Southern Buddhists regarding a council of which the Northern Buddhists know nothing, and which is stated to have been held by the chronological Aśoka, rests on a mistake, or on invention, we must deduct 100 years, on account of the period between the *Nirvâṇa* and this supposed additional council, from the 218 years, which are said by the Cingalese to have elapsed between the *Nirvâṇa* and Aśoka. According, therefore, to the oldest, uncorrupted Cingalese tradition, the *Nirvâṇa* must have taken place only 118 (not 218) years before Aśoka's

* [If Aśoka began to reign in 270 B.C. and the Nirvâṇa took place only 100 years before that, we only obtain 370 as the date of the latter. This miscalculation, as I learn from a communication of Prof. Kern himself, must have arisen from his having had in his thoughts the number 110, which according to the Northern Buddhists represented the period between the Nirvâṇa and the second council in the reign of Aśoka. The error, however, he remarks, does not affect his conclusion, as he has not assumed, nor does he suppose the Southern Buddhists meant, that the rough number 100 denoted the exact number of years between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka.—J. M.]

accession and coronation. Adding this 118 to the 270 B.C. (the year of Aśoka's accession) we obtain 388, exactly the same date as is assigned to the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra.

Professor Kern does not think that the discrepancies between the chronological traditions of the different Buddhist schools of the North at all affect the justice of his conclusion, as he attaches no credit to those traditions in general, but only to such of them as present the appearance of credibility. Nor is the unanimity of the Southern Buddhists any proof of the correctness of their chronology, as, if it were, we should, on the same ground, have to admit the Chinese and Japanese date, which differs from the Cingalese. But he thinks that in Ceylon there must originally have been divergent traditions, which were afterwards harmonized, as well as this could be managed. We conjecture that the earlier existence of these divergencies may even yet be recognized. According to one tradition, he thinks Aśokâ's reign was considered to have begun 100 years, and according to a second 118 years, after the *Nirvâṇa*. Instead of choosing between the two, the Cingalese writers have adopted both. But the same Aśoka could not have begun to reign both 100 and 118 years after Buddha's death. There must therefore, they concluded, have been two Aśokas, one who came to the throne 100 years after the *Nirvâṇa*, and a second who became king 118 years after the first.

I now return to Dr. Kern's remarks on the Pâli (pp. 12 ff.). It appears, he says, from various sources, that the Buddhists laboured to make out their religious doctrine to be older than it really was. A result of this disposition was that they were led to represent their sacred language, the so-called Pâli, as identical with the Mâgadhî, and as the source of all languages. In the grammar ascribed to Kachchâyana a verse occurs stating that the Pâli is the Mâgadhî spoken by men, &c. at the commencement of the creation. (See, however, my *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 54, note 991, where it is stated, on the authority of Mr. Childers, that the verse in question is not found in Kachchâyana). This claim put forward on behalf of the Pâli, to be the oldest of all languages, Dr. Kern sets aside as absurd. (See *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 65 ff.) He also denies that the Pâli is the same as the Mâgadhî. This he says, is proved by the Inscriptions of Aśoka, which show that Pâli differs from Mâgadhî more than it does from the other Prâkrits. Mâgadhî, the dialect of the province of Magadha, of which Pâtaliputra was the capital, was employed by Aśoka in various inscriptions found in the east and centre of India. In the northern and north-western parts of the country he made use, for the same purpose, of the dialects there prevailing. The Pâli has none of the linguistic peculiarities of real Mâgadhî, as found in the inscriptions, but, on the contrary, approaches nearest to the Śaurasenî of the dramas, although it has forms belonging to all sorts of dialects, excepting only such as characterize the Mâgadhî. The Pâli, in Dr. Kern's opinion, is shown by its phonetic system to be of later date than the language of any of the Inscriptions, and has a striking resemblance to the corrupt Sanskrit found in the books of the Northern Buddhists, the principal elements in both being drawn from an actually existing language, in the one case the Sanskrit, and in the other some one of the Prâkrits (excepting Mâgadhî). But neither the corrupt Sanskrit nor the Pâli were living tongues for those who employed them, but artificial languages which were no longer under the wholesome control of the current forms of speech. This alone explains how both contain so many absurd and incongruous words and forms, displaying mistakes of a kind which only scholars could commit, but which never occur even in the most barbarous popular dialect. Some examples of these blunders of the Pâli grammarians are then given, such as *vîmânsâ* from *mîmânsâ*, *appâbâdhatâ* instead of *apâbâdhatâ*, *atrajo* instead of *attajo* from *âtmaja*. Prof. Kern considers that, with the imperfect data which we possess, it would be rash to try to decide from what popular dialect, if there were not more than one from which it has been drawn, the principal elements of the Pâli were derived. One thing, however, is clear, viz. that Pâli is not Mâgadhi, and that it is decidedly later than any dialect of the third century before our era. In tracing the origin of the Pâli we encounter the same difficulties as we meet with in our enquiries into the original dialect of the *Gâthâs* in the books of the Northern Buddhists, such as the *Lalita Vistara* and *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka*. From beneath the varnish of Sanskrit with which these *Gâthâs* are overlaid, the original Prâkrit shines

clearly through, though it is only as an exception that we can make out which of the Prâkṛits it is. The prose parts of the works in question, written in a corrupt Sanskṛit, are, as Prof. Kern considers, nothing but paraphrases of the metrical *Gâthâs*, and of later date than they. This subject is further treated and illustrated in an appendix (pp. 108 ff.).

The rest of the Dissertation (pp. 31—107), forming its larger portion, is devoted to a series of critical and grammatical remarks on the text of the rock or pillar Inscriptions or Edicts of Aśoka, to an endeavour to present them in a correcter text, to revised translations (into Sanskṛit and Dutch) of their contents, and to a statement of the facts and conclusions which may be derived or deduced from these contents.

Our acquaintance with the purport of these inscriptions is still, Dr. Kern observes, extremely imperfect, owing to different circumstances, but especially to the wretched state in which we possess the texts, arising first from the carelessness of the masons who hewed the inscriptions, and in a less degree from the incorrectness of the transcripts with which we have been furnished. This unfortunate state of things has prevented Dr. Kern from attempting in the mean time to supply a restored text of the whole of the Inscriptions. Those which are for the most part, or in regard to the main points, intelligible, and with which in consequence he has been able to deal, amount to more than the half.

I am glad to learn that there is a prospect of our being by-and-bye put in possession of more accurate transcripts of these Inscriptions.

Prof. Kern concludes his Dissertation with the following paragraphs:—"The Edicts included in this Dissertation give an idea of what the king did for his subjects in his wide dominions, which extended from Behar to Gândhâra, from the Himâlaya to the coast of Coromandel and Pâṇḍya. They are not unimportant for the criticism of the Buddhistic traditions; but the number of the data which they present regarding the condition of the Buddhist doctrine, and its adherents, is extremely small. The king in his eleventh year went over to Buddhism. He was a zealous Buddhist; he busied himself with the spiritual interests and even with the catechism of his co-religionists; at the proper time and place he makes mention in a delicate and becoming manner of the doctrine which he had embraced. But in his measures as a ruler nothing of a Buddhistic spirit is to be traced: from the commencement of his reign he was a good prince. His ordinances regarding the sparing of animal life are more in unison with those of the heretical Jains than with those of the Buddhists. Thus although the Edicts of Aśoka the Humane are only in part of direct importance for the history of Buddhism, the labour spent on perusing them is not lost, because the traits of the Aśoka, with whom we become acquainted from his own words, effectually counterbalance the caricature which, in the works of the Buddhists and others, is presented to us as the figure of the noble king." The points which are here summarized are more fully treated in the preceding pages.

The entire dissertation affords fresh proofs of the learning, ingenuity, and ability of Prof. Kern.

KALIDÂSA, ŚRÎ HARSHA, AND CHAND.

BY KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE HIGH COURT, BOMBAY.

I think that the discussion which has been going on for some time as to the chronological positions of Kâlidâsa and Śrî Harsha may be finally set at rest by a passage which occurs towards the close of the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya* of the latter. Speaking of certain arguments, he says ॥पूर्वैरपि लोकसिद्धत्वाद्व्यवहृताः केवलमस्माभिरेव तर्कपदव्यामभिषिक्तास्ततो न प्रबन्धेन निरस्यन्ते विषवृक्षोपि संवर्द्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतमिति ॥. * Now these last words are well known as forming the second line of stanza 55 of the second canto of Kâlidâsa's *Kumârasambhava*, whence Śrî Harsha would seem to have cited them. We are therefore safe, I think, in placing Kâlidâsa chronologically before Śrî Harsha; and hence Chand, if his words are interpreted as Mr. Growse interprets them, may be taken to have fallen into error—a conclusion which, it must be added, Mr. Growse himself suggests. But this conclusion renders it likely, I think, that Bâbu Râm Dâs

* p. 196.

Sen's suggestion—that Chand did not intend to follow a strict chronological order in the enumeration—is correct. Similarly, I cannot agree with Mr. Growse's statements about the dates of Kâlidâsa and Daṇḍin. Prof. Weber has not yet made up his mind about the date of the former.* A writer in the October number of the *Calcutta Review* places Kâlidâsa at about 100 A.C.† And in my essay on the *Râmâyana* I have endeavoured, with whatever success, to show that Kâlidâsa must be assigned to an earlier period than that which, according to Mr. Growse, is unanimously fixed by modern scholars.‡ As to Daṇḍin it is sufficient to refer to Professor Weber § and Dr. Bühler, || who place him in or about the sixth century,—and not the tenth, which Mr. Growse thinks is the earliest date to which he has been referred. And if we accept this date, it may be that the chronological order is violated as between Daṇḍin and Śrî Harsha also. For, apart from the identification of our Śrî Harsha with the Śrî Harsha who was invited to the Court of Âdisûra or Âdîśvara, we find the *Khaṇḍana*. referring to a writer named Bhaṭṭa, from whom it quotes the words यत्रोभयोः समो दोषः ॥* I have not the means for verifying this quotation; but if, as is possible, the Bhaṭṭa referred to is Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, who is generally assigned to the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era,† Śrî Harsha must be later in date than Daṇḍin also.

Although, however, I have the misfortune to differ thus far from Mr. Growse, I agree with him that the most natural conclusion to be drawn from the passage from the *Prithirâja Rasau* is that in Chand's opinion Śrî Harsha was a writer of considerable antiquity. True it is that the passage is susceptible of explanation upon the theory suggested by Bâbu Râm Dâs Sen. But, on the other hand, it fits in very well, perhaps better, with the theory of Śrî Harsha's age which I have propounded. And furthermore, if we look at the passage itself apart from either theory, it appears to me undeniable that the conclusion which one would draw from it naturally would go to support my suggestion rather than the opposing one. And in this view, I apprehend, it was put forward by Mr. Growse. Now against this, Bâbu Râm Dâs only argues upon other data that Śrî Harsha and Chand were contemporaries. The inference which Mr. Growse has sought to draw from the passage itself is not shown by him to be illegitimate: for, even though the order given by Chand is not the chronologically correct order, I still contend, as I have said above, that the inference of Śrî Harsha's having preceded Chand by a good many years may fairly be drawn. The only argument, then, of Bâbu Râm Dâs against the inference is that contained in these words: "The king of Kânauj here was evidently Jayachandra. . . . This Jayachandra and Prithirâja were cousins." It appears to me that Mr. Growse has answered this argument. How is it 'evident' that Jayachandra was the king under whom Śrî Harsha flourished? Bâbu Râm Dâs thinks it enough to say that Râjaśekhara says so. But that, I submit, is a *petitio principii*. The very question at issue is the credibility of Râjaśekhara. If Râjaśekhara is right, *cadit quæstio*, and Śrî Harsha did flourish in the twelfth century. But the whole scope of my argument was to show that Râjaśekhara cannot be implicitly trusted, and Mr. Growse's note adds strength to that argument. Surely it cannot be a reply to this to reiterate Râjaśekhara's statement on his sole authority and call it 'evident.'

By the way, it is somewhat remarkable that whereas Râjaśekhara, according to Dr. Bühler,‡ represents the Pandits of Kâshmir as treating Śrî Harsha very unfairly, Śrî Harsha speaks of his work as काश्मीरैर्महितं चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विदद्भिः§

One word with regard to the paper of Mr. Purṇaiya, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 29, 30. His list of works composed by Śrî Harsha omits one, entitled *Sthairyavichârana*, which is mentioned at the close of Canto IV. of the *Naishadhîya*, and which is also noted by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall in his Preface to the *Vâsavadattâ*. Mr. Purnaiya does not seem to have had that Preface before him. The question about Sâha-

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 245, and vol. III. p. 24.
† See the Critical Notices *ad finem*.
‡ See p. 36 of my tractate.
§ *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 246.
|| *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 304. ¶ p. 136.
* See for one authority *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 309.
† See pp. 3, 4 of his paper as separately published.
‡ This passage is referred to by Mr. Purnaiya in his paper.

sânka's age is touched upon there, and some works are referred to on the point.* Bâbu Rajendralâl's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,† which unluckily I have not at hand to refer to, also, if I am not mistaken, discusses that question.

THE WORSHIP OF SATYA-NÁRÁYAṆ.

It is a common practice among the natives, when they are anxious to obtain any boon or to avoid difficulty and danger, to perform the worship of Satya-Nârâyaṇ, or the true Nârâyaṇ, one of the names given to Vishṇu. It is customary to vow worship to him under this name on the commencement of any undertaking, which is generally paid on its successful termination. For this there is no authority in the *Śástras:* nor is the divinity who is thus supposed to avert misfortune and to confer favour specifically mentioned. His attributes and his credit have grown up spontaneously from the credulity of the people, but the belief in his power is perhaps more widely extended. and more deeply infixed into the mind, than that of the other gods who have so long claimed adoration. The learned affect to despise him, but with this small exception he appears to be the current deity of Bengal. If a farmer loses his cow, he vows a few gundas of cowries to Satya-Nârâyaṇ: if a rich man institutes a cause in court, a vow is made to this deity, and if he be victorious, he performs the vow before the whole village. The mode of worship practised on these occasions is exceedingly simple. A quantity of food is collected and offered up to Satya-Nârâyaṇ; a little book is read containing instances of his having fulfilled the wishes of his worshippers, and of his having revenged himself on them for some trifling neglect in the ceremonials of worship, or for having forgotten him in time of prosperity; at the close of each chapter the assembly clap hands and cry out "Hari bol;" and on the conclusion of this recitation each one partakes of the food which has thus been consecrated, and, with a firm reliance on the merits of this deity, prefers in his own mind whatever wish may be uppermost, and returns home. On this occasion, it is the practice never to collect any quantity of food, or to offer any sum of money, complete, but always with the fraction of a quarter; as a śer and a quarter of rice, or three, four, or five śers and a quarter, a rupee and a quarter, or any larger sum with the addition of a quarter.

The books thus read are written in measured numbers in the Bengali language. The composition is the work of some village bard, and the matter is drawn from his own fertile imagination. The instances he adduces of the power of the god are not founded on fact, but are invented by himself. He is therefore at liberty to exhibit the deity under any form he pleases, and subject to all those ignoble passions with which his own mind is filled. The deity he thus exhibits is a prototype of himself with the addition of boundless power; and from this impure source are his fellow-countrymen, as far as they read and believe (and they do believe with inconceivable tenacity), to form an idea of the majesty, power, goodness, and condescension of God. To the poor and ignorant, those deities, however low they may be in the calendar to Brahma, from whom they expect immediate relief, to whom they resort on all occasions, whose anger they dread, whose power they attempt to propitiate, are all in all. These are their only real gods; on these they trust, and they have no particular thought about the other deities whom the learned have created. Each province has a distinct work of this nature, in which the principles are the same, though the story varies. The number of works composed under this title we have not been able to ascertain; but, since after a limited search we have found more than eight, there is every reason to believe that they are exceedingly numerous. We here present the reader with the outline of one of these works.

A poor mendicant Brahman lived at Kashipura, who was in the habit of meditating on *Satya-Náráyaṇ.* On his way, he one day meets this divinity, though himself unable to recognize him as the lord of the three worlds. Being accosted by the form which the god had assumed, he replied that he was a poor Brahman who lived by begging,—had meditated at Satya-Nârâyaṇ for years, "who," says he, "though the supporter of the distressed, makes not himself visible to me, nor relieves my distress." This awakens the compassion of the god, who assumes his divine form of four hands and says, "I am Satya-Nârâyaṇ: knowing thee to be faithful I have revealed myself. I will banish thy poverty and crown thee with magnificence if thou wilt worship me with a true heart." The Brahman overjoyed, makes his obeisance to the ground and exclaims, "My night of affliction is turned into auspicious day. But how shall I, who am poor and destitute, worship thee?" The god, smiling, said, "Think not that much wealth is required to propitiate me; one śer and a quarter of âṭâ,‡ a

* p. 18.

† Referred to in my paper in *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 74.

‡ Flour made of rice.

ser and a quarter of milk, and as much sour milk, honey, ghî, and sugar as thou canst obtain—with these articles, worship me: after collecting thy friends and relatives, meditate on me in faith and offer up the articles mentioned. Having circumambulated the collection of offerings, meditate on me again with undisturbed mind, and thou wilt obtain all thy desires. Let the assembly repeatedly bow their heads, and partake of the sacrificial articles, contemplating me in the various ways their necessities demand: those who worship me with sincerity shall obtain the accomplishment of all their wishes." Saying this, he becomes invisible. The Brahman, overjoyed with the interview, hastened to the town to beg, and to his great astonishment obtained extraordinary donations on the road, and returned to his house laden with the articles for sacrifice. He informs his wife of the joyful turn in his affairs, who collects her friends and relations together. In the evening the Brahman performs the sacrifice according to the directions of Nârâyaṇ, and soon after rises to wealth and honour.

The report of this *pujá* and its consequences was rapidly circulated. Hearing of the story, some woodmen assembled, and having cut wood, went to sell it that they might perform the sacrifice. One of them, overcome with thirst on the road, lays down his burden and proceeding to the house of the fortunate Brahman inquires his occupation, the object of his worship, and the means through which he had acquired wealth. The Brahman informs him that he is indebted to Satya-Nârâyaṇ for his elevation, and that his mind is constantly fixed on his benefactor. The woodman makes his obeisance, and repairing to his companions informs them of his interview, and that through the favour of Satya-Nârâyaṇ the mendicant Brahman was become lord of Kâshipura. They unanimously agree to sell their wood, and with the produce perform a sacrifice to the bestower of wealth. Having sold their wood, they collect the offerings, and on their arrival at home inform their wives of the events of the day, and assemble their friends, who, on hearing the story, fall down in adoration to the wealth-giving divinity. The ceremony proceeds, and each one, inwardly revolving the object of his wishes, with a reliance on Satya-Nârâyaṇ, partakes of the food. The third chapter closes with saying that the woodmen became rich, erected splendid houses, and rode about on horses and elephants, and that the whole was the reward of their devotion.

Another story illustrative of the efficacy of worshipping Satya-Nârâyaṇ, and the misery of offending him, is as follows:—*Ur-do-muk*, the son of a king, performs a sacrifice to Nârâyaṇ on the banks of a river. While engaged in the ceremony a merchant lands from his boats laden with goods, and inquiring the object of the assembly is informed that it is to worship Satya-Nârâyaṇ, whose attributes are beyond utterance, who gives children to the barren, wealth to the indigent, and sight to the blind, when worshipped with a view to the attainment of these objects. The merchant, joining the sacrifice, exclaims, "Hear what I desire. There is no son or daughter in my house: I fear I shall die childless—who then will perform my funeral rites? I therefore beseech of Satya-Nârâyaṇ a son or a daughter. If I obtain either I will acknowledge his divinity. I will then worship him with splendour, and erect a magnificent monument to his honour." The merchant departs home, and continues for a long time anxiously waiting the desired boon. At length his wife presents him with a daughter, her hand resembling the moon, her waist equal in beauty to that of the lion, and of such an exquisite form as to attract the admiration of the three worlds. Infancy passes, and she arrives at the age for marriage. In the beautiful village of Kanchonpura a most desirable bridegroom is found; but the marriage ceremony is performed without any offering to Satya-Nârâyaṇ, who is instantly offended. The father admits his son-in-law into partnership, departs with a rich freight, and opens a warehouse in the capital of the kingdom. Satya-Nârâyaṇ, in the display of his vengeance, sends robbers to the place, who steal the plate of the chief man. The koṭvâl perambulates the streets in search of the thieves, and not finding them sits down in despair, trembling for the safety of his hand. In this juncture Satya-Nârâyaṇ speaks from the air, and informs him that the two merchants had stolen the plate. The merchant and his son-in-law are bound and carried before the king, who seizes all their merchandize and sentences them to twelve years' confinement. Thus to instruct mankind does Nârâyaṇ amuse himself with mortal concerns.

The mother and the daughter at home look out anxiously for them; and are obliged gradually to sell all their jewels, household furniture, &c. They make inquiries of every traveller, but gain no intelligence. They thus pass twelve years of their existence, after which they are constrained to enter into the service of a Brahman, whom the daughter one day sees performing the worship of Satya-Nârâyaṇ. She joins in the ceremony, eats the sacrificial articles with profound obeisance, and puts up a prayer for the return of her husband and father, promising to devote her life to the service of Nârâyaṇ if he be propitious. The mother chides her on her return for the delay, when the daughter relates the occasion of it, and

says that in this last age of the world Nârâyan becomes incarnate and fulfils the desires of his followers. The mother on this determines to perform a *pujá*, and, after begging round the town, sits down to it in the evening. While they are thus engaged, Satya-Nârâyan, in the form of a Brahman, appears in a dream to the Râja who held the husband and father in confinement, and, says, "Awake, O king! I am Nârâyan. If thou desirest the salvation of thy soul and thy kingdom, release the two men whom thou hast confined for twelve years." Awaking in the morning, the king sends for them, inquires their names and occupation, orders them to be instantly released, and invites them to an entertainment. In return for his injustice, he order their boats to be laden from his treasury, and, begging their forgiveness for his inadvertence, dismisses them in peace.

With sounds of joy the merchants leave the city on their return home. Satya-Nârâyan appears to them in the form of a *sannyási*, and inquires with what their vessel is laden. They reply, "With leaves." The deity, offended at this dissimulation, replies, "So let it be then." On this, all the gold is instantly turned into leaves, the boats become light, and the merchant is thunder-struck. The son-in-law advises him to seek out the *sannyási*. On finding him, they fall to the ground and inquire of him "What god art thou? What incarnation? Wherefore hast thou blasted our hopes?" He asks in reply why they thus accost him, and denies having done anything. The merchant says, "Thou hast turned my gold to leaves." Satya-Nârâyan smiling, replies, "Didst thou not, at the first sacrifice, prefer to me a request for a family, and promise me a golden standard? Hast thou fulfilled thy promise?" This recals the circumstance to his recollection; he puts his cloth round his neck and intreats forgiveness, promising to sacrifice to the amount of a lakh of rupees. Pleased with his submission, the god repairs to the boat, and, with his mendicant jug sprinkling the lading, transmutes the cargo of leaves to gold. The merchant departs homeward, beseeching Satya-Nârâyan to assist him in his journey through life.

On the news of their arrival at the ghât, the daughter, overjoyed, throws down the sacrificial food in her haste to meet her husband. Satya-Nârâyan is again enraged, and sinks the boat which contains her husband. The father is overwhelmed with distress, and taking his daughter in his arms, bewails their affliction. The daughter appears inconsolable and determines to forsake life on the funeral pile. The parents attempt to comfort her, and assure her that Nârâyan will again be propitious. Nârâyan upon this speaks from the air, "Your son-in-law has perished through the fault of your daughter; she threw away my offerings, and I have slain her husband." The father falls on the ground and intreats forgiveness. Nârâyan replies, "Let your daughter return home and eat up the food she has left. Till this be done her husband comes not to life." The daughter obeys his command; the boat rises from the water, and the youth is restored to his family. The father expends a lakh of rupees in a splendid sacrifice to the disposer of affliction and prosperity, and erects a golden pennon. The book concludes with the praises of Nârâyan, and with a recommendation to all to avoid displeasing him, and to repose the highest confidence in his favour.

From this specimen it is easy to observe that these legendary tales, absurd and monstrous as they are, differ wholly from tales fabricated in Europe, in that they have an immediate object in view, that of exalting some kind of gainful worship, and of infusing terror into the minds of those who, from any motive whatever, may be unwilling to fall in therewith. And when we consider that the gross ignorance of the people renders nothing in these tales monstrous or incredible in their view, it is easy to conceive what a hold these must have on the weak and superstitious mind, and what a source of gain these become on the one hand, and of terror and misery on the other.—*Calcutta Journal*, Dec. 24th, 1820.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

MÎNÂS AND THÂGS.

The Minâs of Rajputânâ and Gurgâon are essentially a criminal race, and number altogether about 8,000, irrespective of the Minâs of Kherar and Mehrwârâ. They chiefly reside in those districts of the Pattiâla, Nabha, and Jhind States, which formed the confiscated territory of the late Nawâb of Jhajar, and round about Shâjehânpur, in the British District of Dehli. They are both intelligent and enterprising, and there is a feeling of clanship which leads them persistently to sympathize with, and support the members of their association who are pursued or captured for offences against the law, and to endeavour, by such sympathy and by a tender care of their families, to dissuade them from giving any information against their accomplices. This fellow-feeling, and the absence of all zealous coöperation with the efforts of the Thâgi and Dakaiti Department on the part of the native officials where these criminals congregate, make the pursuit and arrest of Minâ Dakaits, and their associates of other tribes, not only most difficult, requiring the great-

est tact and perseverance, but the duty is attended with considerable risk to those engaged in it. Colonel Hervey says that the Mînâs of Upper Rajputânâ are Hindus of the straitest sect, and not only do Hindus of every denomination, high and low, drink from their hands, but all Thâkurs, Jâts, and Ahîrs will even partake of food which has been prepared by them. Brâhmans and Baniyâs alone refrain from eating of their food, or drinking from their vessels. They will, however, drink water which has been drawn by a Mînâ, but not put it into any drinking utensil.

They never, under any consideration, intermarry even in their mother's *got* (circle of affinity) except after a remove of four generations. The installation of the Mahârâja of Jaypur on the throne is not considered complete, unless the ceremony of fixing the *tilaka*, or mark of sovereignty upon the forehead, is performed by the headmen of the two *gots* or subdivisions of the chief tribes. The entrance to the Mahârâja's zenana is even guarded by Mînâs, and they are also the constituted chaukid rs of the State. They do not, however, mix with the Pariyar Mînâs, inhabiting Kherwârâ, and who eat the flesh of young buffaloes. These people are generally employed as *sansis* or common watchmen, and are looked upon as the police of the district; but the term applies to them only, and not to the higher occupation, as guards, of the Chaukidâr Mînâs. They are an unruly race, and committed so many excesses during the mutiny, and the period immediately succeeding, that it was considered necessary to place the tract of country in which they principally resided under a special officer styled the "Superintendent of the Mînâ Districts." Special operations were conducted against them, under that officer's supervision, with the aid of troops supplied by the Darbârs of Mewâr, Bundi, and Jaypur, and by the ruler of the petty state of Sâwar, in Ajmir, whose villages in Kherwârâ were inhabited by the tribe. The result was that they were summarily quelled, and they have since settled down to the peaceful cultivation of their lands, and many of them now enlist in the Mînâ Regiment, the Infantry portion of the Deoli Irregular Force, in which they are said to turn out smart soldiers. The Pariyar Mînâs are, however, also addicted to robbery, although not to the extent the crime is committed by the Chaukidâr Mînâs. While the Pariyar or Kherar Mînâ is ignorant and superstitious, the Chaukidâr Mînâ is intelligent, and will only be deterred from his boldly designed enterprise of raid and robbery by the occurrence of some appalling omen. It is a well-known fact that Shâhjehânpur is inhabited almost exclusively by Mînâ plunderers, whose houses are built of substantial masonry, with upper stories, underground passages, and fine wells.

They maintain fleet camels, some of which may be found secreted in their premises in readiness for an expedition, or but now arrived from some unknown raid,—cows, buffaloes, and goats are among their possessions; they live amid abundance and they want for nothing; their festivals of marriage, and other ceremonies, whether of joy or solemnity, are attended with lavish expenditure. Flesh is their food, and liquor their potation,—trinkets of gold and silver, and fine dresses adorn, on pleasure days, the persons of their females. Gold and coral necklaces, earrings, and good turbans are the display of the men,—bracelets and frontlets studded with various coins, ornaments, and parti-coloured garments the apparel of their children. Music and every requirement without stint form the accompaniments of their feasts, revelling and quarrel mark their termination. Plenty they have, plenty they spend, and plenty they bestow: there is no end to their charity. Ordinary people give alms to those who petition for it at their doors, but the charity of the Mînâs of Shâhjehânpur is *Saddâbart*—it is perpetual—and invites all comers to partake of it. Corn and provisions are liberally distributed to those who seek for them,—a village grain-dealer is their purveyor by appointment, his *dukân* or shop is the granary from which all may be freely obtained, and a *sâdhu* (holy man) is their almoner. And with all this profusion and munificence the men have no ostensible occupation, no means from which to meet so much extravagance. The place has an appearance of neglect and desertion from the continued and sometimes prolonged absence of the men; a few men only are to be seen as if idly sauntering about, some women drawing at the wells, or children seemingly at play at dispersed spots. But a curious observer may detect that a close intelligence is withal the part of them all—that the eye is restless and watchful, the child is signalling something, the woman's song is the voice of warning whether by word or intonation, and that the man's hangdog look cloaks quick furtive glances which connect him with persons who are peering through the high thorn fences of the cattleyards which project from each dwelling, or with others who flit from window to window or terrace of their labyrinthine and subterranean abodes, and if a *muster* should be called, it will be found that the rolls are glaringly blank, and that *French leave* has been abundantly taken! What does all this mean, and from whence do these men really obtain their livelihood, and with so much to spare?

Whenever a Mînâ is arrested, subscriptions are readily raised for his release, acquittal, or the annulment of the sentence which may have been passed upon him; and so certain is this course in the Râjwârâ or Native States that a Mînâ or any

wealthy criminal may generally obtain "not only the reversal of the sentence by which he was justly condemned, but may also inflict whatever punishment he pleases on the accuser, the witnesses, and the judge."

Thăgs, as a rule, are more addicted to murder than robbery, and they are especially prone to Meghapanna Thăgi—the crime of strangling or poisoning parents for the sake of their children, who are sold in distant places, or to persons of the wandering classes, likely to carry them away to far-off countries. Boys are generally sold for a trifling sum, Brinjârâs often purchasing them at the rate of five rupees, or so, each. Female children are more profitably disposed of, and are eagerly sought for by Nâth Gypsies. The crime is secretly practised, and if the corpses of the victims should occasionally be seen, little notice of such things is taken in the countries infested by these monsters, who, if they continue the inhuman practice at all, take care to confine it to native territory. Meghapanna Thăgi is also followed by a race called Naiks, a low caste of men inhabiting Jaypur, Mârwâr, Mewâr, and Mâlwa. They travel about as religious mendicants of the Hindu classes, but more generally as Bairâgîs of the Sar-Bhangi sect, who eat at every one's hand, and this disguise has fastened itself upon some of them to such an extent, that they are still generally called Bairâgîs even in their own villages, although in caste they are simply Naiks. In expeditions of Thăgi, they formerly went out in small isolated parties, meeting in large numbers when occasion required; but they were all cognizant of the criminal acts of each other, and therefore formed an extensive secret brotherhood, but to what extent they now commit the crime, it is difficult to tell.—*Friend of India, September 5th*, 1872.

THE MUSALMÂNS OF INDIA.

At the time of the Muhammadan invasion, the Hindus were far more civilized than any other Asiatic people with whom the Arabs had come into contact, and to the present hour they are more keen and subtle in intellect, preserve more of their ancient traditions and practices, adapt themselves more readily to circumstances, and have made more substantial advances than those who ruled over them, more or less completely, for eleven centuries. It would be a mistake to suppose that the extension of Muhammadanism in India was entirely the result of violence. Whole sects of Hindus are said to have voluntarily adopted the new religion, and the intermarriages of the conquerors and the conquered, whether forcible or voluntary, have so confused their characteristics that it is very difficult to trace the origin of the Musalmans of many parts of India, or to distinguish them from the older inhabitants of the same countries by their mere physical characters. As a rule, they are more robust and muscular, from their more varied and nutritive dietaries, and from the greater amount of physical exertion which they undergo. They are more brusque and independent in manner, and are said to be less social and hospitable. They are, however, easily distinguished by their dress, by the absence of all marks and symbols of caste, by their modes of salutation and address, and by a thousand minute shades of difference which those who have lived long among them easily distinguish, but which it would be difficult to describe. The Musalmans, when they appeared in India, were inferior to the Hindus except as warriors, and even in this respect the early records show that they were frequently defeated, and when victorious purchased their victories dearly. Yet they acquired an influence over them by slow degrees during the last six centuries of their rule, which has even to the present day modified the manners and customs of all classes subject to their rule. They themselves have again been influenced by the natives of India so much as to change some of their ceremonial observances, and in some matters their manners and customs, to an extent which has caused Musalmans from other countries, and some of the reformers amongst themselves, to doubt if they are genuine Musalmans.

Dudu Miyah, the head of the sect of Ferâgîs in Eastern Bengal, was a most remarkable man, much misunderstood and grievously mismanaged by the civil authorities. He himself estimated his followers at seven millions, and I dare say he was not far wrong in his calculations. His father was killed in an agrarian riot in 1831. Dudu Miyah was in constant trouble, in consequence of his followers resisting their Hindu landlords and resorting to acts of violence which brought them into the courts and prisons. Their apparent turbulence was attributed to religious bigotry and intolerance; but this was a mistake, and if, instead of treating the leader of these men as a mischievous fanatic, the authorities had gained his confidence by a little of the kindness and consideration which is never misplaced in such cases, they might have been enlisted in the cause of order, and the Wahabis would have found few proselytes among them. The judicial records show that there is comparatively little crime among them. In prison they are always clean, orderly, and well-behaved, and I am strongly of opinion that they were what their leader represented them to be, Musalman puritans, anxious to purge their religion from many Hindu and other practices, which had crept into, and in their belief, corrupted it, and ready to resist all attempts to interfere in

this matter with them. At the same time he emphatically disavowed all intention of being hostile to the Government so long as he and his people were permitted the religious freedom to which they laid claim, and were not subjected to any injustice and oppression. During the Mutiny, he was seized, brought down to Calcutta and imprisoned in the Alipore Jail, where I saw much of him. The constant persecution of his people by their Hindu landlords was, he maintained, the chief and almost only cause of the constant affrays in which they were engaged, and in many instances of which, life was lost and destruction of property ensued. They were due to attempts to extract from them illegitimate cesses for purposes which they abhorred. The marriage of a son or daughter, the expenses of a Hindu festival, the endowment of a shrine, the cost of a pilgrimage, and every possible occasion on which the landholder had to lavish wealth on purposes connected with himself and his religion, was made a pretext for screwing the Ferâgî tenantry. It would be a long story to tell how the Permanent Settlement of 1793—a measure which has operated prejudicially in many ways on the richest provinces of the Indian Empire—combined with their recklessly extravagant habits and utterly careless regulation of their own affairs, gradually ruined the Musalman landholders and local magnates, and transferred their territorial possessions to the Hindus, who now own them; so that in Eastern Bengal, while the cultivators of the soil are almost universally Muhammadans and Ferâgîs, the landholders and men filling most of the offices about the courts are as generally Hindus. The consequences of Musalman pride or ignorance, and intolerance, being subjected to Hindu rapacity, intelligence, and *finesse*, can readily be imagined by all who have lived among them; and this I hold to be the solution of most that has caused the Ferâgîs to be regarded with distrust and suspicion. It is no libel on the integrity and anxious desire to do justice of our courts in those provinces to express a belief that gross injustice is a frequent, although perfectly unintended, result of their decisions, and that the poor ignorant, oppressed, misguided, and violent Musalman often goes to the wall when very extenuating circumstances, if not absolute justification from his point of view, exists to explain and mitigate the apparent lawlessness and turpitude of his acts. The conflict of evidence is so extreme, the assertions of both sides are so positive, and the cleverness of the Hindu is so infinitely beyond the ignorance of the Musalman, as to render the administration of justice to the last degree difficult to those who are compelled to apply European standards to measure Oriental actions. That the Ferâgîs were not hostile to the British Government in the manner and to the extent preached and practised by the Wahabis, was shown by their passiveness during the Mutiny. So far as I know, not a man among them joined the rebellious sepoys or gave any trouble to the authorities when so great an opportunity presented itself, had they been really ill-disposed; for there was not a single European soldier in the Eastern Provinces for many months. This was, in my belief, in no way due to the imprisonment of their leader, as he himself informed me, and I had and have no reason to doubt his honesty in this or in any other of the statements which he made to me. The occasion which gave rise to his putting me in possession of the tenets of his sect was indicative of his straightforwardness. The Ferâgî prisoners in one of the Eastern jails refused to wear the prison costume at the time allowed, on the ground that they could neither pray nor eat in a garment with a seam in it, alleging that it was opposed to one of the precepts of their religion. I at once asked their leader if this was the case, as the order would not have been enforced had it infringed any article of faith. He assured me that it was not, that it was distinctly a Hindu practice, advocated in ignorance by his co-religionists; and the communication to them of his decision at once put a stop to all difficulty on the subject. He then gave me his book, explanatory of the tenets of his sect, and pointed out what really was enjoined in all such matters. The Musalmans of India are particularly exact in their observances in every stage of life—infancy, childhood, and old age, marrying and giving in marriage, religious festivals, death and burial. Most of their ceremonies, when based upon the Qoran, are similar in character to those preached in Arabia and countries where Islâm has not been contaminated by too close contact with other creeds. Among the peasantry and rural population of India, and in most towns where the Musalmans and Hindus have for centuries intermingled, various Hindu practices have crept into their ceremonies, which orthodox Muhammadans strongly disapprove, and Musalman reformers endeavour to expurgate. As a rule, Musalmans are sober and temperate, those virtues being inculcated by their religion; but in the Lower Provinces at least, intemperance has, I am assured, become more prevalent among them than it was when I first went to India.

The Musalmans are given to the practice of exorcism, regarding which detailed rules are prescribed, believe in charms and amulets, and resort to magic for the purpose of discovering unknown things. Exorcism is generally enjoined

to command the presence of genii and demons, who are to obey the behests of the exorcist in causing desired events to come off, to establish friendship or enmity, to cause the death or injury of enemies, to increase worldly prosperity, to command victory, and, in short, to accomplish all wishes, spiritual and temporal, which the votary may desire. The casting out of devils is still practised, and the belief in evil spirits generally entertained. Many years ago, when sailing from Port Louis to Calcutta, I saw the native supercargo—a Chittagong Musalman—every evening visit each corner of the deck, burn incense and mutter a prayer to drive away evil spirits. Among the passengers was a well-known Chinese merchant of Calcutta who laughed at the supercargo for his belief in spirits, and yet burnt a joss-stick himself to keep away ghosts in his own cabin. The rules regarding travelling are full of singular superstitions. A general belief is entertained in an invisible being moving in a circular orbit round the world, who takes up his abode in different places on different days of the month. To ascertain this, and from this to calculate when it is lucky to set out, in what direction the journey may be made securely, and when it should be avoided, tables are constructed and calculations are devised. If a person wishes to proceed on a journey on a Saturday, he is to eat fish previous to starting; for his wishes in that case will soon be accomplished. If on a Sunday, should he eat betel-leaf before his departure, all his undertakings will prosper. If on a Monday, should he look into a mirror, he will speedily obtain wealth. If on a Tuesday, should he eat coriander seed, every occurrence will happen agreeably to his wishes. If on a Wednesday, should he eat curdled milk, he will return home in good health and with a large fortune. If on a Thursday, should he eat raw sugar, he will return with abundance of pearls and precious stones. There are propitious hours and days in every month, and there are also evil times which should be avoided, and rules are laid down for ascertaining them. In the same manner the making and wearing of clothes, the fashion of the beard and hair of the head, and the rules to be observed in eating and drinking are prescribed in amusing and childish detail. For example, if a person put on a suit of new clothes in the morning, he will become wealthy and fortunate. If at noon, he will appear elegant. If at sunset, he will be wretched. If in the evening, he will continue ill.—*From a lecture by Dr. F. J. Mouat, in St. George's Hall, London, 12th January* 1873.

Sir,—I have succeeded in seeing a portion of the famous Bhaṅḍâr of the Osval Jains of this town, and have obtained already results which repay me for the tedious journey, and the not less tedious stay in this country of sand, bad water, and guinea-worms. A large portion of the Bhaṅḍâr consists of palm-leaf MSS. dating from *circa* 1140 to 1340 A.D., which contain also Brahmanical works, chiefly Kâryas, Nâṭakas, books on Alaṁkâra, Nyâya, and Grammar. One of these Pothîs gives us an unknown work of Bilhaṇa or Vilhaṇa, a Kaśmîrian Bhaṭṭa, whose *Panchâsikâ* is of frequent occurrence. The poem gives, in 17 cantos, a life or eulogy of the famous Châlukya king of Kalyâṇa, Vikramâditya, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla, while the last, the eighteenth canto, treats of Bilhaṇa's personal history. Its title is *Vikramâṅkabhidhânaṁ Kâvyam* or *Vikramâṅkacharitam.*

I believe the Châlukyas of Kalyâṇa are known exclusively through their inscriptions, and it is, therefore, of the highest interest to find a description of their deeds in a literary work. This interest is heightened by the fact that Bilhaṇa was the Vidyâpati of Vikramâdityadeva, and that his testimony possesses great weight, as that of an eye-witness or contemporary of the events described by him. The *Charita* begins with the creation of the Châlukya race, and enumerates the kings of the modern line descended from Pailapa. The first kings are dismissed with a few ślokas apiece. But the reigns of Âhavamalla and Someśvar, the former of whom was Vikramâdityadeva's father, while the latter was his elder brother, received greater attention. Vikramâditya's history is not complete, as the king was still living when the poet wrote. The last canto gives, besides Bilhaṇa's personal history, notices of Harshadeva of Kaśmîr, of his predecessors, and of his successors. Bhoja of Dhârâ is mentioned several times, once as a contemporary of Bilhaṇa's, whom, however, he did not visit. The poem is written in various metres: its style is the *Vaidarbhirîti.*

The MS. is not dated, but was bought *back* at the end of the 13th century by Khetmall and Jetsingh. I should say that it was written towards the end of the 12th century. I have copied the whole of the book with the assistance of Dr. Jacobi, who accompanies me all through my journey. I trust that an edition will be feasible; for the MS. is very carefully written, and still more carefully corrected and annotated. The corrections are very old.

We have worked six days in the Bhaṅḍâr and have not yet done. If what the people say of its extent is true, and if we succeed in seeing the whole, it may be possible that we shall not get away from here before March. We have bought

a good number of useful books, and some novelties, among which I may mention a *Karaṇa* of King Bhoja, dated Śâke 964, or 1040 A.D.

The Yatis here do not possess much more than what we have got in Surat. They are very friendly and communicative. The Panch of the Osval, to which the great Bhaṅḍâr belongs, is very tough, and requires frequent admonitions from the Rawal, but, I believe, finally we shall see everything.

J. G. Bühler.

Jesalmer, 29th January 1874.

Sir,—In sales of cattle (cows, bullocks, buffaloes) in this part of the country, it is usual for the seller to take a small quantity of straw in his hand, and put some cowdung upon it, and present it to the purchaser. This completes the bargain. The words used by the seller are, "For desire for money I have no right to the cow," or "I have a right to money, and no right to the cow."

H. J. Stokes.

Negapatam, 18th February 1874.

EXPLANATION OF THE TAMIL METHOD OF NAMING THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Beschi, in his Tamil Grammar of the common Dialect, mentions the fact that "the Tamilians reckon the days of the week as seven, and name them from the seven planets, in the same order that we are accustomed to"; but he gives no explanation of the method adopted for so naming them. I had the following given me by the Rev. Dr. Caldwell many years ago, but from what source derived, I cannot say. His name is a sufficient guarantee of its correctness.

1. Saturn	(Tamil)	Sani, Saturday.
2. Jupiter		Viyâzam, Thursday.
3. Mars		Sevvâi, Tuesday.
4. Sol		Nyâyaru, Sunday.
5. Venus		Velli, Friday.
6. Mercury		Budan, Wednesday.
7. Moon		Tingal, Monday.
Earth		

Each hour, according to Hindu notions, being ruled successively by a planet, by counting the 24 hours of a day by each planet belonging to it in the above order (which is that of their apparent distance from the earth), it will be found that each day is named by the planet which governs *its first hour*. The first 25th hour is the first hour of the first day of the week, Sunday (Nyâyaru), and counting with the 25th as the first of the second series of 24 hours, the next 25th will give the *Moon* for Monday (Tingal), and so on for the rest of the week.

Madras, February 27th, 1874.

C. E. Kennet.

MOSES AND THE HERDSMAN.

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

Mesnavi of Jellál-aldyn-Rúmi, 2nd Duftur.

ديد موسى يک شباني را براه
کو همي گفت اي خدا واي اله
تو کجايي تا شوم من چاکرت
چارقت دوزم کنم شانه سرت
اي خداي من فدايت جان من
جمله فرزندان وخان ومان من
تو کجايي تا سرت شانه کنم
چارقت را دوزم و بخيه زنم
ور ترا بيماري آيد به پيش
من ترا غمخوار باشم همچو خويش
دستکت بوسم بمالم پايکت
وقت خواب آيد بروبم جايکت
گر ببينم خانه ات را من دوام
روغن وشيرت بيارم صبح و شام
هم پنير و نانهاي روغنين
خمرها جغراتهاي نازنين
سازم وآرم به پيشت صبح وشام
از من آوردن ز تو خوردن طعام
اي فداي تو همه بزهاي من
اي بيادت هي هي و هيهاي من
زين نمط بيهوده ميگفت آن شبان
گفت موسي باکيستت ايفلان
گفت با آنکس که مارا آفريد
اين زمين و چرخ ازاو آمد پديد
گفت موسي هاي خيره سرشدي
خود مسلمان ناشده کافر شدي
اين چه ژاژ است اين چه کفراست وفشار
پنبهٔ اندر دهان خود فشار
گند کفر تو جهانرا گنده کرد
کفر تو ديباي دين را ژنده کرد
چارق وپاتابه لايق مر تراست
آفتابي را چنينها کي رواست
گر نبندي زين سخن تو حلق را
آتشي آيد بسوزد خلق را
آتشي گرنامدست اين دود چيست
جان سيه گشته روان مردود چيست
گر همي داني که يزدان داور است
ژاژ و گستاخي ترا چون باورست
دوستي بيخرد چون دشمني است
حقتعالي زاينچنين خدمت غني است

با که ميگويي تو اين با عمّ و خال
جسم و حاجت در صفات ذوالجلال

شیر او نوشد که در نشو و نماست
چارق او پوشد که او محتاج پاست
ور براي بندة است این گفتگو
آنکه حق گفت او من است و من خود او

آنکه گفت انّي مرضت لم تعد
من شدم رنجور او تنها نشد
آنکه بي یسمع و بي یبصر شدة است
در حق آن بندة این هم بیهدة است
بي ادب گفتن سخن با خاص حق
دل بمیراند سیه دارد ورق
گر تو مردي را بخواني فاطمه
گرچه یک جنسند مرد و زن همه
قصد خون تو کند تا ممکن است
گرچه خوشخوي و حلیم و مومن است
فاطمه مدح است در حق زنان
مردرا گوي بود زخم سنان
دست و پا در حق ما آسایش است
در حق پاکي حق آلایش است
لم یلد لم یولد اورا لایق است
والد و مولود را او خالق است
هرچه جسم آمد ولادت وصف اوست
هرچه مولود است او زینسوی جوست
زانکه ازکون و فساد است و مهین
حادث است و محدثي خواهد یقین
گفت اي موسي دهانم دوختي
و ز پشیماني تو جانم سوختي
جامه را بدرید و آهي کرد تفت
سر نهاد اندر بیاباني و رفت
وحي آمد سوي موسي از خدا

بندۂ مارا از ما کردي جدا
تو براي وصل کردن آمدي
ني براي فصل کردن آمدی
تا تواني پا منه اندر فراق
ابغض الاشیاء عندي الطلاق
هرکسي را سیرتي بنهادة ایم
هرکسي را اصطلاحي دادة ایم
درحق او مدح و در حق تو ذم

در حق او شهد و درحق تو سم
در حق او نور و در حق تو نار
درحق او ورد و درحق تو خار
در حق او نیک و درحق تو بد

درحق او خوب و در حق تو ردّ

ما بري از پاک و ناپاکي همه
از کرانجاني و چالاکي همه
من نکردم خلق تا سودي کنم
بلکه تا بر بندگان جودي کنم
هندیانرا اصطلاح هند مدح
سندیانرا اصطلاح سند مدح
من نگردم پاک از تسبیح شان

پاک هم ایشان شوند و درّ فشان
ما برون را ننگریم و قال را
ما درونرا بنگریم و حال را
ناظر قلبیم اگر خاشع بود
گرچه گفت لفظ نا خاضع بود
زآنکه دل جوهر بود گفتن عرض
پس طفیل آمد عرض جوهر غرض
چند ازین الفاظ و اضمار و مجاز
سوز خواهم سوز با آنسوز ساز
آتشي از عشق در جان برفروز
سر بسر فکر و عبارت را بسوز
موسیا آداب دانان دیگرند
سوخته جان و روانان دیگرند
عاشقانرا هرنفس سوزیه نیست
بردة ویران خراج و عشر نیست
گر خطا گوید اورا خاطي مگو
گر شود پر خون شهید آنرا مشو
خون شهید آنرا از آب اولی تر است
این خطا از صد ثواب اولی تر است
در درون کعبه رسم قبله نیست

چه غم ارغوّاص را پا چیله نیست
تو زسر مستان قلاوزي مجو
جامه چاکانرا چه فرماي رفو

ملّت عشق ازهمه دینها جداست

عاشقانرا مذهب و ملّت خداست

Once Moses saw a herdsman on the road,
Who thus exclaimed :—"O God ! O Allah mine !
Where do you live ? May I your servant be
To sew your overcoat, to comb your head ?
O God, my life I sacrifice to you,
With all my children, all my kin and goods !
Where do you live, that I your head may comb,
Your quilt may make, and thickly sew your coat ;
And if some malady you overtake,
I would your comfort be, as kinsfolk should,
To kiss your hands, to rub your little feet ;
When sleep you want, to sweep your little place ;
Your house if I could see, I always would
Bring oil and milk each eve and morn to you,

Likewise some cheese with bread and greasy cakes
So nice with leaven or with curdled milk.
These make and bring I would each morn and eve;
I would supply and you might eat the food;
My goats would all I sacrifice to you;
My exclamations all are prayers to you."
Thus senseless that poor shepherd spoke;
But Moses said:—"O man, whom do you mean?"
He answered:—"Him who has created us,
Who has produced this earth and wheeling sky!"
Moses replied:—"Your head is going daft:"
Eslám you left, an infidel you turned;
What idle and blasphemous words are these?
Your mouth with cotton ought to be gagged;
Your unbelief will fill the world with dust;
Your infidelity revives the Dibadin. *
In need of quilted coats and socks you stand.
How could such things befit the Sun?
If you these ravings do not cease,
The world will be consumed by flames;
If fire has not appeared, then whence this smoke,
This life so black and spirit so perverse?
If you believe that God a bounteous giver is,
How can you belch out such stolidity?
A stupid friend is like an enemy.
Such adoration God does not require.
To father's or to mother's brother do you speak?
Of body and necessities to God Most High?
Milk is the beverage of a growing youth,
And trowsers are required for the legs;
But if a human being you did mean,
Has not God said:—I am he, and he I?
When I was sick ye visited me not: †
Not only he; but I was sick also."
To him who neither sees nor hears your words,
To man, I say, they likewise nonsense are.
To speak unkindly to a bosom-friend
Deadens the heart and friendship kills.
If Fatimah a man you choose to call,
Though males and females both one genus are,
He will, should he be able, drink your blood,
In spite of his mild temper and religion;
Fatimah is a praise in female names,
Applied to men it is like wounds of spears.
To men their hands and feet all comfort bring;
The purity of God they would defile,
He unbegotten is, begetteth not, ‡
But giveth life to parents and to sons.
All bodies must be witnesses of Him;
For, everything produced here beneath
Created is and must corruption bear,
But made it is, and must a maker want."
He said:—"O Moses, you have sewed up my mouth,
By this repentance you have burnt my soul."
He rent his clothes and heaved a fervent sigh,
Towards the desert looking, sped his way.
A revelation Moses heard from God:—
"My servant you have driven away from me;
You have arrived the union to prepare,
And not for separation's sake:
If help you can, abstain from severing,
Divorce I hate more than all other things. §
On each man I his nature did bestow,
To everybody an expression I impart,
Which seems great praise to him, but blame to you;
He thinks it honey, you as poison deem;
It light to him must be, and fire to you;
But roses bright to him, and thorns to you,
What he deems good, as wicked you condemn;
What he applauds, you often disapprove;
We from pure and all impure things are free,
As well as from anxiety and speed.
I man have not produced for gain of mine,
But blessings to bestow on those who worship me.
To Hindus their expression serves for praise;
The Sindhis by their own expression laud;
Their adoration does not make me pure,
They also pure will be and shedding pearls.
Externals, words alone we disregard;
The soul within, its state, must give account;
At hearts we look, whether they humble are,
Though speech may perhaps too bold be;
For heart is essence, speech but accident:
Thus qualities are not essentials.
But why so many words and metaphors?
Flames, flames I want, comform yourself to them;
The fire of love you in your soul must raise,
Burn up your meditations, all your tropes.
O Moses, formalists quite different are
From those whose inmost souls do burn with fires!
Always to glow befits the lovers' hearts.
No taxes, tithes are asked from empty towns. ||
If sin he speaks, do not him sinner call;
If martyred and full of blood then wash him not:
Blood martyrs better fits than water does;
This wrong outweighs a hundred-fold reward.
In the Kabah the Qeblah cannot be looked at. ¶
What matters it if divers do not fork their feet?
You must not guidance seek from the inebriate,
Who rend their clothes; can they be asked to mend?
From all religions love's belief differs;
The lovers' sects and rites are God alone.

* Alluding to pre-Islamitic times, when Dibadin was worshipped.

† There is a tradition very closely corresponding to what occurs in Matt. xxv. 45: "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me."

‡ Qorán, cxii. 3.

§ There is a tradition that God said the above words.

|| Empty towns are persons who have received no religious instruction; and therefore no ritual worship, here expressed by taxes and tithes, can be required of them.

¶ The Kabah is the Qeblah, *i.e.* direction in which Moslems look when they pray, therefore a person already within the Kabah cannot look towards it.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S.

I.—*A Todá "Dry Funeral."*

THOUGH much has been written about the Toḍâs of the Nîlgiri Hills of late years, and their remarkable funeral ceremonies have been carefully and vividly described by Lieut.-Col. T. Marshall in his handsome volume, "*A Phrenologist amongst the Todás;*" and by Lieut.-Col. W. Ross King (*Journal of Anthropology, No. I.*) and others, yet such is the antiquarian and ethnological interest of the subject, that another account of their most striking observance, "a dry funeral," may not be altogether superfluous, especially as each account may contain some point that slipped the others, and the one now submitted records an instance earlier in date than any already described. In December 1854 I went to 'assist' at the "dry funeral" of two Toḍâs, one of whom had died some months before; but it is the convenient and economical custom of the tribe not to hold a grand solemnity till two or three have died, and then make it serve for all. The following notes were written after each day of the ceremonial. The spot was seven miles from 'Ootacamund,' out along the Paikâra road leading from the former place to the Wynâd, where less than a mile to the east of it there was a large circular cattle-kraal, and near it a solitary Toḍâ hut with its peculiar waggon-headed thatched roof. The kraal was enclosed by a stone wall sinking on the inner side below the level of the ground, the floor of the circle being four feet lower than the surface without. The largest number of the Toḍâ race that I have ever seen were assembled by the kraal and hut—nearly 200 men, half as many women, and swarms of children; so numerous were the latter that, contrary to the prevalent impression,* I was then persuaded, what subsequent observation has confirmed, that the Toḍâs are not a perishing people. Ten buffaloes were to be sacrificed at this funeral, and after some delay a number of Toḍâs ran to the herd that was grazing on the hill-side to drive the selected victims towards the kraal. The animals bolted in all directions, some up the opposite hill-sides, some into the groves and patches of wood, or wherever they could escape, and a long time was spent in chasing and heading them. At last they were caught and dragged towards the kraal, seven or eight Toḍâs clinging to the horns, neck, and head of each, weighing them down, whilst others pushed behind, amid a great shouting and howling. Two buffaloes were thus dragged into the kraal through the entrance, across which strong bars were immediately put; the other buffaloes were dragged up to the wall, pushed till their forefeet rested on it, and then shoved head over heels into the kraal. All this time the Toḍâ women were sitting in clusters by the hut and near the kraal, wailing and weeping incessantly. They reminded one exactly of the *keeners* at an Irish wake, and their cry was like the *keen*. Like the poorer Irish, too, they could command tears at will, and as the former, when gathered at a wake, may at one moment be seen laughing and chatting, and then, on a neighbour or kinsman arriving and raising the lamentation, begin to clap their hands together and shed torrents of tears with him, so these Toḍâ women were now talking unconcernedly, and then all at once sobbing, wailing, and streaming with tears. They were loaded with ornaments—massive armlets, mostly brass, but some silver, of curious shapes, said to be worth fifty rupees and more; necklaces also of similar design, to one of which a large round gold *táli*, two inches in diameter at least, was suspended. Some of the women had broad gold pieces, Venetian and Spanish, hung round their necks; these, they said, were talismans, or heirlooms, from which they could never part, and must have found their way to the Hills from the Malabar Coast, possibly taken thither in the adventurous ships of Vasco de Gama. The women's fingers were also covered with rings bearing two-anna or four-anna pieces set on stalks; their ornaments, hair, and all their appurtenances, even to leaf umbrellas, were plentifully adorned with bunches of little white cowries.

Just after the buffaloes had been tumbled

* "It is rarely that there are more than two or three children, and it is not at all an uncommon thing to find only a single child, while many families have none at all. This must eventually lead to the extinction of the tribe altogether, and probably the time is not far distant when the Todâs, whose numbers for years past have been gradually declining, will have passed away."—*The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, by the Rev. J. F. Metz, 1864.

into the kraal, a T o ḍ â was suddenly taken with stomach-ache, and there was immense lamentation over him. He seemed desperately frightened, and retired into the hut, where his stomach was rubbed, and much made of him, the T o ḍ â s continually going to see how he was. The games then began. A dozen or fifteen stout T o ḍ â s, disrobed save their waistbands, sprang into the kraal, flourishing their heavy clubs, and drove the animals round and round, belabouring them furiously. At times five or six would rush upon a buffalo, seize its long horns and bear down its head with all their weight, raising their feet from the ground, thus holding the animal down fast, and quite subduing it. This was repeated several times; the buffaloes were cruelly beaten with clubs as they rushed about, and at times the whole interior of the circle presented a confused whirl of men and buffaloes careering about in frenzied excitement amid dust and hoarse shouting; the men eluding the horns and charges of the buffaloes with marvellous address. The principal object of this exhibition appeared to be that the men might display their strength and agility before the women. Some accounts describe the object to be the affixing a collar and bell round the animals' necks, but this was not done on the present occasion. After these exercises there was an interlude of dancing and singing. Six men stood in a row, each holding a club sloped over his shoulder in one hand, and his neighbour's hand in the other. A similar row stood close behind the first. The two rows then marched round and round, revolving on the same axis and vociferating *hau! hau!* with a tone between a shout and a grunt. This lasted some time, then forming a circle with joined hands they moved round with short jumps, both feet from the ground, still to the tune of *hau! hau!* The scene conveyed an idea of something immeasurably primæval and antique. One could not but imagine that such may have been the rites that went on under the shadow of German or Gaulish forests, and may have been witnessed on British downs by cultivated Romans with the same feelings of half-contemptuous curiosity with which Englishmen now watch these savage ceremonies on Indian mountains. Or one may seem to catch an echo from them of ages still more remote and prehistoric, the only vestiges of which are knives and arrow-heads of stone and chipped flint. After the dance followed a feast; round the hut stood an immense array of large chatties, baskets, and bags brimming over with rice, and large quantities had been cooking in a tuft of trees close by. The T o ḍ â s—men, women, and children—seated themselves in knots and semicircles on the green hill-side near the hut and kraal, and a number passed to and fro from the cooking-place under the trees bearing to each his or her mess of rice with a lump of curds on a large green leaf. Talk and laughter abounded. The sun shone brightly over the green slopes and valleys chequered with groves and hollows feathered with trees; eastward the horizon was closed by the high ridge of Doddabetta, on whose lower flanks some of the white houses of 'Ootacamund' could be discerned. Around sat the groups of the primitive picturesque race who seem on these isolated mountains to keep up the semblance and manners of a vanished world; the men tall and bronzed, with high bold features, and thick clustering sable hair; old patriarchs amongst them with 'hoary beards in silver rolled' and Cato-like profiles; the women full-limbed and stately, with harmonious features, soft dark eyes, and long raven-black ringlets falling to their shoulders; all gracefully wrapt in white clean mantles bordered with two or three red stripes. The whole scene appeared aloof and detached from the present world, and one seemed for the moment to have a vision of Arcadia and catch a glimpse of the Golden Age. Next day, soon after noon, the rites began again. Several long dances were performed by nearly the same dozen or so of men as on the preceding day, and in the same fashion, except that some were danced within the kraal, and then two long slender poles, like fishing-rods, were brought, having a bunch of cowries tied to the top, another to the middle, and a third to the butt end of each; a cluster of five or six men gathered round each rod, holding it upright amongst them, and moving round and round with short jumps. The buffaloes were then again driven about, and their heads and horns seized and weighed down, but much more languidly than on the first day. Whilst this was going on, a meagre, pale, haggard-visaged T o ḍ â, assuming to be *plenus dei*—possessed with the god—paced up and down outside the kraal, at times breaking into a trot, with arms thrown

out and eyes shut, gasping out broken words at intervals. Presently three or four others, touched with the same *afflatus*, joined him, and all flounced up and down, waving their arms, panting, and occasionally breaking out into words which were eagerly caught up by the surrounding Toḍâs, who regarded the proceedings with great gravity; one grey-bearded old Toḍâ, standing in front, addressed questions to the inspired men, and listened eagerly to their incoherent answers, which he passed on to the bystanders, who in their turn spread them around as oracular responses. About four o'clock the end approached. A Toḍâ brought red clay and daubed the side-posts and bars of the entrance to the kraal with red stripes: then a party, preceded by two or three with children, who seemed especial mourners, probably near relations of the deceased, went down the hill below the kraal, and after a little time returned bearing two clean cloths, such as they commonly wear, folded and carried tray-wise each by two Toḍâs, with some fresh earth strewn on each. These contained the "*kerd*," *i. e.* the bones, hair, and skulls of the deceased. They carried these round in a sort of procession, and then went down into a patch of wood hard by the hut, where a small hole was dug in the ground, into which the Toḍâ children bowed their heads, and some babies were put and lifted out again. Earth was then taken out, some thrown aside and some sprinkled on the folded cloths which were laid by the hole, recalling the solemn "dust to dust" of English burials. During all this a long incessant wail went on and rolled mournfully along the valley. The cloths, with the earth strewn on them, were then brought up to the kraal and laid at its entrance, before which another hole was dug, into which heads were again bowed, and a small black rod set up and presently taken away. The wearied and subdued buffaloes were then seized each by the horns and head, the bars at the entrance removed, and an animal dragged out to a small pyramidal rough stone rather like a lingam-stone, called *karâni kal*, set in the ground a short distance up the hill-side. Here the buffalo was held down, and a young boy struck it behind the head with the back of a narrow-bladed axe, dropping it, and whilst it was dying the boy bowed his head upon its frontlet between the horns. It was then rolled over, and its head, with the horns uppermost, placed fronting the stone: a cloth full of earth was put behind the stone, and the boy, who was a son of one of the deceased, bowed his forehead on to it several times, and so did some others. The remaining buffaloes were then dragged out and knocked on the head, and their quivering carcasses laid round the two folded *kerd-cloths* with their heads turned inwards, and a number of Toḍâs bowed their foreheads on the animals' frontlets, and on the earth on the cloths, amid great weeping and lamenting. The Toḍâ women sat in couples by the hut with forehead pressed to forehead, sobbing, crying, and uttering broken exclamations. This stage of the ceremony, which again impressed one with a sense of utter remoteness and separation from the present epoch, then came to an end, and I retreated to the Paikâra 'Bungalow' some four miles distant, there to wait till the final rite, which was to take place about two hours before daybreak.

At 2 A.M. I sallied forth and rode again to the spot: the night was cloudless, the stars glanced out with the diamond brightness seen only on the Nîlgiris, the half-moon had passed her mid-height, and the wild many-folded hills stretched around silvered with her light or steeped in black shadow; over all brooded the deep silence of the mountains, and the grass underfoot was crisp with frost. Arrived at the place, I was directed to a higher hill at a short distance, on a shoulder of which, near the top, there was a tuft of trees with a circle of stones near its edge. I much regret not having ascertained whether the circle was ancient or of recent construction, as the rite that took place within is an important instance of the connection of stone circles with existing observances, and, if the circles were ancient, would presumably connect the Toḍâs with the other allied "prehistoric" monuments of cairns and cromlechs scattered over the Nîlgiris, to none of which do the Toḍâs pay any regard. I am inclined to believe the circle was *not* ancient, but I only saw it in the dim uncertain light, and it did not occur to me to investigate the point, the importance of which did not present itself till long after, and I never visited that spot again. Be it as it may, this use of stone circles in funeral rites by an existing race is a fact to be ranked with the use of miniature kistvaens by the mountain tribes

of Travankor and Orissa, and the Kurumbâs and Irulas of the Nîlgiris.* A large concourse of Toḍâs was gathered by the circle to which the *kerls* and cloths, several vessels formed of large joints of bamboos filled with grain and ornamented with bunches of white cowries and a few silver coins, rattans bent to resemble buffalo horns, a bow and arrows, ornamented umbrellas, two or three large knives, and some other things had been brought. Three or four fires were lighted within the circle, and the various objects placed on them and carefully burnt, except that the coins were detached from the grain vessels and removed after the fires had begun to blaze. The women sat around in groups wailing and sobbing, with forehead pressed to forehead, and the men raised a long-drawn monotonous howling cry of *hêh-hey-hêh-hâh.* I may here remark that though late accounts of Toḍâ funerals speak of Koṭâs attending with their rude music and taking away the dead buffaloes, none were present at this funeral; nor do I know how the carcasses were disposed of. When all the objects had been consumed and the fires sunk into embers, the ashes were scraped together and put into a hole within the circle near the entrance, over which a stone was rolled. The moaning and lamentation ceased, and a dead silence was observed; all the Toḍâs gathered round, closely wrapt in their mantles, and looking, in the dim light, like an array of spectres; the dawn was appearing in the east, and the moon had just gone down behind a high black distant peak, from the side of which a bit of her southern limb still projected. Then a tall figure stept silently into the circle, and lifting a chatty with both hands above his head, dashed it to pieces upon the stone, and every man, woman, and child present, in swift and speechless succession, stooping over the stone, touched it with their foreheads, and, hurrying down the hill, vanished like ghosts into the shadows beneath. The dawn was widening, faint twitters began to arise in the woods, and the hoarse belling of a stag came up from the valleys below. Far around stretched the wild peaks and ridges of the mountain-land, looking dim and unearthly against the pale morning skies; and westward, through deep ravines, glimpses were caught of the wide regions of Malabar overspread with an ocean of white level mist. More strongly than ever was the conviction borne upon the mind that here had been witnessed rites that, with but little change, may have prevailed "in the dark backward and abysm of time" the only vestiges of which survive in the flint knife or mysterious cromlech.

ANECDOTE OF RÂO MÂLDEVA OF JODHPUR.

BY MAJOR W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PÂHLANPUR.

Râo Mâldeva, it is said, when a young man, had no moustache or beard, and therefore none of the neighbouring chieftains would give him a daughter in marriage. He endeavoured to contract alliances in many places, but in vain. He particularly endeavoured to obtain a daughter of the Bhâti Chief of Jesalmir, but that chief refused. Râo Mâldeva, feeling weary of life, determined to perform penance of a severe description, and should this fail, to perish among the glaciers of Kâilâsa. He repaired, therefore, to the Himâlaya mountains, and there, entering a cave, was most assiduous in his devotions. Mâhâdêva, at last moved by his earnest prayer, became visible in the shape of a Jogi and desired him to ask a boon. Mâldeva demanded a beard and moustache, and Mâhâdeva directed him to put his hands to his upper lip and chin, and moustache and beard would grow. Immediately on placing his hands as directed by Mâhâdeva, a magnificent moustache and flowing beard sprang forth. Mâldeva, after performing his adorations, returned to Jodhpur, and, there collecting an army, marched straight upon Jesalmir to be avenged on the Bhâti. On arriving at Jesalmir, the opposing forces fought for one day with doubtful success; but on the next day the Bhâti Chief made overtures to the Râo, saying that he had refused him his daughter as he had then no beard or moustache, but that now he had so fine a moustache and so flowing a beard he would give him a daughter with pleasure. A truce was accordingly concluded, and Râo Mâldeva, entering Jesalmir in peace, was married to the Bhâti's daughter, whose name was Umâ. The Bhâti bestowed on his daughter, who was of singular

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 276.

beauty, a handsome dowry. When night drew near, Râo Mâldeva, who had partaken copiously of wine, retired to the palace allotted to him and his bride, to rest, and as he found his bride had not arrived, he sent his Nazir to summon her; but she did not come, saying that she had to bid farewell to all her relations, and that therefore a little time would elapse ere she could join him. After waiting some time the Râo sent a second time, and the Bhâtiâni sent a message in reply that she would adorn herself and come. As, however, her toilet occupied a considerable time, the Râo became impatient and sent a third time for her. Umâ now feared that the Râo would be angry, and accordingly she desired a slave-girl of hers, called Bramhâ, to beg the Râo just to wait one minute, and then she would join him. The slave-girl was very beautiful: she therefore begged her mistress not to send her to the Râo, as he had been drinking. The Bhâtiâni, however, was very indignant at the assumption of Bramhâ that her charms might attract the Râo, and bid her be gone, saying "Think you my husband does not know the difference between a queen and a slave-girl?" Bramhâ accordingly went to the Râo, who, being slightly intoxicated, and dazzled with her beauty, embraced her. After a few minutes Umâ joined her husband and found him embracing the slave-girl: she at once dashed the dish and bottle of wine * she held in her hand to the ground. On seeing this action Bramhâ feared for her life, and, disengaging herself from the Râo, jumped from the window. Wâgho Râṭhoḍ, one of the Râo's sardârs, the chieftain of Kotrâ, was on guard beneath the window, and seeing this beautiful woman jump out, he thought it must be the Râṇî, and caught her in his arms. Bramhâ told him who she was, and that, unless he carried her off, she would be infallibly killed by the Bhâtiâni. The Kotrâ chieftain, fascinated with her beauty, agreed, and, placing her before him on his horse, galloped off to Kotrâ. As Bramhâ was so beautiful, Wâghoji thought that no one would suspect that she was a slave-girl, and so he made her his Râṇi. Bramhâ was covered with jewels, to the value of lakhs of rupees, when carried off by Wâghoji. She therefore determined to lavish these so generously that people might forget to ask about her origin, and accordingly she commenced bestowing large sums on Bhâts and Chârans. The neighbouring chieftains, however, forbade the Bhâts and Chârans to receive her bounty, alleging that she was a slave-girl. The Bhâts and Chârans therefore refrained from asking alms at Kotrâ. Now Wâghoji and Bramhâ had made a rule never to partake of food until they had bestowed something in alms. They passed several days fasting, but no one came to ask for alms: they therefore considered that it would be better to die in a temple than in the Darbâr, and therefore they went to a temple of Mâhâdeva near the Darbâr, and there fasted for twenty-one days, but still no Bhât or Châran came to ask alms. On the twenty-first day Mâhâdeva was moved by their austerities, and told them to ask for a boon, promising to grant whatever they should ask. Wâghoji replied that he wanted nothing, except that, as long as he and his wife should live, Bhâts and Chârans should come to them for alms, and that he should have sufficient wealth to be able to bestow on Bhâts and Chârans such sums as he might think fit, and yet that nobody should be able to call him poor, and that a Bhât or Châran should always be with him. Mâhâdeva presented him with a tuber, and told him that he should squeeze out the juice and let a drop of it fall on melted copper, and that it would become gold. Mâhâdeva then turned to Bramhâ and told her what gift he had bestowed on her husband. Bramhâ said, "The neighbouring chieftains are unfriendly to us, and they will therefore instruct the Bhâts and Chârans to ask for such gifts (other than gold) as we shall be unable to bestow. Be therefore present, and aid us in such times of difficulty." Mâhâdeva agreed to aid them, and said, "A poet is coming from the land of Dhât under the Sodhâ: he will accept your alms." After this interview, Wâghoji and Bramhâ returned to Kotrâ. On their way thither, they met the poet, and, taking him with them, went on to the Darbârgaḍh at Kotrâ. Wâghoji, making gold, bestowed it on the poet to his heart's content. Hearing of his liberality, other poets and bards flocked to Kotrâ to partake of

* This alludes to the *thâli* or platter containing *pân supâri*, etc., and the bottle of wine which it is customary for a Râjput bride to take to her husband on the marriage-night.

Wâghoji's *largesse.* The neighbouring chieftains reproached the bards for going there, and the Jodhpur Râo also asked his bard why all the bards and poets went to ask alms at Kotrâ. The bard replied, "If poor people go there, what fault is that of mine?" The Râo replied, "If you are my true bard, destroy the Kôtrâ Chief's honour in the sight of the bards and poets, and I will bestow on you much wealth and villages." The Jodhpur bard accordingly went to Kotrâ to ask alms. When he drew near, Wâghoji Râthoḍ advanced to meet him with great pomp, and begged him to allow him to allot him a residence. The bard replied that he suffered from heat, and would therefore prefer to alight in a garden. Wâghoji was much distressed, as there was not a single garden in Kotrâ, and, as the water was a hundred cubits below the surface, it would be impossible to make one: he therefore, rather than not give the Bârot what he had asked, determined to commit suicide. Accordingly he said to the bard, "Remain here a few moments until I shall fetch you the key of the garden;" so saying, he entered his house, and told Bramhâ of his trouble, and seizing his sword was about to bury it in his heart. Bramhâ seized his hand and said, "There is no need to die: come let us give him a garden wherein to alight." So saying she took the sword from his hand and said, "Yoke the *rath:* I will make a garden like this." She then recited the following *duho*:—

दुहो.

सुकी वाडी पालळे वळे नागर वेल
वाघा हालो वाडीए घोडा बंधाउ केळ.

The dry garden shall become moist,
And the Nâgar Creeper* shall grow there.
Wâgho, come to this garden,
And tie your horse to one of the plantain trees.

When the *rath* was yoked, Wâghoji and Bramhâ seated themselves in it and went outside the village, and Bramhâ said to the bard, "Come, I will give you a garden wherein to alight." They then went on a little further, and Bramhâ earnestly besought Mâhâdêva to aid her, and requested him to make in that spot a garden equal to that of Idar. Mâhâdeva at once caused such a garden to appear there, and Bramhâ directed the bard to alight therein. The Bârot considered within himself, "These people are aided by the gods. It will be impossible for me to dishonour them, and if I try to do so, it is I who will suffer:" he then accepted Wâghoji's gifts and repeated the following *duho* in his praise:—

कोटां सरे कोटडो घढां जेसलमेर
रांणीयो सरे भरमदे कुंवरां वाघ नरेश.

The chief of forts is Kotrâ, and of fortresses Jesalmir;
The chief of queens is Bharamade, and of princes Wâghâ, lord of men.

Another poet also then praised Wâghoji thus:—

दुहो.

कीरतरो जामो वन्यो माथे जसरो मोड
गोठ करी घोडा दी ए ए वाघो राठोड.

He has made honour as it were a robe,
And fame as it were his coronet;
Having made a feast he bestows the horse:
Such a one is Wâgho Râthoḍ.

To return, however, to Râo Mâldeva and Umâ. The Bhâtiâni, after throwing down the dish and bottle of wine, took an oath that Mâldeva should be to her as a father or brother, and that she would never consort with him, and so saying she left the palace. Mâldeva, seeing her anger, endeavoured in vain to pacify her and persuade her to stay; but she returned to her father's house, saying that she would never depart from her oath, and that she would never return. Next morning Râo Mâldeva, in much wrath, returned to Jodhpur. Umâ's father, however, fearing that Mâldeva might attack him on Umâ's account, sent her after him, but on reaching Jodhpur she still refused to see Mâldeva, and consequently was allotted a separate palace. Râo Mâldeva tried in many ways to soften her, and promised to bestow on her lands, villages, jewels, etc.; but Umâ remained obdurate. Râo Mâldeva, in this strait, sent for his Bârot and entreated him in some way or other to soften Umâ. The Bârot agreed and said, "I will go to her palace, and do what I can to persuade her, and you come thither after I have been there a short time." On this agreement the Bârot went to the Bhâtiâni's palace, and praised and flattered her until she was so pleased that she offered to bestow on him a present. The Bârot, however, refused, saying, "I cannot take any-

* *Nâgar Vel* is the name of the *Piper Betel.*

thing from you, as you live like an ascetic; you neither dress richly, nor do you adorn yourself, nor do you consort with the Râo; nevertheless if you will first dress richly and adorn yourself, I will accept a present at your hands." The Bhâtiâni accordingly put on her robes and rich jewels, and was about to bestow a gift on the Bârot, when Râo Mâldeva entered the palace. The Bârot then excused himself, on the ground that it would be disrespectful of him to stay in the presence of the Râo: he therefore took leave. The Râo now considered that he might endeavour to persuade the Bhâtiâni to be less obdurate; he therefore approached her, but on his advancing, Umâ jumped from the palace window; fortunately, however, some bales of cotton were beneath the window, and she fell on these and was unhurt. She then made an inward resolve that if the Râo leaped after her she would relent, but if not, that she would steel her heart against him. The Râo, however, did not follow her, and she returned to her father's house at Jesalmir in anger, nor, as long as Râo Mâldeva was alive, would she be reconciled to him. Râo Mâldeva married sixteen other wives, and after a long reign, in which he conquered many cities for the Râṭhoḍs, was finally forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar. When the Râo was seized with his last illness and lay on his bed, he sent to the Râwulâ saying that he knew he could not live more than ten days longer, and that he wished to know who of his sixteen Râṇis would burn with his corpse. The Râṇis, however, unanimously refused, and a Bhât who stood by said, "None but the Bhâtiâni will burn." The Râo said, "What pleasure has she had in our marriage that she should burn with me? Had we passed our life happily together I would have sent for her." The Bârot said, "This is true; still let us send for her, lest it should be said that so great a Râjâ as you burned without a single Râṇi to accompany him." The Râo therefore sent a man mounted on a fleet dro[m]edary, with his turban, a bundle of betel leaves, and a letter to Umâ, and directed him to say that Râo Mâldeva was dead, and had sent her his turban. The man reached Jesalmir in a day and a half, and on his arrival there Umâ received the turban and rose to prepare to go to Jodhpur. The following verses are repeated in her praise:—

कवीत.

गर हरे राअगर सोअ रूपक चंद्र चाडे
मेद पाट चीतोड भलो जोधाण भजाडे
नव सेहे छत्र पडे वडम लीयां लीलावर
आवी काळा अक्षरी मुवो राजा मंदोवर
सांभळी वात ऊमा सती ज्या दन आगमीओ
जलण:
मोलीओ गृहे राअ मल्हरो बांध कंठ ऊठी
बलण:

The chief of fortresses is the Râo's fortress, before whose splendour the moon loses her light.
Jodhpur fought gallantly with Mêdpât Chitoḍ,
At the time when nine hundred umbrellas (*i.e.* kings) fell, the fortunate one obtained the honour.
The black message arrived that the Râja of Mandowar was dead.
Having heard the news, and that the day for her burning had arrived, Umâ Sati,
Taking the turban of Râo Maldeva, tied it round her neck and rose up to burn.

Umâ's sister-in-law said to her, "You have had no happiness in your marriage with the Râo; why then should you be so ready to burn with him?" Umâ replied in the following *kavit*:—

जण लाज हमीर जुजे मुओ रणथंभर
जण लाज पातल मुओ पावेघढ अंतर
जण लाज चुंडराव मुओ नाघोर तणे सल
कानडदे झालोर मुओ दुदो जेसल गर
वडगरां लाज वधारवा कल ऊजल समवा करण
सोयलाज काज ऊमा सती मोडची सऊ कोई
मरण ॥ १ ॥

For that honour for which Hamîr died in battle at Ranthaṁbhar,
For that honour for which Pâtal died in Pâvegaḍh,
For that honour for which Râo Chonda died at the fall of Nâghor,
Kânaḍade died at Jhâlor, and Dudo at Jesalgaḍh,
To increase the fame of ancestors, and for the sake of preserving the purity of one's race,—
Says Sati Umâ the Moḍachi, for the sake of this honour, it behoves us all to die.

To this her sister-in-law replied, "What you say is true, but where one has not enjoyed the happiness of marriage it does not behove one to die." U m â then uttered in reply the following *kavit*:—

मरण भोअ दजोण माण जल पेसे मुक्यो
मरण भोअ पंडवे कोट हसनापुर सोप्यो
मरण भोअ वीक्रम क्षत्रीहोई वायस खाधो
मरण भोअ रावणे जीव रव करणे बांधो
वकराल झाल भुबह वदन सनमख अंग झाला सहे
पेड मल्लराव पडगाहतां कथन एम ऊमा कहे ॥ १ ॥

From the fear of death Duryodhan, entering into the water, lost his honour.
From the fear of death the Pâṅḍavas surrendered the fortress of Hastinâpur (Dehli).
From the fear of death Vikram, though a Kshatri, ate a crow.
From the fear of death Râvana tied his life in a sunbeam.
Yet the very terrible body like flame (*of death*), this flame must be endured by our body face to face.
Hearing of the death of M a l R â o this speech utters U m â.

After thus speaking, U m â refused to listen to all attempts at dissuasion, and, going to Jodhpur, she mounted the funeral pile on the death of R â o M â l d e v a two or three days after her arrival.

MUSALMÂN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KOṄKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo. C.S.

III.—Chaul.

I am now able to give a few details as to the ancient city of C h a u l and the connection of the Musalmâns with it: but the short account that I can supply should be looked on rather as notes which may help others having more acquaintance with the district to work up a complete history of it.

When the Portuguese came to C h a u l, in the first years of the sixteenth century, it was a great city belonging to the kingdom of A h m a d n a g a r, which during the century attained to independence. The Portuguese always call the king Nizamaluco—no doubt from Nizâm-ul-Malik, one of the great men under the last king of the united Dekhan, and father of the founder of the Nizâm Shâhi dynasty of A h m a d n a g a r. C h a u l at this time had a great trade with Persia and the Red Sea, and with D â b h o l almost monopolized the trade in horses, which from very early times had been most important to the Dekhan kings, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. The richness of the silks manufactured there is also mentioned. Owing to the rivalry of the kings of G u j a r â t, B i j â p u r, and A h m a d n a g a r, who shared the Koṅkan among them, the latter found it to be his interest to keep on good terms with the Portuguese, and even to pay them a tribute for the protection of his ships. But in 1508 the kings of Gujarât and Egypt entered into an alliance, and their united fleet attacked the ships of the Portuguese, which were then lying in C h a u l harbour, and after an obstinate fight defeated them, the Portuguese acknowledging a loss of 140 killed and 124 wounded, among the killed being Don Lorenzo d'Almeida, the commander of the fleet and son of the Viceroy. Soon after this the Portuguese had a factory at C h a u l, and in 1520 they got permission to build a fort, which was not of any great size, and is probably that which still stands just inside the gateway opening on to the landing-place at R e v a d a n d a. Owing to the constant alliance between the A h m a d n a g a r kings and the Portuguese, C h a u l for many years escaped the evil fate which fell on D â b h o l and the other towns of the coast: for whereas D â b h o l was four times burnt and plundered between 1508 and 1557, C h a u l was never even threatened with hostilities until 1557, when a misunderstanding arose, owing to the Portuguese demanding permission to build a fort on the rocky promontory of Korlê, which is opposite to R e v a d a n d a and commands the whole harbour. The Musalmâns, while expressing their willingness to negotiate, sent a large force which took possession of Korlê, and began to fortify it on their own account. The Portuguese ships prevented much progress being made with the fortifications,

and shortly afterwards an arrangement was made that Korlê should remain as it was. But in 1592, when the Portuguese took it by a sudden attack, it is described as one of the strongest forts in the world, well provided with warlike stores of all sorts, and with a garrison of 8,000 men; some of whom, however, were in camp at the foot of the hill. In 1570 the Musalmân kings united against the Portuguese, and then a very large force of the Ahmadnagar troops besieged Chaul, or rather Revadanda, where the Portuguese had, apparently, a considerable settlement outside their fort. The number of elephants and cavalry mentioned by the Portuguese as forming part of the besieging army is quite incredible. The siege was terminated, after a very severe struggle, by the conclusion of peace and an offensive and defensive alliance between Ahmadnagar and Portugal.

From the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Ahmadnagar kingdom gradually fell to pieces, and it would seem that, the Portuguese having made so great a place of Revadanda, Chaul naturally decayed. Neither place is mentioned as being attacked by the Marâṭhas until the final expulsion of the Portuguese in 1741. Ogilby, whose work was published about 1670, describes the fortifications, and gives the following rather vague description of its natural products and temperature:—

"The air at Choul is more hot than cold: the soil thereabouts produces all things except raisins, nuts, and chesnuts. Oxen, cows, and horses are here in great numbers."

It is not necessary, now to say anything about its history under the Portuguese. Though the older city was eclipsed by Revadanda, yet Chaul appears to have been more fortunate than Dâbhol; but all three cities are now equally unimportant. Indeed, from the whole of what must have been the site of Chaul being now occupied by cocoanut gardens, the few ruins that remain are almost completely hidden. There are, however, the remains of a small but apparently strong fort close to the mangrove swamp which cuts off the village from the creek, though not more than two or three feet of the walls are left in most places: a mosque of good size and design, but of nothing like the pretensions of that at Dâbhol; and a striking building called the Hamâmkhânâ, in very fair preservation. The interior is divided into three circular chambers, the central one being of considerable size, all apparently constructed for baths, and each lighted by a circular opening in the cupola above. Besides these, there are a considerable number of ordinary Musalmân tombs, and a few domed ones, and remains of large houses and other buildings, of which, however, only the foundations, or in some cases the plinths, are to be seen. From the large area over which these remains are scattered, the city must probably have been a very large one; and though the mangrove swamp mentioned above would put it far below Dâbhol as a port, yet the country behind is so much more open that the situation is naturally much better fitted for a large city than that of Dâbhol.

I have in my previous articles attempted to identify the routes by which in Musalmân times traders and travellers would reach the capital cities of the Dekhan from the chief ports. It seems natural to suppose that the first stage from Chaul would be up the creek to Rohî-Aśtamî, but I could hear of no road from the latter place to the Ghâṭs, nor is there any well-known ghâṭ anywhere above that latitude. But in walking from Rohî to Nâgoṭnê and passing under the hill-fort of Auchitgaḍh, I noticed that its battlements are distinctly Musalmân, and at Nâgoṭnê there is a stone bridge which is generally spoken of as of the time of the Peshwâs, but which certainly looks more like a Musalmân work, while it is needless to say that the Marâṭhâ Government very seldom spent their substance on such peaceful works as now come under the general head of 'communications.' From Nâgoṭnê there is easy water communication with Panwel, where there is a large Musalmân community, and which, as is well known, is the nearest port to the Bhor Ghâṭ. That is known to have been one of the most ancient passes into the Dekhan, and as Chaul was, after the division of the Dekhan kingdom, a port of Ahmadnagar, the chief route to the Dekhan would naturally be by a northern ghâṭ. It seems to me, therefore, a fair conjecture that the chief route from the Dekhan to Chaul would be by the Bhor Ghâṭ to Panwel, thence by boat down the Panwel river and up the Nâgoṭnê river, from Nâgoṭnê to Rohî six miles by land, and thence to Chaul by water again. This, though a circuitous route, would be certainly

an easy one in the days of no roads, and to those who are not particular about time would be a very pleasant route, even now. I may mention that the large village at the mouth of the Panwel river has a distinctly Musalmân name—Shâhâbâz—and that there is a considerable Musalmân population at Nâgoṭnê, though at Chaul there is now scarcely any.

I must take this opportunity of adding a little, chiefly in the way of correction, to the account I gave of Dâbhol, and one or two other places in the *Ratnâgiri* districts. I find that all the travellers of the 17th century mention Dâbhol as still a great place, though much decayed. Sir Thomas Herbert says, "The houses are low and terraced at the top; an old castle and a few temples are now all she boasts of." Mandelslo says that its principal trade when he was there (about 1639) was salt and pepper, "the trade with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf being now almost stopped." He also describes Wanjàrîs (*Brinjaries*), with caravans of 500 to 1,000 bullocks, buying wheat and rice in the Koṅkan and selling it again in Hindustân; but this, if true at all, could only have been an exceptional case. Ogilby, in his *English Atlas*, published about 1670, gives a picture of Dâbhol, which I am bound to say could never have been the least like it, for it shows a broad bay backed by low hills. Baldæus says that the city was surrounded by a wall; and this is shown in Ogilby's picture, as are two or three large round buildings close within the wall, either of which might be meant for the mosque now standing, though they look more like fortified towers, and it would have been at any time rather difficult to get in a fortified wall between the mosque and the water's edge. Ogilby gives also the route from Bijâpur to Dâbhol, 90 leagues, by the Kumbharli Ghâṭ and Chipalun, which he calls a great village, very populous, and stored with all manner of provisions, owing to all goods brought from the Dekhan going hence to Dâbhol. This disposes of my theory that the usual route to Dâbhol was probably by Khed and the Ambolî Ghâṭ, though of course travellers going more to the north may have taken that route. Finally, it is interesting to notice that the earliest Portuguese historians describe Gohagur, eight miles south of Dâbhol, as the Bay of the Brahmans, 'because many Brahmans dwell thereabout'—a description which would apply equally well now.

I have found frequent mention of the river of Khârepaṭan in the Portuguese historians, and from no mention being made of any fort at its mouth it must be assumed, I think, that if there was any at Gheria or Vijayadurg (*Viziadroog*) it must have been an insignificant one. It could otherwise scarcely have escaped mention, for it is recorded that in 1564 a Portuguese vessel lay off the mouth of the river, and between 5th February and the end of March took more than twenty trading vessels belonging to the Gujarât ports and bound for Khârepaṭan, burning them and putting the crews to death. This shows that Khârepaṭan must at that time have been a place of considerable trade.

Sangameśvar is two or three times mentioned by the earliest Portuguese historian, but not as a place of much mark, and chiefly in connection with the pirates frequenting the river. South of Bombay, De Barros only mentions, in his description of the coast in 1505, Nagotna, Choul, Dabul, Sifardan, Ceitapore, and Carapatan. Of these Chaul and Dâbhol are called cities, and ranked with Surat and Goa.

PROF. LASSEN ON WEBER'S DISSERTATION ON THE RÂMÂYAṆA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D.

The new edition, just published, of the 2nd vol. of the veteran Sanskrit Prof. C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* contains at pp. 502 ff., some remarks on Prof. A. Weber's *Dissertation on the Râmâyaṇa*, of which a translation appeared some time ago in this journal. The following is an English version of these remarks:—"In a recently published treatise on this epic poem (the *Râmâyaṇa*), Prof. Weber has, with laudable industry, collected and illustrated all the data referring to it, and has proposed some views regarding its origin which differ from those hitherto held, and with which (one only excepted) I am unable to express my concurrence. His assertions may be substantially summed up in the following positions: first, that the oldest form of the story of Râma lies before us in the Buddhistic *Daśaratha-jâtaka*; second, that the *Râmâyaṇa* expresses, in a poetical form, not the struggle of the

Âryan Indians with the aborigines, but the hostile attitude of the Buddhists and Brâhmaṇs to each other;* third, Râma is to be identified with Balarâma, the mythical founder of agriculture, and that Sîtâ is the deified furrow; fourth, that the abduction of Sîtâ by Râvaṇa, and the victory of the second Râma over his elder namesake, are echoes of an acquaintance with the Homeric poems; finally, that the present form of the poem is not to be placed before the third century A.D. As regards the first point, it may be regarded as true that the now existing oldest form of the Râma-legend is presented in a Buddhistic narrative, according to which Râma, with his brother, and his sister Sîtâ, is banished to the Himavat. But this narrative appears to me to be a misconception or distortion of the Brahmanical original, due to the Buddhists, who represent the sister as following the banished prince—a duty which elsewhere is only regarded as incumbent on the wife. This conjecture would be raised to certainty if it should be discovered that any verses of the *Râmâyaṇa* were to be found in the Buddhist narrative. Secondly, attention must be recalled to the fact that in the *Râmâyaṇa*, with the exception of one single passage, no allusions to the Buddhists occur. In the passage referred to, a Nâstika is treated with contempt on account of his reprehensible principles; but this word, moreover, does not necessarily denote a Buddhist, but can just as well refer to a Chârvâka, or materialist. But, besides, the passage is interpolated. It is further to be considered that the powerful kingdoms in Southern India were ruled by kings of Brahmanical sentiments, and that consequently an attack on the part of the Buddhists could only proceed from the side of Ceylon, the history of which is correctly handed down to us from the time of the second Aśoka, and only relates wars of the Cingalese kings with the rulers of the opposite coasts. Again, the Brâhmaṇs always accurately distinguish between the second and the third Râma; and there is no ground for regarding the second as a divine personification of agriculture. As the story of the first Râma is to be found in the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, a work which makes no reference whatever to incarnations of Vishṇu, it will be impossible to deny the historical character of the Pithoid (?) † Râma, although at a later period he was included in the circle of the *avatâras*. On the same ground I consider myself bound to accept as an historical personage the [Da-?]Śaraṭid Râma. As soon as he was transported into the ranks of the gods, he was naturally followed by Sîtâ, whose name of itself led to her being turned into a daughter of the Earth—into a deified Furrow. Again, the assumption that the flight of Helen and the Trojan war were the prototypes of the abduction of Sîtâ, and of the conflict around Lankâ, appears very paradoxical.‡ It presupposes, further, an acquaintance with the Homeric poems, of which there is no proof whatever. Among a people one of whose chief weapons was the bow, it was natural that stories of heroes who conquered their foes by superiority in the use of this weapon should be invented. By means of this style of comparison, the account of Arjuna's defeat of the rival suitors for Draupadî's hand through his superior skill in archery might be ascribed to Homeric influence. Besides, a comparison of the circle of tales current among the two nations would not be quite appropriate, as in the *Râmâyaṇa* the abduction of Sîtâ forms an important part of the story, while in the Homeric songs the rape of Helen is indeed introduced as the motive of the war, but is nowhere described at length. Finally, although I am still convinced that the Indians have derived their zodiacal signs, not from the Greek but from the Chaldæan astrologers, the astronomical data occurring in the *Râmâyaṇa* have no force as proofs. The reference to the Yavanas and Śakas, as powerful nations in the northern region only shows, strictly speaking, that these nations were known to the Indians as such, but not that they had already established their dominion in that quarter. In conformity with my views on the history of Indian epic poetry, I regard as admissible the statement of the historian of Kaśmir [*Râjataranginî*, I. 166] that the king of that country, Dâmodara, caused the *Râmâyaṇa*, with all its episodes, to be read to him. How much sooner the existing poem was composed will probably never admit of determination.

* This conjecture has also been already advanced by Talboys Wheeler, *History of India*, vol. II. p. 232, p. 659.

† This must surely be a misprint. The Râma mentioned in the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* has Mârgaveya, or son of Mrigû, for his patronymic.

‡ It imputes to the Brahmanical poets a great poverty in creative power, whilst the contrary is shown by the great number of their tales.

NOTES ON SOME PROSODICAL PECULIARITIES OF CHAND.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, D. PH., BANÂRAS.

As an edition of Chand's Epic, the Prithirâj Rasau, has been commenced by the Bengal Asiatic Society, it may be of some service to note some of the most striking peculiarities of the verse-composition of Chand that I have met in the course of my reading of his epic. *In limine*, I may remark that it is a well established rule in Hindî prosody that consonants may be doubled in order to produce a length where the word naturally has a short vowel. The observation of this rule will smooth away many seeming irregularities of metre, and it explains also the cause of a not uncommon kind of various readings of the different MSS. For different careless scribes often omit these merely metrical doublings at different places, to be supplied by the reciter: thus in *Revâtaṭa Prast.* Dohâ 14, 4, B* and T read बजा बज्जन वाइ, but A correctly बज्जा बज्जन वाइ. Sometimes in two corresponding lines the doubling is made in one line, and carelessly omitted in the other, while the metre as well as the rhyme require it in both: thus in *Anangpâl Prast.* Kavitta 7, 10, 12,

A reads { भुर में भग्गि लिज्जियै ॥ / फिरि कलहंतर किज्जियै } where the correct reading clearly is लिज्जियै, as C has it; while B and T, altogether incorrectly, read also किजियै. In many places the doubling is omitted in all MSS., and must be restored in a correct edition. It should be remembered that, on the whole, all the MSS. of Chand that we possess agree so closely and minutely that they must be transcripts of one original in which the metrical doublings were little attended to. In rare cases it even occurs that the doubling is made in the wrong place, as in *Devagiri Prast.* Kavitta 11, 3. B reads जो भज्जै ग्रह अप्पनै, where the correct reading is जां भज्जै ग्रह अपन, as T has it. Or in *Revataṭa* Bhujangî 61, 10, T मनो दंड सुक्की अग्गी वाइ वारं ॥, where B and A read correctly अगी. A nasal is doubled generally by the insertion of an anuswâra; thus all MSS. alike read in *Revâtaṭa* Motidâm 63, 15:—

हुर मारुत फौज प्रथंम चलाइ ॥

or *Âdiparva* Bhujangî 5, 1:—

प्रथंमं भुजंगी सुधारी ग्रहंनं ॥

or *Anangpâl* Bhujangî 15, 3, 4:—

तजे मोह माया ग्रहंन्नी कहन्नी ।

तजे बंध पुत्तं हरी चिंतमंनी ॥

The last example exhibits both kinds, the ordinary doubling in कहन्नी, and the anuswâra in चिंतमंनी.

Another peculiarity of Chand is that with him double consonants containing a (so-called) semi-vowel (य, व, ल, र) or ह may or may not make a preceding short vowel (positionally) long. In modern prosody, as is well known, this rule is limited to र. Examples of the preceding vowel remaining short are—of य in *Devagiri Prast.*, Toṭaka 22, 2:—

सुष कौ अभिराम कि काम लुद्यौ ॥

Again, of व्, ibidem, 22, 12:—

उमगे तहं अंसुअ द्वै नयनं ॥

Again, of ह, in *Revâtaṭa* Motidâm, 63, 7:—

कबहूं द्दुरि कंन न पुच्छत नेंन ॥

or ibidem, Kavitta 41, 10:—

साहि त्रिन्हाव सु उत्तयौं ॥

In the following verse the same compound न्ह produces the usual positional length; ibidem. Kavitta 44, 1:—

उतरि साहि त्रि न्हाव ॥

An analogous though far more remarkable peculiarity of Chand is that with him even a sibilant (स or ष—of श I have not met with any example) in composition with a mute consonant does not always make a preceding short vowel long. The instances are very rare, though sufficiently marked; *e.g.*, in *Âdiparva* Dohâ 6, 1:—

उत्तिष्ठ चंद छंदह वयन ॥

The first hemistich of the Dohâ consists of three feet of 6, 4, and 3 instants respectively—altogether 13; and the second foot may not be an amphibrach (⏑ – ⏑). If the second syllable be taken as long by position, as it would be under ordinary circumstances, we should have in the second foot an amphibrach, and should be obliged to suppress the final vowel of *bayan*—the first an impossibility, the second an anomaly.

* B = Baidlah MS.; T = Col. Todd's MS.; A = Agra College MS.; C = Banâras MS.

Or again, ibidem, Bhujangî 5, 24:—

तिन की उचिट्टी कविचंद भख्यी॥

So again, *Revâtaṭa* Kavitta 3, 7:—

होइ कृपाल हस्तिनी॥

If this line were scanned thus, *hōĭ kṛĭpālŭ hāstīnī* ||, we should have an amphibrach in the second foot, which the metre does not admit. 2, there would be 12 instants altogether, while the metre has only 11 instants in the odd hemistichs. 3, the final would be a long syllable, instead of, as the metre demands, a short one. On the other hand, as I shall presently show, two short syllables at the end are often contracted by C h a n d into one long one; that is, हस्तिनी stands for हस्तिनिय (Prâk. हत्थिणिआ, for हस्तिनिका); and the syllable *hast* is evidently treated as a short one; and thus, if we read *hōĭ kṛĭpālŭ hăstĭnăĭ*, the line is quite regular as regards number of instants, kind of feet, and quantity of termination. Again, take *Revâtaṭa* Kanṭha-sobhâ 32, 15:—

मुष कड्डिनु चंवड्ड अस्सु वर्ली॥

The kanṭha-sobhâ measure consists of an initial iambus and three following anapæsts in each line. The initial iambus may be obtained by suppressing the final vowel अ of मुष *mush*, and assuming that ष + क does not produce positional length. It appears to me that this verse possibly affords us a clue to the explanation of this strange phenomenon that स and ष in composition with another consonant do not make positional length. The modern word for मुष is मुंह *mŭh*; probably C h a n d already spoke मुह, though he continued to write मुष. Now, as has been already observed, ह, like the other semi-vowels, has not necessarily the effect of making positional length. Similarly we may suppose that also in the other case, where a sibilant in composition with a consonant apparently does not make positional length, C h a n d pronounced really not a sibilant, but an aspirate, which did not constitute a double or compound consonant in prosody. Thus, for हस्तिनी C h a n d probably read हह्तिनी, or, what is more natural and consonant to phonetic rules, हथिनी, though he continued to write हस्तिनी. Now let it be remembered that the modern Hindî is हाथिनी, and the Prâkṛit हत्थिनी; and we shall probably be correct in concluding that the principle which underlies these phenomena is simply that which is also observed in other languages, that *writing does not keep pace with pronunciation*, and that, while the pronunciation of a word is modified it still continues to be written exactly as it used to be written when it was pronounced differently; as, *e. g.*, we write in English *love* but pronounce *lov* (German *liebe*); we write *night* but say *nite* (German *nacht*). We shall see, further on, that this principle affords us a solvent also of some other peculiarities of C h a n d. For उचिट्ट in the first-cited example C h a n d probably read उच्चिठ, a slight modification of the Prâkṛit उच्छिट्ठ; from the modern Hindî this Prâkṛitic form has disappeared, and is replaced by the Sanskṛit उच्छिष्ट *uchchhishta* ||.

I now proceed to notice a few anomalies peculiar to the stanza called *kavitta*. This stanza is a combination of two different verses, viz. the *kâvya* and the *ullâl*. The verse called *kâvya* consists of two distichs, with 24 instants in each line, and with a pause after the 11th instant, which divides each line into two hemistichs, with 11 and 13 instants respectively. The whole line consists of five feet of 6, 4, 4, 4, 6 instants respectively. It follows that the last syllable of the odd hemistichs must be always a short syllable, and the third foot of the whole line must be either an amphibrach (⏑ — ⏑) or an anapæst (⏑⏑—) or a proceleusmatic (⏑⏑⏑⏑); generally it is an amphibrach. On the other hand, the second and fourth foot of the whole line may not be an amphibrach. The verse called *ullâl* consists of one distich of 28 instants in each line, and with a pause after the 15th instant, which divides each line into two hemistichs of 15 and 13 instants respectively. The whole line consists of 7 feet of 4, 4, 4, 3, 6, 4, 3 instants respectively. The first, the third, and the sixth foot may not be an amphibrach, the second foot may not be a dactyl, but is almost universally an amphibrach; and the fourth and the seventh foot may not be a trochee. It follows, then, that the *kavitta* stanza consists of three distichs of 6 lines or 12 hemistichs, of which latter all even ones have 13 instants, while of the odd ones the first four have 11 instants, and the two last 15 instants. These are the ordinary rules of the *kavitta*, to which C h a n d, in the majority of cases, conforms. Not unfrequently, however, he adds 3 instants to one or several of the first four odd hemistichs, which should have only 11 instants, and thus makes anomalous, redundant hemistichs of

14 instants. The three instants which are thus occasionally added are invariably a trochee (—ᴗ); which, therefore, together with the one terminating instant of the proper hemistich, always forms an amphibrach. It has been already observed that the third foot of the line of the kâvya is, as a rule, an amphibrach; and it thus appears that the redundant hemistich owes its origin to a tendency of Chand to complete the catalectic hemistich, thus turning it into a full line, forgetting that it is merely a hemistich, and that the missing half of its last foot forms the commencement of the second hemistich; then, remembering this fact again, he commences the second hemistich again with a trochee, which in reality has already been used up by being appended to the first hemistich; for it may be noted that the second hemistich begins almost as invariably with a trochee, as the first redundant hemistich ends with it; though these redundant lines occur too frequently to allow of their being ascribed to forgetfulness—the tendency must have been a more or less conscious peculiarity of Chand. But, no doubt, in some cases, the redundancy may be got rid of by supposing the effect of another peculiarity of Chand, to be noticed presently, according to which sometimes vowels which are written long must have been pronounced by him short. Examples of redundant hemistichs, occurring within a very short space, are the following:—

Revâtaṭa 44, 7: तो उप्पर गोरी नरिंद हाम बड्डि सुरतांनं॥

" 47, 1: बर मंगल पंचमि सजुद्ध दिन सु दी नो
प्रथिराजं॥

" 41, 3: आलम षां आलम गुमान षान उजबक्क
निरस्ते॥

Occasionally, though far less frequently, Chand gives to the even hemistichs a redundant form by prefixing two instants, always consisting of one long syllable, to their first half-foot, so that they have 15 instants instead of 13. For example:—

Revâtaṭa 49, 4: ज्यौं सुरह वुद्धि बल सोइछे॥

" 49, 6: ज्यौं प्रात व र बाढि वियोगी॥

Devagiri 39, 4: जो साथ टारि जै अपच्छौ॥

Revâtaṭa 40, 12: पंच वि न पिंड जो उप्पजै
तो जुद्ध होइ लज्जी विनां॥

In one or two cases I have met with an analogous kind of redundant measure in the Dohâ, where the even hemistich has 13 instants instead of the usual 11, the superfluous two instants, always a long syllable, being added at the beginning. Thus,

Revâtaṭa 2, 4: तौ बन अपुब्ब गज झुंड॥

Generally, as in the last three examples, this superfluous long syllable belongs to a word which might be omitted altogether without affecting the sense of the sentence in any essential way; though, when added, it, no doubt, adds something to the clearness of the sense. Hence we may perhaps suppose that in reciting, when the sense may be brought out into clear relief by the modulation of the voice, these redundant words were omitted; but in writing they were added to increase the clearness of the sentence. Another instance of a similar kind of redundancy is sometimes met with in the more unusual metres, as the Motîdâm. It consists in the prefixing to the verse one instant or a short syllable, thus,

Revâtaṭa Motidâm 63, 1: रति रा ज रु जो व न राजत
जोर॥

" " 63, 16: गति लज्जि संकुचि कछे
मिलि आइ॥

" " 63, 18: प्रगटै उर तुच्छ सोऊ उर
भीव॥

Sometimes the apparent redundancy may be avoided, by assuming the suppression of a short अ in recitation; thus in

Revâtaṭa Motîdâm 63, 7: कवहूं दुरि कंन न पुच्छत नैंन॥

or " 63, 15: सुरमारुत फौज प्रथंम चलाइ॥

for there the compound ह्र, and र्म, containing a semi-vowel, would not render the previous short vowel positionally long. But the legitimacy of the expedient is doubtful; suppression of a final अ metrically is opposed to the genius of Hindî poetry; and at any rate the expedient would not obviate all cases of redundancy.

Again, a peculiarity of Chand, foreign to

ordinary Hindî prosody, is the substitution of a long syllable for two short ones, and of two short ones for one long syllable. Examples of either case are not very common; those of the latter kind occur only in the syllabic measures (वृत्त छंद). Thus in *Revâtaṭa* 61-1:

मिलेचाइ चहुआंन सा चंपि गोरी॥

Here we have चहुआन; in other places the anomaly is avoided by writing चाहान.

Again, ibidem 61, 4: तिनं अग्ग नीसांन मिलि अद्ध कोसं॥

„ „ 61, 18: मिरै गोरियं से न अ रु चाहुवानं॥

„ „ 61, 23: लगै धार धारं तिनै धरह तुट्टै॥

Examples of the substitution of a long syllable for two short ones occur, I believe, only in the time-measures (मात्र छंद), and of these almost exclusively in the *Kavitta* stanza. In the latter they are met with most commonly either at the end of the even hemistichs of the *Kâvya* verse, or in the middle of the uneven hemistichs of the *Ullâl* verse; *e.g.*, in *Revâtaṭa* Kavitta (Ullâl) 39-10: पच्छि मी षांन पड्डान सह॥

„ 41, 11: सभ ले सूर सामंत नृप॥

Again, *Devagiri* Kavitta (Kâvya) 52, 3-6:

नाग समु ह धद्ध री। ढाहि देवल सुरंग मढ॥

थांन थांन नर उ डै । चंदं तस उप्पम पाइय॥

or *Revâtaṭa* Kâvitta (Kavya) 39, 5:

षां मांगोल लल री । बीस टंकी ब र षंचै॥

Ibidem, 40, 3:

केली षां कुंज री। साह सारी द ल पष्षर॥

Ibidem, 78, 7:

सबर सह ब ह यौ । विषम द गं धन झारी॥

A clue to the understanding of this apparent anomaly is, I think, afforded by the word उडै (*he flies*, 3rd pers. sing. pres. of उडना). Even now the word is occasionally written उडइ (or उडय). If the word be so written in the verse quoted above, the metre becomes perfectly regular. Now considering that the form उडइ, being very nearly Prâkṛit उडेइ, is the more original of the two, it seems to me there can be no doubt that Chand must have recited उडइ, and that the form उडै is merely a modernization of the word, probably, by subsequent scribes. Similarly धद्दरी, पच्छिमी, ललरी, कुजरी, बहयौ are modernized spellings, adapted to the pronunciation of those words as it is now usual; in the time of Chand they must have been differently pronounced, and (if they are spelt according to the pronunciation of those times) written thus: धद्दरिय, पच्छिमिय, ललरिय, कुंजरिय, बद्दयउ. This is the more probable as those Chandic forms are nearer to the Prâkṛit धद्दीरओ, पच्छिमिओ (Skr. पश्चिमक:), ललरिओ, कुंजरिओ (Skr. कुंजरक:), वादिअओ (Skr. वादितक:); and, 2, as the modernized, contracted forms occur only exceptionally, while in most places the original uncontracted Chandic forms are preserved; *e.g.*,

in *Revâtaṭa* Daṇḍamâlî 50, 25:

वरवीर धार जोगिंद पंतिय॥

ibid. Dohâ 52, 1: वाइ वीष धुंधरि परिय॥

ibid. Kavitta 59, 10: उतरि षांन गोरिय मुष॥

„ „ 61, 1: छट्टि अद्ध बर घटिय॥ etc. etc.

In all these places we should say now in modern Hindî पाँती, परी, गोरी, घडी, etc.

Another peculiarity of Chand's Epic is that sometimes a short vowel must be *read* where a long vowel or a diphthong is *written*; *e.g.*— *u* for *o* in *Revâtaṭa* Bhujangî 43, 5:

दोउ दीन दीनं कढी बंकि असि॥

i for *ai*, ibidem, Daṇḍamâlî 50, 20:

कै सत धन ससि साचई॥

u for *û*, ibidem, Kavitta 41, 7:

हिंदू सेन उप्परे॥

a for *â*, ibidem, Kavitta 41, 2:

तीस तहाँ रष्षि फिरस्ते॥

In these verses दुउ must be read for दोउ; कि for कै; हिंदु for हिंदू; तहँ for तहाँ; etc.

Similarly sometimes an annunâsikâ must be read where an anuswâra is written; thus in *Revâtaṭa* Kav. 57, 7:

गुरु पंचमि रवि पंचम॥

ibidem, Motîdâm 63, 2:

चंप्यौ ससिरं उर सैसव कोर॥

ibidem, Dohâ 42, 3:

तब लगि रूप्पि पुंडीर ने॥

In these verses पँचम must be read for पंचम; चँप्यौ for चंप्यौ; पुँडीर for पंडीर, for the anuswâra causes a preceding short vowel to be positionally long, while the annunâsikâ has not that effect. Now the explanation of this peculiarity, I think, is to be found in the same principle which has

been already noticed as explaining another difficulty, namely, that writing does not generally keep pace with pronunciation; the former often exhibits an earlier phase of language, where pronunciation shows it in a more recent one. Thus against the old Hindî दोऊ we have the modern low-Hindi दुइ *two;* for the old Hindî कै modern Hindî has कि. In the two words हिंदू and तहाँ, indeed, the incongruity of writing and pronunciation is preserved even in modern Hindî; for though both words are still written in the same way as in Chand, practically they are now pronounced as Chand must have done in those two verses, viz. हिंदु and तहँ. And as regards the anunâsikâ, the change of the anuswâra to the anunâsikâ in modern Hindî (generally, though not universally, with the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel) is one of its distinguishing features; thus Prâk. पंच is Hindî पाँच, Prâk. चंपण is Hindî चाँपन, etc. It may be noted, *en passant*, that the MS. A actually reads हिंदु, not हिंदू like B and T, in the above-quoted example. Further, that long vowels or diphthongs may be occasionally read as short vowels is shown by the fact that in some cases the short vowel is actually substituted for the long one: *e.g.*, in *Revâtaṭa* Daṇḍamâlî 50, 25: बर बीर धार जोगिंद पंतिय

जुगिंद is to be read for जोगिंद; and the word is actually so spelt in *Revâtaṭa* Kavitta 78, 1—

जंघारौ जोगी जुगिंद कह्यौ कहारे ॥

As regards the kinds of metres employed by Chand, I have only met with one kind which, as far as I am aware, is altogether peculiar to Chand. All other metres used by him are found in native treatises on prosody, and are the common property of native poets. But in one place Chand uses a metre which, from the fact that he particularly explains its properties (which he never does in the case of any other of the established metres, however uncommon it be), I am inclined to conclude was his own invention. It occurs in the *Revâtaṭa Prastâva* and is numbered 35. In the preceding dohâ, where its rules and name are stated, it is introduced thus: –

• ग्यारह अष्षर पंच षट । लहु गुरु होइ समांन ॥
कंठसोभ वर छंद कौ । नाम कह्यौ परवांन ॥

i. e., "let there be eleven syllables, made up of parts of five and six (in each line), and let the long and the short ones be placed alike (in them); Kaṇṭha-sobha, truly, is the name of this noble metre." As an illustration I may quote the first two verses in this metre:

फिरे हय वष्षर पष्षर से ॥
मनों फिरि इंद्रज पंष कसे ॥

that is, each verse or line consists of an iambus and three anapæsts. It belongs to the syllabic metres (वर्ण छंद). All the other metres of Chand are established ones; though several of them are habitually called by names by which they are not usually known; and under this guise they are at first apt to pass unrecognized. Thus the metre always called *sâṭaka* or *saṭṭaka* by Chand is nothing else but the well-known Sanskrit metre *sârdûlavikrîdita.* Witness, for example, in *Revâtaṭa* Saṭaka 15, 1-4:—

श्रोतं भूपय गोरियं वर भरं वज्जाइ सज्जाइ ने ॥
सा सेना चतुरंग बंधि उल्लं तत्तार मारूफयं ॥
तुज्झी सारस उप्पराव सरसी पल्लानयं षांनयं ॥
एकं जीव सहाब साहि ननयं वीयं स्तयं सेनमं ॥

Thus the metre called Daṇḍamâlî by Chand is identical with the *Harigîtâ* or *Mahîsharî*; the *Kavitta* of Chand is the same as the *Chhappai*, etc. In conclusion, I may notice a peculiarity of Chand which is merely one of spelling, and in no way connected with prosody. Guttural and dental aspirate consonants are, as a rule, reduplicated by means of an aspirate; a double ष (*i. e.* ख) and थ are always ष्ष and थ्थ; a double घ and ध sometimes घ्घ and ध्ध; but double छ, झ, ठ, फ, are always regularly च्छ, ज्झ, ट्ठ, प्फ. Again, the cerebral and labial sonant aspirates are by preference reduplicated by their respective surd aspirates: thus double ढ is ठ्ढ, and double भ is फ्भ.

ARE THE MARÂṬHAS KSHATRIYAS OR ŚÛDRAS?

BY CAPT. E. W. WEST, ASSISTANT POLITICAL AGENT, KOLHÂPÛR.

The question put at the head of this paper is of more than mere antiquarian interest; for on the answer to it depends, to a certain extent, the legal status of the Marâṭhâs, especially as regards the laws of inheritance, &c., which differ according to caste. It is therefore

of importance that the question should be thoroughly discussed, and I herewith contribute my mite to that discussion, in the hope that it will be followed up by abler and more learned contributions. Dr. Wilson touched on the point once before the Bombay Branch of the Roy. Asiat. Soc. (*Journal*, vol. IX. p. cxliv.), but he merely noted then the existence of Kshatriya tribal names among the higher classes of the Marâṭhâ people, and did not favour Orientalists with his opinion on the question to which attention is now invited. Probably his long-looked-for work on Caste, when it appears, will furnish materials for a conclusion one way or the other. Meantime, I would suggest the pros and cons of the case as far as they have occurred to me.

To commence with some standard authorities on Indian matters, Mounstuart Elphinstone (*History*, p. 56, ed. 1857) distinctly states that the Marâṭhâs are Śûdras. Grant Duff does not give a direct opinion, but states that the pure Kshatriyas are considered extinct, the Râjpûts being the least degenerate of their descendants, and then goes on to observe that the Śûdras "are properly the cultivators, and, as such, are known in the Marâṭhâ Country by the name of Kuṇabî" (*Hist. of the Mahrattas, original edition*, vol. I. page 13). Steele, in his *Summary of Castes* (p. 96, *original edition*), mentions that some of the leading families of Mahârâshṭra wear the *janavê* and claim to be Kshatriyas, but are considered by the Brâhmaṇs to be Śûdras.

On the other hand, when we find among the Marâṭhâs numerous family or tribal names identical with similar designations still in use among the Râjpûts, such as Chohân, Powâr, Jâdhava, Solankhi, and Sûryavaṅśi, it is hard to believe that those who use these designations are not descended from common ancestors; and the identity of the names is still more striking when we find a Marâṭhâ Powâr occupying Dhâr, from which upwards of seven centuries previously a race of Râjpût chiefs of the Pramâr or Powâr tribe had been expelled.* The great Marâṭhâ families, too, nearly all claim to be of Râjpût origin, and I remember seeing a letter from the Râjâ of Sâtâra to the Government of Bombay, asking them to procure for him from Ûdaipûr a work detailing Râjpût rites and ceremonies, as he was himself a Râjpût. A curious legend regarding the origin of the Sâtâra and other families is given by Clunes in his "*Historical Sketch of the Princes of India*," p. 130, which is worth transcribing here:—

"By the legend it appears that the family (Śivâji's) trace their pedigree from the famous Bâppâ Râwal of Chittur, who reigned over Râjpûtâna in the year 134 of the Christian era. But as any accounts of his very early descendants do not belong, or are immaterial, to the Marâṭhâ history, it may be briefly observed that one of the descendants of Bhimsî, a son of Bâppâ Râwal, who had settled in Nipâl, returned to the land of his forefathers in 1442, and founded the principality of Dungarpur and Banswâḍâ. The thirteenth ruler of this race at Dungarpur, named Abhisî, and styled the Mahâ Râṇâ, left the government to his sister's son in prejudice of his own children. One of the latter, named Sajansî, came to the Dekhan and entered the service of the King of Bijâpur, who conferred on him the district of Modhal, comprising 84 villages, with the title of Râja.† Sagansî had four sons—Bâjî Râja, in whose line descended the Mudhalkar estate; the second died without family; from Walabsî is Ghorpaḍe of Kâpsi; ‡ and Sugâji, the youngest, had a son named Bhosâji, from whom are derived all the Bhoṅsles. He had ten sons: the eldest settled at Deulgâṃ, near Pâṭas, the Pâṭîl of which, Mâluji Râja, was an active partizan under the king of Ahmadnagar, and had a jâghir conferred on him, which descended to his son, Shâhji, afterwards a principal Marâṭhâ leader under the Bijâpur dynasty. He acquired in jâghir nearly the whole of what now forms the Collectorship of Puṇâ, together with part of the territory now under Sâtâra; and it was in these valleys that his son Śivâji matured his plan of Hindu independent sovereignty. The second settled at Hingni; the third at Bherdi, from whom

* The present Powârs of Dhâr, however, do not claim to be descended from the family that had formerly reigned there. See Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. I. p. 99.

† The state of Mûdhal or Mûdhôl, in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, is still held by the lineal descendant of the original grantee.

‡ The Ghôrpaḍe of Kâpsi is the hereditary Senâpatî of the Kôlhâpûr Râjas, and still holds the dignity conferred on his great ancestor Saṅtâjî by Râjârâm the son of Śivâji.

the Râjas of Nâgpur are descended; the fourth at Sâwant Wâḍi; the fifth at Wâvi, out of which family the father of the present Râja of Sâtâra was adopted; the sixth at Mûngi, on the Godâvari; the seventh at Śambu Mahâdeva; the eighth at Borigâm; the ninth at Jinti; and the tenth at Khanwata, out of which family the present Râja of Kolhâpur's father was adopted."*

From the above it will be seen that it is only some of the great families of Marâṭhâs that claim to be Kshatriyas, and that it is generally acknowledged that the bulk of the population are Śûdras. The question then narrows itself into this—Are the great families that claim to be Kshatriya really so? When considering this, it is first to be remarked that there is, so far as I am aware, no ethnological or sectarian difference between these families and those who are acknowledged to be Śúdras, while there is a marked difference in both respects between them and the Râjpûts—the acknowledged representatives of the Kshatriyas. The claims, therefore, of these families are based solely on the existence among them of the tribal names above alluded to, and on tradition.

I think we may dismiss, with little ceremony, the legend which represents the founders of the leading Marâṭhâ clans as coming from Râjpûtâna in comparatively recent times. Had they come to this part of the country so lately, they would be able to trace their genealogies to the original families, and we should find these genealogies corroborated by the bardic chronicles in Râjpûtâna; for three or four hundred years is but a short period to a Râjpût genealogist. There would not, too, be the marked difference in type of face, as well as in habits and customs, which is apparent to every one who has seen the two races.

If we go back to more ancient times, we may find a clue to the origin of these tribal designations among the Marâṭhâs, and some ground for the tradition of their Kshatriya origin. We know from the evidence of inscriptions that from the 5th to the 14th centuries the country now occupied by the Marâṭhâs was governed by various Kshatriya dynasties; such as that of the Châlûkyas or Solaṅkhi at Kâlyâṇ, the Silâras at Kolhâpûr, the Yâdavas, and so on. There can be no doubt that many of these immigrant Kshatriyas formed connections with the women of the country or of lower caste. The offspring of such connections would naturally dwell with pride on their descent on the paternal side, and would call themselves by the tribal names of their fathers, while they would in the course of time merge into and become undistinguishable from the surrounding population. This is exactly what has taken place in Gujarât in historical times. We see there constantly Kolîs, and even Bhîlls, bearing Râjpût tribal names, and priding themselves on their descent by the father's side from a Râjpût family. I remember, when in the Mahî Kâṇṭha, receiving a visit from a Ṭhâkûr who was to all intents and purposes a Kolî. In the course of the visit, his Kâmadâr, as the most acceptable topic of conversation to his master, dwelt on the latter's Râjpût origin, and informed me that the family had only very recently lost caste by the marriage of its Râjpût progenitor with a woman not of the same race.

This, then, is the only way of accounting for the existence of Kshatriya tribal names among certain Marâṭhâ families that occurs to me. This theory would account, too, for the tradition of the Kshatriya origin of these families, and for the legends based on that tradition. When such families rose into importance, they and their flatterers would naturally seek to bring their Kshatriya origin into prominence, and as the only Kshatriyas they knew of then would be the Râjpûts, legends would, as a matter of course, grow up narrating how their ancestors migrated from Râjpûtâna,—the mythical immigrants' names being joined on to a correct genealogy of historical personages so as to make a *vraisemblant* whole. The answer, therefore, that I would suggest to the question put at the head of this little paper, is, that while the bulk of the Marâṭhâ population are Śûdras, some families among them have a strain of Kshatriya blood in them, so to speak, but not sufficiently strong to distinguish them from the rest of their countrymen.

* Clunes' book was published in 1833.

NOTES FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

BY W. RAMSAY, Bo. C.S., BHARUCH.

To one whose acquaintance with India is limited to a sojourn in a Presidency town, varied only by an occasional excursion or picnic some few miles into the interior, the Mufassal is virtually an unknown land. To an almost equal degree it may be said that to one whose career has confined him to the southern latitudes, the countries lying to the north of the Vindhyan range, and those constituting Hindustân proper as recognized by the natives themselves, are as a strange land, presenting strange faces and features, a new dialect, a different garb, almost another life; social customs and religious observances forming the common link uniting the North to the South. From a European point of view the contrast is perhaps the greatest: to wear of necessity warm clothing all day, and outer wraps morning and evening; to sit over a fire at noon, and find it a luxury; to forget the reality of a tropical sun; and to look upon cold as the only enemy to be resisted,—what a change is here! To the chance tourist from England the first impression is that all Anglo-Indians have been in a league to depreciate the country, and delude the world at home into a false belief of the terrors of an Indian sun. But if he should be seduced by appearances into prolonging his stay among the many attractive spots of Upper India, beyond the short term of an Indian winter, retribution sharp and sudden will fall on his head, such as is not even imagined in the then more favoured regions of the south:—the blasts as of a furnace enduring all day, and perhaps all night; an atmosphere to which the air of a London brickfield would be as balm in comparison; and a forcible detention within doors, save perhaps from four to seven A.M. I may say, slightly altering the words of the poet,

"Indicos odi, puer, apparatus."

But, in plain English, the climate of the N. W. P. from April to September must be experienced to be realized.

The various places of interest in the North-West are so much associated with the history of India in all times, and so much has been written on the subject, that it would seem presumption to add aught to what has been previously contributed by abler pens; but a few particulars of the more striking scenes and objects, as viewed for the first time, may not be wholly devoid of interest to the casual reader.

Who has not heard of Banâras, the holy city of the Hindu, the centre of his thoughts and his aspirations, which he hopes to visit some time during his life, and, may be, honour with his ashes and other reliquiæ after death? and viewed in this light the place cannot but be visited with interest by any thoughtful observer. To the mere antiquarian, the place itself is somewhat devoid of interest, as modern Banâras may be said to date only from a period subsequent to the time of Aurangzîb, who destroyed all the older temples and built mosques out of the materials. The only real piece of antiquity is the old Buddhist tower of Sârnâth, situate some miles from Banâras, and said to be on the very spot where the great Sakya-Muni resided and devoted some years to the excogitation of that strange system of philosophy which revolutionized the world of his time, and has left its stamp to this day upon millions of the human race. The authority for this belief is of course wanting, but who in gazing on that old tower but would strive for the moment to divest himself of the stern trammels of positivism, and try and behold as in a dream the sage sitting deep in thought above and apart from this mortal world. But apart from antiquarianism Banâras presents a strange and engrossing appearance to the eye. The sacred river winding slowly along miles of sacred ghâṭs and temples and groves thronged with priests and pilgrims, with the dying and the dead; the hordes of mendicants ostentatiously displaying their filth or their ailments; the gaunt and lofty stone houses separated only by flagged causeways perhaps not a yard in width, and nowhere continuing in one straight line for even twenty yards; the incessant clamour of voices and ringing of bells from the 1500 temples and shrines which the city is said to contain; the sacred bulls wandering about, fully conscious of their privileges; and, in strange contrast, the multitudes of incessant chattering monkeys appealing to the piety and benevolence

of the pilgrims for their daily bread—all this, and much more, makes up a scene to be viewed in no other quarter of the world. As a spectacle it is most curious; but soon the eye gets tired of the sight and its surroundings, and the traveller quits Banâras with but little desire to return to it.

Far otherwise is it with Lakhnau in every sense: we have left the noise and turmoil of Banâras, its priests and beggars, its holy places and unholy smells, far behind, and the mind is free to feast itself with the beautiful in art and nature. Even the elements seem to have combined to favour the place. A somewhat moist atmosphere and unlimited command of water render the lawns and parks green throughout the year, and the roses, creepers, and annuals can bear comparison with the choicest growths of English gardens. And the whole place is in keeping. The wealth of the kings of Oudh was largely expended upon palaces and gardens, and much of the former remains to the present day. To the critical observer, the strange medley of Saracenic, Italian, and French art seems at first sight somewhat incongruous and strange; but, as the eye gets accustomed, it recognizes the beautiful symmetry and real harmony which is evolved from the whole, and he needs must commend the result. The Chattar Manzil is a good illustration of the above remarks, as also the adjoining Farhad Baksh. Built by kings of Oudh as palaces of pleasure, they have now come to be utilized as Civil Courts, reading-rooms, billiard-rooms, and ball-rooms. Could the ghosts of Saadat Ali or Haidar-ud-dîn revisit this earth, they might be more surprised perhaps than pleased at the ultimate destiny of the "Palace of Delights." Time would fail to describe the various buildings of Lakhnau, such as the Martinière with its rococo ornamentation, its bas-reliefs and frescoes; the great Imâmbâra or Mausoleum of Asaf-ud-daula, containing one of the largest rooms in the world, 160 feet long by 50 wide, and as many high, all built without a single piece of woodwork; the graceful Huseinâbâd or Mausoleum of Muhammad Alî Shâh, third king of Oudh, with its garden and fountains, its marble paving and painted windows; the Kaisar-bâgh, not remarkable in detail, but viewed as a grand square, with a graceful bâradâri of marble in the centre, combining to produce an harmonious and graceful whole,—these and many others might be enumerated. But, above all, interest centres in the now ruined but carefully preserved Residency, every spot of which has its history, or is stained with England's best blood,—the grounds now turned into a garden of choice flowers, and cherished as such a spot deserves to be. It is a charming whole, and well worthy of a lengthy pilgrimage to visit.

Agra is well known and has its Guide-books, but it is impossible to pass over the Tâj in silence. A recent criticism has appeared condemning the work as a whole, on the ground that the multiplicity of details destroys the simple idea which the entire building was intended to express. I can only reply that he, who having seen the Tâj can sit down deliberately to criticize it, can have no soul for the beautiful in art or nature. We may object to this or that detail; but we cannot help falling down and admiring: it is a pearl in a beautiful setting, the mausoleum and its surroundings all admirably adapted to form one beautiful whole, unique upon earth. The visitor should avoid seeing the Tâj, if possible, until after viewing the other sights of the place, as after the Tâj all lesser luminaries must perforce hide their diminished heads.

There is no more charming excursion than one to Fathèpur Sikrî, 24 miles from Agra, where are the remains of the mosque and palace of Akbar, built by him in fulfilment of a vow after the birth of his son Selîm, afterwards known as the Emperor Jehângir. The mosque comprises a grand quadrangle 460 feet by 360, or thereabouts, and has a splendid gateway known as the "Buland Darwâza," all built of bright red sandstone. The quadrangle contains a gem in the shape of the mausoleum of the saint Shaikh Selim Chishti, all of pure white marble, with perforated screens of choicest design, and with a sloping cornice supported by curious carved brackets. The adjoining palace of Akbar is the most curious and quaint combination of quadrangles, porticoes, and adjoining apartments, all built in the purest Hindu style, without arches, the roofs being solid slabs supported on brackets more or less highly carved and ornamented. Here Akbar resided for about sixteen years, and to our modern notions it is singular to speculate how the greatest po-

tentate of the East should have been contented to occupy what seem to us such confined and uncomfortable quarters.

Another pleasant but longer excursion may be made to Bharaṭpur, Mathurâ, and Dig. At Bharatpur there is little to see beyond the old fort, celebrated as having baffled the attacks of Lord Lake, and the modern palace of the Râja. Mathurâ is second only to Banâras in sanctity, situate on the banks of the Jamnâ, and crowded with temples and bathing-ghâṭs. Here Kṛishṇa is supposed to have been born, and the surrounding country is supposed to have been the scene of the various feats and doings of the god. At Govardhan are to be seen the Chattris or memorial tombs erected over the ashes of the Râjas of Bharatpur: they are elegant pavilion-like structures of carved sandstone, with marble paving inside, and curious frescoes painted on the ceilings: in one there is a quaint picture of the siege of Bharatpur, representing, among other things, the British artillerymen being sabred by the Jats, and Lord Lake sitting looking on and drinking a glass of brandy and water;—the artist evidently had a considerable vein of humour in his composition. At Dig we see the palace of Suraj Mal, the founder of the Bharatpur dynasty; a series of elegant buildings with beautiful double carved cornices, pretty balconies and windows, all enclosing a rectangular garden full of waterworks, and with handsome stone tanks at two ends: one pavilion, all of white marble, is so contrived that waterworks both from above and below can play across every opening, and keep the air cool and fresh inside. Another pavilion, in the garden itself, and called the "Sâwan Bhâdun," after the two rainiest months of the year, can be completely enveloped in sheets of water from above and below.

Dehli, again, is too vast to attempt to describe in detail, and full particulars are contained in the published Guide-book. Special mention must be made of the Âm Darbâr within the fort, one of the few remains of the ancient glories of the palace: it is all of the purest white marble, standing on carved arches and highly gilded. The effect is beautiful. Adjoining are apartments of white marble inlaid with coloured marbles; but in my opini[illegible]ot in such good taste as those in the fort at Agra, of which I should have made mention. The remains of the Agra palace are much better preserved, and the carved marble screens and the inlaid mosaic-work to be seen there is equal to anything either at Pisa or Rome.

By far the most interesting excursion from Dehli is to the Kutb Minâr, built by the emperor Kutb-ud-dîn and his successors,—a colossal minâr from whence can be obtained a magnificent panoramic view of Old and New Dehli, and the ruins which stud the country around for miles. At the foot of the minâr stands the Kutb Mosque, a most beautiful and singular erection. The nucleus of the mosque is a series of porticoes of pure Hindu or Buddhist workmanship, large slabs of stones standing on brackets and columns, all highly carved and ornamented. To these the Muhammadans superadded some splendid arches, most of which are now in ruins; but there is one gateway and a mausoleum in good preservation, presenting most beautiful specimens of carved stone-work. At a short distance from the mosque stand the walls of the ancient fort and city of Prithi Râja who ruled before his expulsion by the Muhammadan invaders. The view from the top of the Kutb Minâr is wonderful and suggestive: eleven miles off stands the city of New Dehli, the vast minarets of the Jumma Masjid standing out into the air, as also other minarets, and the ramparts and other buildings of the fort; beyond these again, and outside the city, rises clear in air the new monument at Fathpur, as it is termed, marking the site of the British attack on Dehli in 1857, and recording the names of those who fought and fell there. Four miles in another direction rise the ruins of the ancient fort and city of Taghlukâbâd, the memorials of an older dynasty; and again the eye ranges over the scene, and it catches sight of yet other old forts and remains of other cities, the works all of different dynasties; and it wanders hopelessly over a maze of mosques and mausoleums scattered far and wide over the scene, intermingled with waving crops of wheat and mustard-seed: and while gazing on this strange scene and calling up visions of the past, the mind unconsciously recalls the well-known lines of Byron, as applicable to Dehli as to ancient Rome:

"Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, 'here was, or is,' where all is doubly
night?

The double night of ages, and of her,
Night's daughter, Ignorance, hath wrapt, and wrap
All round us, we but feel our way to err;
The ocean hath its chart, the stars their map,
And Knowledge spreads them on her ample lap;
But Rome is as the desert, where we steer
Stumbling o'er recollections; now we clap
Our hands, and cry 'Eureka!' it is clear—
When but some false mirage of ruin rises near."

I have attempted in the above brief and hurried sketch to give some faint idea of what may be seen during a short tour in the North-West. To those who have the time and the inclination, the chief interest lies in marking the rise and progress of architectural science as evidenced by the different monuments of the successive dynasties that held their sway over Hindustân. The whole subject is fully and ably treated in the works of Mr. Fergusson, and the Guide-books to Agra and Dehli, published by Mr. Keene: all that I could contribute would be mere extracts from those authors, to whom every reader can have access. It is curious to observe how in India as in Europe the period of the *cinque cento*, the latter half of the sixteenth century and also the first half of the seventeenth, are the period when the decorative arts culminated in their highest point of excellence. In India, it is true, of painting, properly so called, and statuary, we have no traces; but this is owing to the stern tenets of the Muhammadan faith, which condemned as idolatrous all artistic representations of animal life; but in architecture and domestic decoration, the artisans of Hindustân stand unrivalled. The knowledge of proportion and effect, the wealth of imagination exhibited in tracery and pierced marble-work, the taste in colour as seen in mosaics and encaustic tiles, and the now lost art of enamelling on plaster, attest alike the artistic feeling and the skill of these ancient craftsmen, most of them, it is believed, Hindus. The old palaces in the forts at Agra and Delhi contain fully as beautiful specimens of work in marble and *pietra dura* as are to be seen in the churches and palaces of Italy; and that the old art and artistic feeling have not entirely died out is shown by the more modern productions of Dig and Govardhan, while in the streets of Mathurâ are to be seen abodes which, while differing in style, and more modest in their proportions, are not unworthy to be compared with the ducal mansions of Florence. Even the palaces of Lakhnau, which are the production of modern times, debased, as they are termed, in an artistic point of view, have a charm of their own, and it should be remembered that it is to the introduction of European ideas that this debasement is due. At Agra, the ancient art of mosaic-work is still carried on by Hindu artificers, the descendants of the men who adorned the palaces of Akbar and his descendants, and who produced such an exquisite piece of workmanship as the octagonal marble screen which surrounds the sarcophagi of Shâh Jehân and his queen Mumtaz-i-Daulah in the central vault of the Tâj. The world cannot produce anything of its kind more perfect.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.

BY COL. H. YULE, PALERMO.

I propose to collect from the French version of Ibn Batuta the chief passages touching on Indian topography, and to see what can be made of them. Some points that are not obvious I hope to explain, but a great many remain dark for me. Other readers of the *Indian Antiquary* may be more successful in elucidation.

(1.) The Traveller entered India from Kabul. His route lay by Karmâsh, a fortress standing between two mountains, and a stronghold of Afghan robbers, by Shashnaghar, and by a desert which had an extent of fifteen days' journey, and on which the fatal *simûm* was common. He then reached the Indus, which he calls "the Sind, known under the name of the Panjâb."

He crosses the river, and enters a marshy tract where he sees the rhinoceros. After two days' journey he reaches Janâni, a fine city on the river's bank, occupied by a people called Sâmira. He advances again and arrives at Siwastân or Sihwân.

Here are obscurities enough. I cannot point out

the route by which Ibn Batuta travelled from Kabul, though the mention of the wide desert and the *simûm* indicates his having entered Sindh by the Bolan Pass. * Nor can I identify Janânî. We should naturally look for it above Sihwân, but the country of the Sâmiras or Sumras lay on the eastern branches of the Delta †.

(2). From Siwastân the traveller descends by water, to visit Lâhari, a fine place on the ocean, viz. Lârî or Lahori Bandar. A short distance from Lâhari he saw the remains of a city which had been destroyed for the iniquity of the inhabitants. These had been changed into stone, and many petrified fragments of limbs and of food were visible. The place was called Târnâ. Some trace of this, whatever it really was, should survive. He then proceeded up-country to Bâkar (Bakkar), and thence to Ujah (Uch'h), a great place on the river Sind. *Quantum valeat*, this confirms the belief that the Indus and Chenâb formerly joined at or above Uch'h, and is in favour of the identification of Uch'h with the Alexandria which was built near the confluence. From Uch'h the traveller goes on to Multân. Ten *mils* or *kos* before reaching the city he crosses the great river of Khosrauâbâd, qu. the Biâs?

(3) Proceeding from Multân towards Dehli, the first town entered in India Proper was Abûhar. After leaving Abûhar the party travelled across a plain, terminating in hills occupied by Indian brigands. A body of these attacked the travellers in the plain, but were worsted. The party carried the heads of the slain robbers to the castle of Abu Bakhar, and hung them to the wall. Two days later they reach Ajûdahan, where was the shrine of the saint Farid-ud-dîn al-Badhâoni.

Leaving Ajûdahan, in four days they reach Sarsati, a great place for rice; thence Hânsî, a fine city; and in two days more Maśûdâbâd, which was 10 *mils* from the imperial residence at Dehli. Leaving this, they encamped at Pâlam, and then entered Dehli. Pâlam, a few miles west of Dehli, retains its name unchanged, as does Hânsî. Maśûdâbâd, we learn from Elliot, is now Najafgadh,* and Sarsati is now Sirsa Ajûdahan is Pâk Patan, on the right bank of the Satlej. But Abokar is misplaced. Unless there was some extraordinary retrogression, it must have been reached after leaving Ajûdahan for Sarsa. The castle of Abu Bakhar I cannot find.

(4) Among the remarkable things related by Ibn Batuta of his patron Muhammad Tughlak, is the story of his sending a force of 100,000 cavalry to subdue "the mountain of Karâchîl," with the view, as appears from another author,* of preparing the way for an invasion of China.

This vast mountain, says Ibn Batuta, extended three months' journey, and was ten days distant from the city of Dehli. The army took the city of Jîdiâh, at the foot of the mountains, then ascended and took the city of Warangal, which lay high up. But the rains came on, and they found it necessary to retire. In the retreat the army was destroyed.

Karâchil is plainly the Himâlaya; the term is used also by Barni in the passage just quoted from Elliot; and it appears as Kalârchal in Rashîd-ud-dîn's borrowings from Al Birûni, who applies it to the snowy mountains seen from the Panjâb. Is not the word a corruption of Kuverâchal=*Kailâs?* But where did the invasion take place? I cannot trace Jidiâh or Warangal. The latter name is probably disguised, for in this form it belongs to the Dekhan. It is, however, curious that Ptolemy has a nation Korankali on the skirts of the middle Himâlaya.

5. Ibn Batuta's residence at Dehli terminates in a mission to China.

The king of China, who must have been the last of the Chinghizide Khâns, Togontemur or Shun-ti, had sent an embassy with presents to Muhammad Tughlak, asking leave to rebuild a temple at a place called Samhal, on the skirts of Karâchil, which Chinese pilgrims were in the habit of visiting. This is an interesting intimation that the pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhists to places of sanctity in India were still kept up in the 14th century.

Samhal was perhaps the name of the province, viz. Sambhal, or Northern Rohilkhand. The temple may have been one of those at Ahich'hatra traced by General Cunningham.

Ibn Batuta, whom Sultan Muhammad was apparently glad to get rid of, was appointed to head a return embassy to Khânbâligh. This unlucky mission started from Dehli on the 22nd July 1342.

They were bound for Cambay, where they were to take ship, but their march thither was a most extraordinary journey in zigzag, and this we can only account for by the complete disorder of the dominion nominally subject to the sovereign at Dehli. In the Doab, scarcely beyond the evening shadow of the Kutb Minâr, we find marauding bands besieging towns.

The first march out of Dehli was to Tilpat,

* The *Aîn-i-Akbari* speaks of the large desert between Sivi and Bakkar, over which the *simûm* blows. (4to ed. II. 137.)

† *Elliot's History* by Dowson, I. 324, 343, 484, *seqq.*

‡ *Races of N. W. Provinces*, II. 124.

* *Ziâ-ud-dîn Barni*, in Elliot III. 241.

a distance of $2\frac{1}{3}$ *fursakhs;* then came Aû and Hilû, and then Biânah, a great place with fine bazars and a splendid mosque. From this they proceeded to Kôl. Whilst there, being invited to assist in the relief of the neighbouring town of Jalâli, attacked by a body of Hindus, they lost largely in the fight, and other mishaps followed.

Tilpat survives, a very ancient town, about ten miles S. E. of the Kutb Minâr. It is a *Mahál* of the Sirkâr Dehli in the *Aín-i-Akbari.** Aû and Hilû I cannot fix. Biânah is still more puzzling. We are far away from the city and fortress of that name, so well known in the annals of the Dehli kings. There is a place Miânah between Tilpat and Kol, but I have no information about it. Jalâli still exists about ten miles east of Aligaḍh, and is a *Mahál* of Sirkâr Kol in the *Aín.*

(6) At length they proceed towards Kanauj. The first station named is Borjbûrah, where was a hermitage occupied by a handsome and virtuous shekh called Muhammad the Naked. Their next camp was on the banks of the Ab-i-siâh, and thence they reached Kanauj.

Borjbûrah may be Birjpûr, a village N.E. of Mainpûri. Ab-i-siâh is of course the Kálînadi translated; in Sharîf-ud-dîn's *History of Timúr,* as rendered by Peter de la Croix, the same river appears in Turkish as *Kará-sú.*

From Kanauj they turn south: the stages named are Hanaul, Wazirpûr, Al-Bajâlisah, the town of Mauri, the town of Marh, the town of Alâpûr, and then Gâlyûr or Gwalior.

From Gwalior to Barwan (or Parwân), Amwari, Kajarrâ, where there was a lake about a mile long surrounded by idol-temples, &c. Thence to Chanderi, a great town with splendid bazars.

Kajarrâ, from name and features, must be, as Elliot pointed out, Khajûrâho, near the Ken River, which has been described by General Cunningham;† yet the route is strangely circuitous. The only Alâpûr that I can trace lies *west* of Gwalior; it was the scene of a brilliant action by Sir R. Napier in 1858. Bajâlisah is probably disguised. This was the name, the traveller tells us elsewhere, of a great cemetery near Dehli, after which one of the city gates was called.‡

(7) From Chanderi the party goes to Zhihâr (ظهار), "the capital of Mâlwah;" thence to Ujjâin, and then to Daulatâbâd, a great city which was formed of three parts—Daulatâbâd, Katakah, and Dwaikîr (Deogîr). Leaving this, they proceeded to Naṅdurbâr, a small city occupied by Marâṭhas, and thence to Sâghar, a large and fine town standing on a considerable river of the same name, and surrounded by groves of fruit trees; then to Kinbâyat or Cambay.

Zhihâr is of course Dhâr, and the retrogression to Ujjâin may be a slip of memory. Naṅdurbâr keeps its place on our maps, but what is Sâghar? One would think it must be Surat or Bharoch.

(8) From Cambay the travellers went to Kâwi (or Kâwai), a place on a tidal estuary belonging to the pagan Rai Jalansi, and from Kâwi to Kandahâr, where the said Rai lived. Here they took ship, and after two days arrived at the island of Bairam. They landed on this island, which had been occupied, but was deserted since its capture by the Muhammadans. Next day they reached the city of Kûkah, a large place with great bazars, belonging to the pagan king *Dunkôl.*

Here we need have no difficulties. Kâwi is Konwai, on the south of the Mâhi estuary; Kandahâr is Gandar, on the Baroda River, which appears as a port of commerce in De Barros and in Barbosa; its chief was probably one of the *Jhála* Râjputs (*Jhálabansi*). Bairam is Piram Island, the Baiones of the *Periplus,* the site of a fortress which had been recently taken by the troops of Muhammad Tughlak.§ Kûkah is the port of *Ghogho,* belonging to the Gohil Râja, "*Lord of Gogo and Piram.*"

(9) Sailing from Ghogho, in three days' run they reach Sindâbûr. This was an island on which were 36 villages, and which was embraced by the waters of an estuary, which were fresh at ebb-tide but salt at flood. There were two cities on it; one the old Hindu city, the other built by the Muhammadans. The voyagers sailed close by this island, and anchored under another small island near the mainland where there was a temple, a grove, and a tank of water. Ibn Batuta had a singular rencontre with a *Jogi* whom he found leaning against the wall of the temple.

Sindâbûr is mentioned by several other writers *e. g.* Maśûdi, by Edrisi, by Rashîd-ud-dîn, and by Abulfeda. The latter, and perhaps also Edrisi, confounds it with Sindân (*Sanján*), between Surat and Bombay. But at the same time the data quoted by Abulfeda show that it was three days (sail no doubt) south of *Táṇa,* and reached (as Ibn Batuta tells us) immediately before Honore; whilst Rashîd-ud-dîn names it as the first of the cities

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* *Races of the N.W. P.* II. 123.

† *Ancient Geog. of India,* and *Archæological Reports,* [II. 412.

‡ Is it possible that Bajâlisah and Mauri are Talesar and Mathra? This would be zigzag indeed, but it would explain the approach to Gwalior from Alâpûr. Barwan is perhaps Baron on the Sindh, near Dhattiah, and Amwari Umrah, near Jhansi.

§ Forbes, *Râs Mâla,* I. 317 *seqq.*

the coast of Malabar as you come from the north.*

It is evident from Ibn Batuta's account that Sindâbûr was a populous delta island, and the only such in the required position is *Goa*. I cannot trace the name Sindâbûr † in any modern map, or in any of the old Portuguese accounts accessible to me. But the number of villages mentioned by Ibn Batuta confirms the identification. For De Barros says the island of *Goa*, when the Moors conquered it, was called Tiçuarij, 'which is as much as to say *Thirty Villages*.'‡ Also in the Turkish book of navigation called *Mohit*, by the accomplished admiral Sidi 'Ali, of which Hammer has given a translation in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, we find a section headed "24th voyage. From *Goh'-Sindâbûr* § to Aden." The trade of Sindabûr with Aden is also mentioned by Ibn Batuta (II. 177).

It is curious that Maśûdi refers to the abundance of crocodiles in the bay of *Sindabûra*; for De Barros also particularly notices their great size and numbers in the waters of *Goa*, and alludes to a story that they had been introduced there as a guard against surprises and the escape of slaves. ||

The island beyond Sindâbûr where the travellers anchored is undoubtedly, from the description, Anjediva, a favourite anchorage of the early Portuguese, who used to take in wood and water there. One would think that not only the grove and the tank, but the *Jogi* also, had survived through a century and a half, to witness the arrival of the Portuguese! For Gaspar Correa tells us that Da Gama's ships on their return from Calicut "went and put in at *Anjediva*, where they enjoyed themselves much: there were good water-springs, and there was in the upper part of the island a tank built with stone, with very good water and much wood.........there were no inhabitants, only a beggar-man whom they call *joguedes*......This man lived in this island under a stone grotto, and he ate of what was given him from the ships." ¶

When the Portuguese Governor of Bombay refused to make the place over to the Earl of Marlborough, who had come out with a fleet to receive the transfer, Sir Abraham Shipman, the Governor designate, was left with his troops on the coast and three vessels to await new orders. They selected Anjediva to pass the monsoon, and the troops were hutted there from April to October 1674, but they, poor fellows, did not "enjoy themselves much," for in that time they buried above 200 of their number. *

(To be continued.)

* *Elliot's Hist.* I. 68.

† Sundapur? or Chandapûr.

‡ Dec. II. Liv. V. cap. 1.

§ Hammer writes it *Kuwwai*, but the original spelling which he gives is كوه—*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* V. 464.

|| *Prairies d'Or*, I. 207; De Barros, *ut supra*.

¶ Stanley's Translation (Hak. Society), p. 239.

* *H. Hamilton's New Account of the E. Indies*, I. 184.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL CITY HERÂT AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Translated from the Appendix to the Rouzat-al-ssafa, by Edward Rehatsek, M.C.E.

The first place colonized in the land of Khorâsân was Foshanj, which is near the spot whereon afterwards the city of Herât was built. Some assert that it was built by Poshank Ebn Afrâsyâb Ebn Nimrud Ebn Kena'n. Foshanj was first called the town of Poshank, but as it is a rule among the Arabs, whenever they use foreign words, to change *p* into *f* and *k* into *j*, so that *Páres* becomes *Fáres*, and *Kurkán Jurján*, they called the town Foshanj. Other historians believe that Foshanj was built by Hoshang the Peshdâdian; and the builder of Qahanduz, which is known as Mesr, was Bukht-al-nasr [*Nebuchadnezzar*], 500 years after whom Herât was founded. Again, others say that Qahanduz was built by Kharus, the governor of Shyrvân in the time of Minochehr, as appears from the account of Sheykh A'bd-al-rahman Jâmy, who composed the ancient history of Herât; and the said Sheykh has made several statements about the colonization of Herât:—

Firstly, that when Jamshyd Ebn Tahumors Ebn Hoshang began to assert his claims to be the Deity, he laid violent hands on the goods of his subjects, and the people were very greatly distressed. When these affairs reached an extreme, and the inhabitants were in fear of their lives, they determined to emigrate; they dispersed in all directions, and about five thousand families of town and of country people about Qandahâr arrived in Kâbul; but as that place did not suit them, they beat the drum of departure and went to the country of Ghur, whence, again, they proceeded to the locality where now the Qusbah Aobah is, and settled there:—

Distich:—Do not attach your heart to friend or land,
For men are many, sea and lands are broad.

Having for some days escaped the calamities of the times, they laid their sides on the pillow of repose.

Distich:—A tree, could it from place to place migrate,
Would be distressed by neither axe nor saw.

Dissensions, however, broke out in the community after some time, which ended in bloodshed.

The defeated party was compelled to flee, and at last settled in a Wâdy now known by the name Rûd Mâllân, in a place called Kowastân A'luwyân. After a while the conquerors ascertained the whereabouts of the conquered, and annually came from Aobah, to take away the best part of the cattle as a tax. As the fugitives had no stronghold, they were at first easily induced to comply with these exactions; but when they had become well-nigh unbearable, and their own numbers and children had also increased, they eluded the tyranny of their foes by means of the stratagem of an old woman of their own number. The conquered party had a female governor, a descendant of Ferydûn; she was called Shemshyrah, was of agreeable person, manners, address, and adorned with the ornaments of learning :—

A sea of shame, a mine of modesty,
Her nature was composed of bashfulness :
The solar orb her shadow had not seen,
The moon beneath her grace had fallen far.

In fine, Shemshyrah one day convoked a meeting and addressed it as follows :—"How long shall we endure the disgrace of paying tribute? If you will follow my advice, and obey me, I shall in a short time elevate you from a mean to an honourable position." The people unanimously agreed to obey, and she continued :—"At present the best plan is to give them the tribute of four years in advance; and as during that time no one will come to ask it, we shall have ample leisure to build a strong fort." After this determination, Shemshyrah indited the following letter to the chief of the opposite party, whose name was Hyâṭlah :—"Your officials and tax-gatherers come annually to levy the tribute, and take a great deal of trouble to do so; and we on our part are ashamed of the smallness of our contributions.

Your ghost arrived at midnight time,
My soul I gave, but was dismayed.
A poor man must be put to shame
When guests untidy times select to come.

Our proposal is, that we deliver at once the stipulated amount of four years, and thus spare trouble to your officials and shame to ourselves." These tidings greatly rejoiced Hyâṭlah, and he despatched Malak Farhûn Ebn Kufûn, who was a descendant of Hoshang, to levy the tribute. As soon as it had been received in the treasury of Hyâṭlah, and Shemshyrah had been delivered of the trouble of paying it, at a propitious hour and a laudable season she laid the foundation of the Qi'lah Shemshyrân, to the north of Herât. They constructed very strong ramparts and breast-works and built the Sheb-Âbkâr wall, which was three farsangs long, inserting an iron gate at each farsang and appointing two men to watch it. When the appointed time had elapsed the officials of Hyâṭlah made their appearance to ask for the tribute, but returned disappointed on beholding the strong fort of Shemshyrân, and reported to Hyâṭlah what they had seen; all his efforts to obtain tribute now became abortive, so that he ceased to send persons to collect it.

Meanwhile the people of the fort of Shemshyrân, which is in our times called Shemyrân, lived in it for a long time happily and comfortably; but during the reign of Menuchehr, when their children and descendants had become very numerous, they went to Kharnûs, under whose sway they lived, and represented to him that as their fort had become too small, he ought to send a petition to the Shahanshâh to obtain permission for them to build another fort. King Kharnûs complied, and having obtained a favourable reply from Menuchehr, he opened his treasury, and having disbursed immense sums to masons and builders, at a fortunate conjunction of the stars and a propitious hour, he laid the foundation of the town of Qandûz; he built ramparts like mountains, with magnificent breast-works, and four castles around the fort, as well as two gates, the one on the north and the other on the south side, so as to include the fort of Shemyrân. He built the walls thirty *gaz* broad and fifty high, with a deep fosse around them. The building of these works occupied nearly twelve years and a half until they were completed. During the reign of Bahman Ebn Esfendyâr many persons settled in that locality, but during the lapse of time it became too small to hold them; accordingly the inhabitants of Qandûz requested Aghâghûsh, who was their governor, to ask permission from the reigning Pâdeshâh to build a city larger than Qandûz: but they received an answer that no funds were on hand for the purpose, and that if the people wanted a town they were welcome to form it at their own cost. The inhabitants agreed, and brought nearly four thousand able workpeople, whom sixteen thousand men were ready to aid in the labour. They brought astrologers to select the propitious hour, who chose the time when the moon portended good luck and was far from evil influences :

The astrolabes they poised in their hands,
Endeavouring to find the destined hour
Which with the lucky time connected is,
And fit to take the proper altitude.

They held the astrolabes in their hands, waiting for the coveted degree to make its appearance above the eastern horizon, and numerous persons took up bricks and mortar, expecting to receive the signal from the astrologers to throw them down for the foundations on four sides at the nick of time. On that occasion, a woman who possess-

ed a hut in the vicinity was baking bread, and a nimble little boy had taken some of her loaves to run away with; she shouted impatiently,—"Throw down;" the people imagined this to be the voice of an astrologer bidding them throw down their bricks; accordingly sixteen thousand men simultaneously threw down their bricks before the propitious moment for laying the foundations of the city had arrived. Arghâghush, much dismayed by this *contretemps*, immediately asked the astrologers about the present aspect of the stars, and received the following answer:—"As the ascension of the sign Taurus has arrived, and its companion Venus is looking at Mars, the inhabitants of this city will be jovial, valiant, and manly; their sons will be, from infancy to the end of manhood, courageous and quarrelsome, so that many kings, governors, nobles, and chiefs of the period will be slain in this city; and as the second sign, which the astrologers call 'the mansion of property,' is Gemini, on that account property will not abide in the hands of the citizens:—

> No wealth abides in hands of liberal men:
> Nor patience will with lovers,
> Nor water in a sieve.

Astrological indications further inform us that the inhabitants of this noble region will be hospitable, cherishing the poor, and of a kind disposition. This prosperous region will become the abode of hermits, pious men, saints, the refuge of needy persons, the resort of men of business and of strangers. On account of the sweetness of its water, the pleasantness of the temperature, and the spaciousness of this locality, all travellers who pass through it will so improve in health that they will prolong their stay, and all who meditate the destruction of this blessed region, and the ruin of the inhabitants thereof, will find their own prosperity changed into misfortune, and will in dismay hasten from the broad surface of comfort into the corner of misery."

King Aghâghush, greatly consoled by the above words, ordered the people to set about the work with all their might; accordingly sixteen thousand men engaged therein during eight years, until they had raised the walls, and after that they rested four years, so as to give all the buildings time to settle completely. After that, they again worked eight years till everything was finished. The extent of the city amounted to one thousand *jaryb*, the height of the ramparts was forty-five *gaz*, and the thickness of the walls ten *gaz*. These fortifications were built during the time of Jesus, and as the Pâdeshâh professed the Christian religion, he ordered a cross to be erected on every tower. The fort was again surrounded by another wall, and the space left between the two, amounted to ten *gaz*, and a very deep fosse was made. When the town was finished, it was unparalleled in beauty, and it appears that the poet alluded to it in the distich:—

> The eye had never seen, nor ear had heard,
> A place more beautiful than this abode.

Chroniclers give also another account of the colonization of Herât, to the effect that the spot whereon Qahanduz was built used to be formerly a watering-place through which travellers passed, and where wild beasts had their lairs; here the caravans which arrived from Dereh-du-Berâderân made a halt in the Nakhchirestân (abode of wild beasts), as there was no inhabited spot in the district of Herât except Aobah, the people of which place fought with each other; and the beaten party emigrated and took refuge in Koâshan, as has already been narrated. A few years afterwards, they moved to Dereh-du-Berâderân (the Hollow of the Two Brothers), whence they used to sally forth to meet any caravan arriving, for purposes of barter and trade in food and clothing. When their numbers had greatly increased, they sent a man to Homây, the daughter of Bahman Ebn Espendyâr, who was also called Shemyrân, with the request to be allowed to build a fort. She granted permission on the understanding that when the fort was completed it should be called after her name. Accordingly they commenced the work and continued it during twelve years. After a few years more Dârâ Ebn Dârâ laid the foundations of the city of Herât; but the ramparts were not yet completed when Dârâ was killed in a battle with Eskandar (Alexander the Great), who afterwards continued the building of Herât. When Ashak Ebn Dârâ, of the Ashkanian dynasty, began to reign, he covered up the bastions Eskandar had built, and constructed on the top of every one of them another tower, so that Eskandar's edifices fell into oblivion: he also built gates.

Another account is, that the first place colonized in Khorâsân after the deluge of Nûh was the fort of Shemyrân. The daughter of Szohâk, whose name was Herât, first of all colonized the district of Aobah, and then commenced to build Herât. Jowghan, a descendant of Farudyn Syâwash, colonized the region of Badghys, which is a handsome fort with fields and meadows around, containing numberless brooks and rivulets:

> No one ever in this world saw a place
> Like this, to cheer the heart, rejoice the soul.

Another statement is that when Eskandar had overcome and put Dârâ out of the way, he marched further, and when he arrived in the vicinity of Herât, there was no other inhabited place near it except Qanduz; the people here shouted their

lamentations to heaven on account of their sufferings from the Turks, and were in a very depressed and miserable state. For this reason Eskandar determined to build a city to shelter the inhabitants from the assaults of their enemies; accordingly he ordered Herât to be founded, but when the people of Qanduz were apprised of the intention of Eskandar, they hastened to his court, and stated that they would not agree to the building of the town, nor give him any aid in the matter. The author believes, however, that this tradition is probably untrue, since Eskandar wished only to do good to the inhabitants of Qanduz, and that therefore their obstinacy and refusal would have been quite out of place. In short, Eskandar was displeased with the sentiments of the people of Qanduz, and prolonged his stay in Khorâsan till he received a letter from his mother, who recalled him to Greece; but he replied:—"My intention is to build a city in Khorâsan, but the inhabitants of these parts are unwilling to comply. They do not wish me to build the town of Herât, nor do they intend to give me any help, and if I compel them by force and violence to comply, the good fame I enjoy in the world will be changed for the worse. Accordingly I crave your best advice in this matter." His mother answered:—"Send me some of the soil of that country, that I may judge of the state of the inhabitants from it." Eskandar despatched a sack full of earth to his mother, and when she examined it, she found some portions of it hard and some soft. She ordered this soil to be spread out and to be covered with a carpeting: then she convoked the Greek nobles, made them take their seats on it, and explained Eskandar's intention to build the city of Herât. Some replied:—"To build a town in that country would be like throwing mud-bricks into water;" whilst others approved of the plan. The mother of Eskandar continued:—"To-day you may go; but come back to-morrow, that we may again discuss the matter." Next day, when the Greek magnates entered the audience-hall of the mother of Eskandar, she made them sit down on the same carpeting, but the earth had been removed from beneath it. When she broached the subject again, the whole assembly was unanimous and said:—"The intention of the Pâdeshâh is proper, and the founding of such a city will increase his honour and good name." Accordingly the mother of Eskandar wrote him a letter to the following purport:—"From that soil I elicited the information that the inhabitants of that country are of a fickle mind and of a perverse temper. You must not consult them in anything, nor mind them in any matter." When Eskandar received the letter he was pleased, and began very diligently to build the city of Herât. It is related that when one day the masons and architects were busily employed in the construction of the *Khûsh* gateway, and Eskandar happened to be present, all of a sudden a courier arrived from Greece with a letter from his mother. Eskandar exclaimed:—"My mother has sent me a dry [*khushk*] letter!" and from that day the gate was called by this name; but the word has, from being much used, become *Khûsh*.

Another account is, that the ramparts of Herât were built by three men:—Syawush Ebn Kaykâwus, the interior wall by Dârâ Ebn Dâra [the third name is omitted]. Another statement is made in the History of Sayfy Haruwy, in which he states that Mullânâ Nâsser-al-dyn said to him:—"I found in the *Târykh of Khorâsân*, that an inspired prophet, by the teaching of Gabriel, founded the city of Herât. Another account appears from the following quotation:—

> Lohrâsp has laid foundations of the town:
> Gushtasp increased the buildings thereof:
> Bahmân did after him new buildings add;
> But Eskandar left them all to the winds.

There is a tradition of Abul-hasan Safuwâny, according to which his Lordship the prophet (Blessing, &c.) said:—"The Almighty (whose name be praised and exalted!) has a town in Khorâsân, called Herât, built by Khiszar, Alyâs, and Dzul-Qarnyn, upon which they called down the blessings of God." There is a tradition that Abu-Mutzaffar (Mercy, &c.) said:—"I was one day sitting on the rampart of Herât meditating about ancient times, when all of a sudden Khiszar [the prophet] made his appearance and asked me:—"What art thou about?" I replied:—"I am thinking about the great age of this noble rampart." He continued:—"O Muhammad, I recollect the time when this country was a large sea, and I also noticed its desiccation, its becoming cultivated, and turned into a civilized town, as thou at present beholdest it." There is also a tradition derived from his Lordship Khiszar that Herât was a large sea, and that on the spot where at present the great thoroughfare (*chár soug*) is situated, several persons used to get annually drowned in the sea of death, and that every ship which arrived there was submerged:—

Hemistich: Each land has its particular attribute.

It is not concealed from the world-adorning minds of travellers in the paths of divine grace that the country of Herât (may God the Most High guard it fro. all calamities!) was already, from ancient times, and still always is, the residence of great Sheykhs, the abode of the grandees

of Islám, the habitation of learned Ulemmas, the asylum of noble Sayyids, a place of recreation for persons of all nations, and the envy of all the countries of the world. The verse:—"Enter ye therein in peace and security" [*Qorán*, xv. 46], and also the blessed verse:—"The extent whereof equaleth the extent of heaven" [ibid. lvii. 29] has been revealed with reference to H e r â t; the purity and sweetness of its water rivals the fountains of Paradise, and its exhilarating climate imparts new life:—

> As limpid Salsabyl its water is;
> Its space extends as far as Paradise;
> The clime, like Khiszar's water, Masyh's breath:
> Its air, life-giving; water, gladdening hearts.

The azure vault is put to shame by the altitude of its towers, and Khavarnaq with Sydr [two famous Arab castles] are of no account when compared with its edifices:

> Not high the dome of heaven to its kiosks:
> Not fine the park of Eden with it compared.*

The present town-wall on the south side of Shemyrân and Qandûz, both of which it surrounds, and which was much renovated by the King Mua'z-al-dyn Husayn, is so spacious, that a diameter drawn from the bridge across the river Anjyl to the gateway of Sheykh Hazm, passes over the Khaybah bridge and stretches nearly one farsakh in length. This wall, the world-conquering Lord of the two fortunate conjunctions, Amyr Tymûr Gurkân (may God shed streams of pardon over him!), destroyed when he took Herât, because it would have been very difficult to guard it. At present the town-wall of Herat is double, there being between the two an interval of ten *gaz;* it has, moreover, one hundred and forty-nine towers, and the periphery of it amounts to seven thousand and three hundred feet; the extent of this place is from the spot of "the twelve kings" as far as Firuzâbâd, and from the "Khosh road" to the citadel, one thousand nine hundred by one thousand nine hundred feet; the fosse was nearly twenty cubits deep, but as it has not been cleaned out for a long time, it is somewhat less now. The excellencies and blessings of the Cathedral-mosque exceed the limits of enumeration; it is situated between the Qipchâq and the Khôst road. The fort of Ekhtyâr-al-dyn is situated within the city. The town itself contains only a rivulet and but few gardens; but the environs from the locality of the washermen up to Mount Mukhtâr and to Chashmahi-Mâhyân [Fish-Spring], and moreover from the village Mâshtân as far as the district of Sâq Salmâq, to the extent of nearly six farsakhs, all the plains and hills are full of gardens:—

> This joy of the earth, by nature irrigated,
> Bears off the palm from the gardens above.
> Truly these cultivated fields may be
> A model of Eden's paradise.

The interval between Dereh-du-Berâderân and the Mâllân bridge, about two farsakhs long, is a very pleasing landscape studded with country-houses contiguous to each other; in fact the whole region, from the just-mentioned Dereh to Mount Eskjah, which is four farsakhs long, and from Aobah to Kosuyah, which extends to thirty farsakhs, is full of cultivated fields, buildings, and villages, all of which are in an extremely flourishing condition.

Some of the attractions of this district are the places of worship, and of pilgrimage, and tombs, situated in pleasant spots; and its dependencies are nine in number:—1st, Tûrân and Tunyân; 2nd, Qaurân and Bâshân; 3rd, Kayrân; 4th, Saqr; 5th, Khayâbân; 6th, Kedârâ; 7th, Zanjbyl; 8th, Olenjân; 9th, Ardvân and Tyzân; but the place, the like of which for pleasantness of temperature cannot be found in the inhabited world, is Khayâban-i-Herât, which is a spot agreeable as paradise, and which, moreover, contains several places of pilgrimage and tombs of saints, sheykhs, and learned men. It was even in pre-Islâmitic times a locality of great blessings, resorted to by the rich and the poor, by residents and by travellers, as a popular place of worship and of festivities. In ancient times it was called Koy Khodâygân, and a Pâdeshâh is in the Persian tongue called *Khodáygán.* One of the many great places of pilgrimage situated there, is the one dedicated to that radiator of lights, that perfect critic, and excellent authority, the Emâm of genii and of men, who has reached the gardens of the sanctuary, Fahr-al-Dyn-wa-al-Millet [boast of the Faith and Religion] O'mar Râzy (May God favour him with pardon!), who by his high attainments bore away the palm of precedence in theoretical and traditional sciences from all the savants of these latter times, and who was unequalled as a rhetorician in this world.

As the pen, which leaves perfumed marks, has arrived at the mention of the Emâm of nations, and the guide of the peoples of the world, an anecdote presents itself to the mind with reference to him, as follows:—"It is related that during the reign of Muhammad Ebn Âly the Esmâyly, who was governor of the fort of R û d b â r, of Quhastân, and of other localities, and who professed, with his adherents, a belief contrary to the tenets and doctrines of Islâm; the Emâm Fahr-al-dyn dwelt at Ry and was giving lectures there; but envious

* Here it was necessary to make some omissions about the climate and beauty of Herat, on account of the exuberant tautology of the author.

persons, having "on their necks a cord of twisted fibres of the palm-tree" [*Qorân*, cxi. 5], calumniated him and said:—"The Emâm is an Esmâyly and an infidel;" and when he heard of this matter, he felt so distressed and aggrieved at the insinuation, that he mounted the pulpit and reviled the Esmâyly sect. Muhammad Ebn Ăly, on being apprised of this circumstance, could not find it in his heart to destroy the Emâm, as he stood alone, and excelled all other men in various attainments and excellent qualities; but he was determined so to frighten his lordship that he should never again open his lips to disparage or curse the Esmâylys. Accordingly he despatched a Fedây [volunteer] from the Qela'h-al-Mout [Fort of Death] to Ry, who enrolled himself among the disciples of the Emâm, became a very diligent student, and waited for an opportunity to execute the command of his master. For some time he could not get a chance; but after he had sojourned seven months in Ry, he perceived the servant of the Emâm leaving the house, and asking him whether any one was with the Mulawy, he received the answer that no one was there. Then the Fedây asked about his errand, and he stated that he was going to the bâzâr to bring food for the Emâm. Hereon the Fedây told him, that as he had a few difficult questions to propose to his lordship, the servant need be in no great hurry to return. The latter agreed, the Fedây entered the house, locked the door, threw the Emâm on his back, and sat down on his breast with a drawn poniard. The Emâm became frightened, and indeed had good reason to be so, but nevertheless exclaimed:—"O man, what wantest thou?" The Fedây replied:—"My intention is to rip thee open; with this dirk, from the navel to the breast." The Emâm asked:—"For what reason?" The Fedây continued:—"Thou hast cursed the Mullânâ [our master] and hast spoken improper things about him." [The Esmâylys call their Pâdeshâh by the name of Mullânâ.] The Emâm said:—"I have repented, and shall henceforth not use any expression of that sort;" then he swore an oath to that effect, and on being asked to explain it, he did so. Hereon the Fedây got up from his breast, and sitting down on the ground, said:—"I have not been commissioned to kill you, else your excuse would have been of no avail. I inform you that our Mullânâ sends you his good wishes and salutation, and says that we are under no apprehensions whatever about the silly assertions of fools and vulgar persons, concerning whom the blessed verse has been revealed, "These are like the brute beasts, nay, they go more astray" [*Qorân*, vii. 178]; but what learned and virtuous men like you say, gets imprinted upon the minds of the noble and the ignoble like signs carved on stones; you are therefore to abstain from blaming and insulting us, and if your noble disposition be so inclined, you are welcome to pay us a visit in the fort, and to adorn that locality with your exalted presence." The Emâm replied:—"I do not feel disposed to go to the fort, and to do so at the present time would be impossible." As the Fedây was aware that the Emâm would remain immoveable in his place like the pole, he took out the sum of three hundred and sixty dinârs of red gold, placed them before him and said:—"This is your stipend for one year, and after the expiration of that time the like sum will again be paid to you, which you are to consider as a permanent subsidy. There are also two Bardyamanys [striped cloaks of Yaman] at my lodgings, which the Mullânâ has sent as a present to you, and which you will also receive." After these words he bowed low and took his departure. The Emâm had been, when he reached in his lectures the Khillâfy question, in the habit of saying:—"The Khillâfâ are unbelievers, may God curse them and abase them!" after this event, however, he said:—"The Khillâfa are the Esmâylys." Some time afterwards, one of the disciples said to his lordship:—"You used to curse the Esmâylys, but you do so no more! What is the reason?" He replied:—"I cannot curse them, because they have a decisive argument." It is stated that the Emâm obtained extraordinary wealth from the Esmâylys; but God knows best the true state of the case.

The description of Herât terminates with the praises of the Amyr Ăly Shyr, the patron of the author. It is mostly poetical, extremely laudatory and tautological, so that it will be best to terminate this account with a brief mention only of the various edifices built by this Amyr. The chief building is the Cathedral-mosque which is very large and elegant, with high domes, and adorned with paintings from the floor to the roof; the next is a large hospital where the inhabitants and strangers receive medical treatment: it is connected with a school where the healing art is taught. Opposite to this is a large college chiefly dealing with theological subjects, and maintaining a large number of resident students. Lastly, the Amyr's palace, which is said to be very splendid, and also to contain a school where many learned professors are supported, with their disciples. All these edifices are situated within flourishing gardens vying in beauty with Paradise itself.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

RELIEF WORKS IN BENGAL.

The relief works which have been commenced in the afflicted districts of Bengal, to give employment to the people, consist principally in the construction of new roads, or the repairs of old ones. It is curious to observe how, when the new roads are being marked out, there occur, here a few hundred yards of embankment, there the remains of a bridge, built of stones whereon the carven gods indicate the Hindoo temples from which they were taken, to span channels long since deserted by the stream. These are the remains of the ancient works of the Mohamadan rulers of the country, and are known to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to this day as "the Nawâb's Road," or "the Road of Hosen," meaning that Hosen Shâh who ruled Bengal in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and whose name survives still in the memory of the people. It may be that Hosen Shâh, an enterprising military leader, repaired the lines of communication existing between his several posts, and perhaps formed other new ones; but many of the roads are certainly as old as the days of Hisam-ud-din, one of the rulers of Bengal before the close of the first century of Mohamadan dominion, and may possibly have been only restored by him on the foundations laid by still earlier Hindoo princes.

Where the policy of the rulers, or the convenience of the people, needed roads seven hundred years ago, it is on the selfsame lines that it is resolved to make roads now, and this seems to show how little the physical formation of the country, or the distribution of the people, has altered in the interval. And yet there have been changes. Debkoṭ, the first Mohamadan capital, in Dinajepoor, is a centre from which half a dozen roads radiated, communicating with the post of Ghoraghâṭ to the east, that of Tajpoor to the west, with the ancient city of Gour on the south, and with other points which are uncertain. It was probably on the frontier of Islâm, menacing an enemy to the north. There are now in the neighbourhood a police station, and a few marts, of no great size, on the Poornabhoba river; nothing to make it an important centre. A road passing through it from Dinajepoor on the north along the Poornabhoba river is the line most wanted; then a road to communicate eastwards with the Dinajepoor and Râjshahye road, and with the marts on the Atrayee; and another westward with the Tangon and the road from Dinajepoor to Maldah, and for each of them an old line may be followed.

The road from Dinajepoor to Purneah is non-existent between Bindol and Raneegunj police station. A line is marked out and touches the well-nigh forgotten Tajpoor, once the scene of more than one battle between the imperial troops and the revolted soldiery under the Kakshals; the site of a European judgeship for the first twenty years that the English held the Dewanee, and a military post for some years later. Here roads are being made, one along the Nagor, where a high embankment still marks out the Nawabee Rasta, to the capital city Poroowa, and the others still along the line which has ever led travellers eastward from the banks of the Kosee toward the Brahmapootra. An old man says that the last time the road was touched was in the year when the new jail at Tajpoor was built—an event the family may have had reason to remember; that it was then repaired as a famine work. As the Judgeship of Tajpoor was abolished in 1785, the reference is probably to the famine of 1770. We know from the *Minhaj-us-Siraj* that travellers from the north-west came across the Kosee towards Debkoṭ, and from the lowness of the country further south, and its liability to inundation, it is probable that the road crossed the Nagor no further south than Tajpoor.

The roads eastward towards Ghoraghâṭ generally terminate abruptly near the Atrayee, indicating perhaps changes in the course of that river which have obliterated the work of man, but careful search might still find remains of the Mohamadan roads. Ghoraghâṭ was always an important post. When the Korotoya was in all probability a much larger river than it is now, Ghoraghâṭ was the position that commanded the passage by which travellers left the Mohamadan dominions for the independent country called sometimes Komota, sometimes Kamroop, sometimes the land of the Koch, and now Rungpoor. Its remains show it to have been a considerable place, even if we did not know it from the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, and other works. It is frequently mentioned in all notices of military operations in that part of the country.

Our object in making these notes in an archæological publication, is the knowledge that wherever Mohamadan lines of road exist, there are found remains of military positions, of mosques, of bathing-ghâṭs, of saints' Dargahs, and of other buildings, in many of which exist inscriptions that may prove of great historical value; and in many cases persons who would otherwise interest themselves in procuring rubbings of them, do not do so, merely from not knowing what to look for. The Debkoṭ or Gangarampoor inscriptions have been given in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* by Professor Blochman, but we know of no rubbings of inscriptions known to exist at

Hemtabad, Ghoraghâṭ, and Tajpoor, and probably at other points on the old lines of road. Relief works may be carried on none the worse if a few minutes of leisure are devoted to rubbing off an inscription on some forgotten building buried in the jungle; and we hope that these lines may attract the attention of some whose work during this famine year takes them into the interesting field of research we have indicated.

E. VESEY WESTMACOTT,
Bengal Civil Service.

21st Feb. 1874.

THE LANJÂDIBBA OR MOUND AT BHATTIPROL, REPALLI TALUQA.

Of one of the curious mounds in the Krishṇâ District noticed by the late Mr. Boswell (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 153), Mr. W. R. Norris, C.E., Assistant Engineer, sends the accompanying sketch with two letters, of which the following is the substance. As in so many other cases, "a great part of it" has been demolished *for road metal.*

The mound at Bhattiprol, commonly known as Lanjâdibba, is a relic about which such information as is obtainable has been given by the late Mr. Boswell. It stands on a small piece of high ground outside the village of Bhattiprol, two miles to the west of Vellatur on the Krishṇâ, and is built entirely of large bricks made of clay and straw roughly mixed and well burnt. The dimensions of these are *about* 1 foot 6 inches by 2 feet. The height of the present remains is about 14 feet in the highest place, and, owing to a great part of it having been demolished for road metal, the shape is very irregular, as may be seen from the sketch. In area it may be said to contain about 1,700 square yards, and it was, I think, originally of a circular form, judging from the shape of some of the bricks which have been found in it. On the top of the mound and in the centre of it is a circular hole 9 inches in diameter, which reaches from top to bottom.

No earthen bank exists around the "Lanjâdibba," except that formed by the dust and refuse remaining after the several demolitions which have, from time to time, been made.

The whole structure is one solid mass of brickwork built up in regular courses six inches in depth.

The mound seems to have been originally of the form of a cone with side-slopes of one horizontal to two vertical. I was not able, during the short time of my visit, to make any extensive excavations to find out any part of the slopes which had not been damaged, but from measurements of several courses of brickwork I am satisfied that the slope was one to two. If I am right as to this, and as the diameter of the frustum at present existing at a height of 18 feet from the base is 48 feet, the height of the original structure would be 48+18, or 66 feet.

The entire work seems to have been carefully put together, and all the bricks specially moulded to suit the slope. In the first horizontal ring surrounding the hole there are eight bricks, as shown in sketch (*Fig.* 4), in width one foot, and depth six inches. The joints are all of mud, and are, as a rule, about an inch or more thick.

THE RÂMÂYAṆA OLDER THAN PATANJALI.

SIR—In my tractate on the Râmâyaṇa in reply to Professor Weber, published about the beginning of last year, I stated that the evidence which I had been able to find in the Great Commentary of Patanjali having a bearing upon the question of the antiquity of the Râmâyaṇa was of a very meagre character. I am now, however, in a position to refer to one passage in the *Mahâbhâshya* which appears to me to finally settle the question. In commenting on Pâṇini III. 1. 67, Patanjali cites the following line (p. 43, Banâras ed.):—

॥ एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥

Now this line occurs in *Vâlmîki's Râmâyaṇa*, whence it would seem to be quoted by Patanjali. It may be seen at chapter 128 of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* of the Râmâyaṇa in the Bombay edition (p. 238). In Gorresio's edition, too, the verse is to be found at chapter 110 of the same *kâṇḍa* (vol. V. p. 566). In the *Adhyâtma Râmâyaṇa* also, the same verse occurs in the same context. It forms part of stanza 64 of the fourteenth *sarga* of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa.*

It is only fair to add that I am indebted to my friend Mr. Mahâdeva Shâstrî Bopardikar, of the Elphinstone High School, for showing me the place where the verse occurs in the *Adhyâtma Râmâyaṇa.* With the knowledge thus obtained from him, it was of course easy for me to find the verse in Vâlmiki's works. It may be worth adding that the same verse is quoted in the *Kuvalayânanda* (see p. 197, Bomb. lith. ed.), and the knowledge of its occurrence there also I owe to Mr. Mahâdeva Shâstrî.

I think that this passage must be taken to establish beyond the reach of controversy the priority in time of *Vâlmîki's Râmâyaṇa* over *Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya.* That there may have been additions and alterations in it is not denied; but of the existence of the main portion of the work we have now, I think, the strongest possible guarantee.

KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG.

Bombay, 1st *March* 1874.

SKETCH OF LANJADIBBA

AT BHATTIPROL.

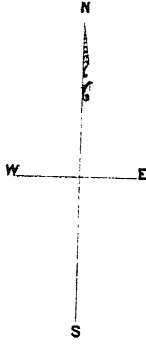


Fig. 1.

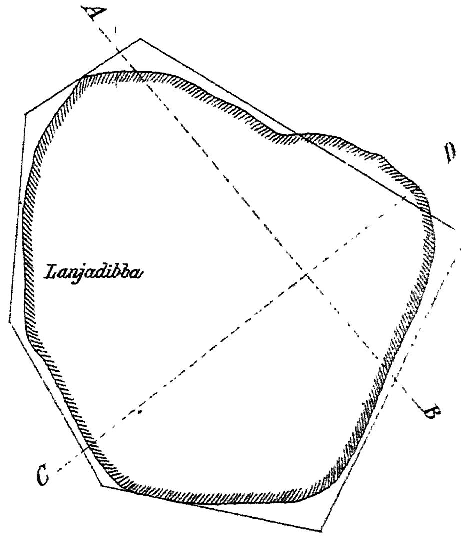


Fig. 2.

SECTION A.B.

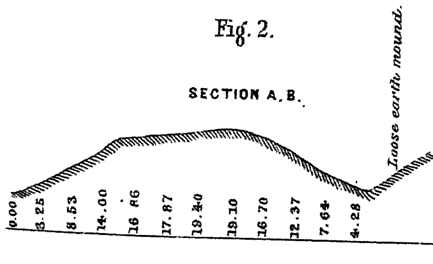
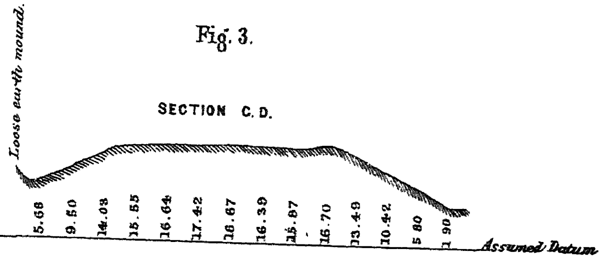


Fig. 3.

SECTION C.D.



Scale of 50' to 1".

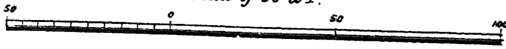
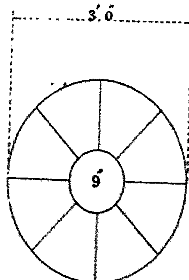


Fig. 4.



NOTES ON THE TWO SECTS OF THE VAISHṆAVAS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

BY THE REV. CH. EGBERT KENNET, VEPERY, MADRAS.

THE worshippers of Vishṇu are designated Vaishṇavas, but this name comprises a great variety of sects, who while assigning to Vishṇu a supremacy over the other gods of the Trimûrti, yet differ among themselves in the religious and other practices founded on the nature of their belief, and in their use of the sectarian mark. These differences, as described by the late Professor Wilson in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, relate mostly to the Vaishṇavas of Northern India. But in this Presidency the Vaishṇavas are divided into two great parties, known as the Vadakalai and Tenkalai, or the Northern learning and the Southern learning or doctrine. This division of the Vaishṇavas is said to have been occasioned mainly through Vedanta Tesikar, a Brâhmaṇ of Conjeveram, who is reported to have lived about six hundred years ago, and laid claim to a divine commission to reform the customs of Southern Brâhmaṇs, and to restore the old Northern rules and traditions.

While both the sects acknowledge the Sanskṛit books to be authoritative, the Vadakalai uses them to a greater extent than the Tenkalai. The former also recognizes and acknowledges the female energy as well as the male, though not in the gross and sensual form in which it is worshipped among the Śaivas, but as being the feminine aspect of deity, and representing the grace and merciful care of Providence; while the Tenkalai excludes its agency in general, and, inconsistently enough, allows it co-operation in the final salvation of a human soul. But the most curious difference between the two schools is that relating to human salvation itself, and is a reproduction in Indian minds of the European controversy between Calvinists and Arminians. For the adherents of the Vadakalai strongly insist on the *concomitancy of the human will* for securing salvation, whereas those of the Tenkalai maintain the *irresistibility of divine grace* in human salvation. The arguments from analogy used by the two parties respectively are, however, peculiarly Indian in character. The former adopt what is called the *monkey-argument*, the *markata nyâya:* for the young monkey holds on to or grasps its mother to be conveyed to safety, and represents the hold of the soul on God. The latter use the *cat-argument*, the *mârjâla nyâya*, which is expressive of the hold of God on the soul; for the kitten is helpless until the mother-cat seizes it *nolens volens* and secures it from danger. No two analogies can better illustrate the difference of opinion between the Calvinists and Arminians of Christian Europe: and the very existence of the facts suggesting the analogies may be suggestive of the possible harmony of difficulties in religion, according to some secret law unknown to us, when the same or similar ones are found to exist in nature, if both religion and nature own one and the same Author.

It may be interesting to notice here how abstruse polemical arguments filter down and enter into the common life of the people of a country. For the late Major M. W. Carr, who was an unobtrusive but highly accomplished Oriental scholar, inserts in his large collection of Telugu and Sanskṛit Proverbs the two following:—

No. 304. The monkey and its cub.

As the cub clings to its mother, so man seeks divine aid, and clings to his God. The doctrine of the Vadakalais.

No. 313. Like the cat and her kitten.

The stronger carrying and protecting the weaker; used to illustrate the free grace of God. The doctrine of the Tenkalais.—pp. 442, 444.

Leaving the speculative differences between these two sects, I have now to mention the practical one which divides them, and which has been, and continues to be, the principal cause of the fierce contentions and long-drawn lawsuits between them. And this relates to the exact mode of making the sectarian mark on the forehead. While both sects wear a representation of Vishṇu's trident, composed of red or yellow for the middle line or prong of the trident, and of white earth called *nama* for those on each side, the followers of the Vadakalai draw the middle line only down to the bridge of the nose, but those of the Tenkalai draw it over the bridge a little way down the nose itself.* Each party maintain that their mode of

* See page 136.

making the mark* is the right one, and the only means of effecting a settlement of the dispute is to ascertain how the idol itself is marked, whether as favouring the Vadakalai or Tenkalai. But this has been found hitherto impossible, I am told, for instance at Conjeveram itself, the head-quarters of these disputes, owing to the unreliable and contradictory character of the evidence produced in the courts.

I will add no more now but a brief notice of the existing literature relating to the differences of these two sects, and for this purpose will note only the books mentioned in Dr. Murdoch's Classified Catalogue of printed Tamil books, as being sufficient for ordinary investigation.

Sri mat Tennâsariyar Prapâvam is an 18mo of 127 pages, composed by Appâvu Mutaliyar, on the Tenkalai side, giving an account of a discussion between the two sects.

Tennâsariya Prapâva Kandanam is a reply to it, by Virarâkava Asâri, on the part of the Vadakalai sect.

And, *Satsampratâya Tipikei*, by the writer of the first-named treatise, is a rejoinder to the work last named.

* See p. 136.

NOTES ON CASTES IN THE DEKHAN.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page 77.*)

C.—Military and Cultivating Races.

1. I shall begin with the Marâṭhâs, as the most important, and because reference will have to be made to them in treating of the other castes coming under this head. The Marâṭhâs are so numerous and so widely spread that they show great variety not only of appearance and language, but even of caste observance; but they all acknowledge each other as caste-fellows, and this unity and sympathy must have contributed greatly to their success as a nation.

The great *Jâghiradârs*, and the *Mânakarî* families—that is, those who unite the profession of arms with hereditary office and landed estate (*watan*)—claim to be pure Kshatriyas, and allow no superiority to the proudest races of Râjasthân. The royal Bhoṅsles, for instance, claim descent from the noblest race in India—the Sisodias of Chittûr and Udaypur; and the Powârs, better known in Mahârâshṭra by their local surname of Nimbaḷkar, consider themselves to be of as pure descent from the sacred fire of Mount Âbû as their namesakes the *Powâr* or Pramara Râjpûts. The Ghâḍgês, Śirkês, Jâdhavarâos, and several other families assert their Kshatriya descent as plainly, and their claims are borne out by the distinguished appearance and bearing of many of their members, with which indeed they unite in most cases a shrewd common-sense sufficiently alien to the Râjpût character. During the visit of Śindiâ to Punâ in 1871, I asked the confidential Divân of one of the noblest Marâṭhâ Sirdârs whether his master was coming to the Darbâr held in the guest's honour. The old gentleman drew himself up in an instant. "He will come," he said, "to any Darbâr which the Sirkâr may hold on its own account; but he will not meet Śindiâ in any way that implies inferiority. What were the Śindiâs but rebellious servants of the Peshwâ? My master's house has been since the beginning of things." Most Marâṭhâs in the military or civil service of Government call themselves Kshatriyas, wear the sacred thread, and perform all proper observances; but while, on the one hand, they claim equality with the best; on the other, they allow the caste fellowship of the cultivators, who treat the question with indifference; their notions of precedence being confined to getting their bullocks well forward in the annual cattle-parade of the *Poḷa* festival: caste-punctilio seldom stands between a Marâṭhâ and his interest, or (to do him justice) his duty. The inhabitants of the fertile and well-watered valleys which nestle among the eastern spurs of the Sâhyâdrî range of ghâṭs are taller and less dark than those of the scorching plains that lie further down the Bhîma and Nîra and their tributaries; and the national character of endurance and adventure is more strongly developed among these latter, bred up to a harder struggle for existence, and in a country which offers strong inducements—to get out of it.

a. The Hill Kolîs† of the Ghâṭs claim the title of Marâṭhâ with the more persistence that their neighbours deny it to them; and there

† *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 154.

can be no doubt that the Mâwalî swordsmen who laid the foundations of Râja Śivâjî's power were mostly of this race; but they are certainly of a different blood (probably non-Aryan), and the dislike for distant service, which they share with most Indian hill and forest tribes, prevented them from having any part in the subsequent extension of the empire, which was effected chiefly by the horsemen of the plains.

b. The Dhanagars and some other castes occasionally affect the style of Marâṭhâs; but these will not eat or intermarry with them.

c. Of the Âgraîs of the Koṅkan I know little; but they appear to be on terms of equality as to bed and board with the Marâṭhâs of the Dekhan, and at any rate do not come within the local scope of these notes.

d. The term Haitkarî, which frequently occurs in the earlier pages of Grant Duff, signifies "one from a distance," and is properly applied to the inhabitants of Mâlwân and neighbouring districts, who leave their own country in search of employment. These men are distinguished from all other natives of their rank in Western India by their comparatively high intelligence and education. There is scarcely one in ten that cannot read and write.

After the crops have been got in, large numbers of the able-bodied men of the Puṇâ district go down to Bombay to work for wages, and are known there as Ghâṭîs, which term signifies simply one from the Ghâṭs, or above them, and is applied indifferently to men of several castes, mostly Marâṭhâs indeed, but many of them Kolîs, Dhanagars, Mâlîs, &c. I have heard a Brâhmaṇ speak of himself as a Ghâṭî.

In the Puṇâ district the words Kûnabî and Marâṭhâ are synonymous in careless conversation, because the land is mainly in possession of this caste; but in Śolâpûr and Khândesh the presence of other cultivating races necessitates the use of more accurate language, and therefore in the former district they always call themselves Marâṭhâs; in the latter Dekhanîs—being mostly immigrants from the Dekhan. No Indian race has shown a greater adaptability to circumstances, or more readiness to enter upon any career where profit or distinction is to be earned. They are not, it is true, favourites with the recruiting officer, with whom the superior intelligence and hardiness of the Marâṭhâ does not compensate for his inferior stature and appearance, his indifference to neatness in dress, and his strong disposition to intrigue and insolence; and, in consequence, the showy but stupid Hindustânî or the more obedient Mahâr finds a readier welcome in N. I. regiments. But for police service, which requires an indifference to reliefs and a power of independent action very rare with Hindustânîs, and a personal prestige unattainable by the Mahâr, the Marâṭhâ is, to my mind, better suited than any other race in Western India; and in the Puṇâ Horse there are about 80 Mânakarî Śilledârs, who are found, I believe, by their own officers, inferior in no respect to their other recruits. I have known one or two instances of their steadiness and presence of mind, which seem worth recording. One day a large party (including the writer) were put to ignominious flight by a swarm of bees, sent, public opinion said, by the god Bhîma Śaṅkar to resist our sacrilegious entrance into a Buddhist cave, now held sacred to him, in the Mân-modî hill near Junnar. The approach to this cave was up a wall of rock as straight as that of a house, with some rude steps and holes cut in it; and when we had all tumbled down this at the risk of our necks, nor stopped till we fairly outran the enraged insects, my Marâṭhâ police-orderly was seen coming down as quietly as if he was in court, with a water-skin in one hand and a small cane chair in the other. Being asked whether he was tired of life, he only said that he would not leave his master's kit behind, for gods or bees. In another case, two Paṭhân sawârs, quarrelling, drew swords, and the one ran the other through the body, then rushed out into the centre of the lines, brandishing the bloody weapon, and swearing to cut down any man who should come near him. He kept the whole post at bay till a Marâṭhâ śilledâr, half his size, availing himself of the picketed troop-horses as a means of approach, rushed within his guard, threw him down, and disarmed him, without drawing his own sword.

The Marâṭhâ cultivators of the Dekhan have taken the whole carrying trade of all roads passable to carts out of the hands of the Waṇjârîs and Lambâṇîs who thirty years ago monopolized the transport of all merchandize, and they have even competed successfully with

them in their speciality of pack-bullock driving on the ghâṭs as yet not opened to wheeled traffic. They have begun to push the Kâsârs hard as brass- and copper-smiths, and they have taken the trade of brass-casting almost into their own hands. They compete with the various castes of smiths at the forge; and one important branch of that industry, the fabrication of sheet-iron buckets, girdle-plates, &c., is, at Puṇâ, mostly carried on by them. They furnish most of the masons and bricklayers, and many of the stone-cutters; and some have invaded the Vâṇî's province of grain-dealing and usury. Finally, in those branches of Government employ requiring education, wherever Brâhmaṇ intrigue does not bar the way to promotion, they are beginning to show very well, especially in the medical department. Fifty years of peace have improved them much, to judge from the character ascribed to them by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Mr. Hockley the author of "*Pâṇḍurang Hari.*" Similar instances of amelioration are not wanting in Indian history; *e.g.* the development of the Gonds, from the "savage and intractable foresters" of 1820, into the docile and truthful woodcutters of Captain Forsyth and his contemporaries.

And I think that any one who will take the trouble to make himself well acquainted with the Marâṭhâs, who exercised a wider dominion than any other Hindu race, will find, that in matters within their scope, they are as shrewd as the peasantry of any other nation on earth; that they serve faithfully those who rule them firmly and kindly; and that, if unscrupulous, cunning, and cruel in external dealings, they are governed among themselves by a code of chastity, charity, and honesty not much inferior to that of people who think themselves their betters. They allow remarriage of widows by *pât*, *mûrat*, or *mohatar*, a custom of which it is hard to judge between the advantage of the women, who get a husband, or part-share in one, and the misery of the men, who often get more wives than they can manage. Women are in truth often deliberately sold by their parents, although this is denied, or disguised under the name of marriage expenses, presents, &c. They are in these districts very temperate, drink no spirits, and consume no opium, bhang, or other narcotic except tobacco. The whole population of the town where I write, Nârâyangâm, once came to me to protest against the establishment of a liquor-shop. They admitted that spirits were necessary to certain people and under certain circumstances, especially to cultivators of rice-land; but, they said, "there is no rice-land here; the climate is not feverish; and the shop will only be a temptation to people, and a rendezvous of loafers." Any teetotaller who may read this will, I hope, be pleased to know that the liquor license was not granted, and he may also benefit by the example of candour and moderation in argument shown by Hindu advocates of total abstinence.

A good deal of quiet humour is sometimes shown in their names for common objects; as in that of *Paṅḍit Pakshî* for a parrot; of *Vâṇî* for a sluggish and loathsome centipede; of *Gaipat* (lord of the cow) for the blue aloe, which alone of all plants forms a hedge impenetrable to the Indian cattle; and of *Jôgî* (religious beggar) for a fat, lazy, and venomous snake.

Their agriculture varies much; but where dearth of land compels the cultivator to make the most of what he has, much skill and industry are shown, especially in the construction of temporary dams across watercourses, and of the *bănds* or embankments, which both prevent the soil from being washed away by the monsoon rains, and collect what *débris* may be brought down by the surface-drainage of higher lands. In this way good fields are often formed and preserved, where without them would be nothing but bare rock or "*moorum*" (decomposed trap). They understand drill-sowing, a certain rotation of the crops, and are nearly independent of fallows. They have little manure to use: those who live near enough to the hills use *râb*, *i.e.* burnt grass and branches, and those of the plains wood-ashes and village refuse and litter; but they do not as yet take kindly to sewage manure. They pay the Dhanagars or shepherds, in grain or money, to fold their sheep upon particular fields, and they do a good deal of irrigation, partly from permanent or temporary dams, the number of which is necessarily limited by water-supply; but chiefly from wells, which are multiplying very fast, and from which the water is raised by the *mot*, or leathern bucket open at both ends. The Persian wheel, universal in the Koṅkan under the name of *râhaṭ*, is hardly known above the Ghâṭs.

2. The Râjpûts* of the Dekhan are few in number, and are mostly descended from soldiers who accompanied the Muhammadan conquerors. A very lively portrait of a family of these adventurers is to be found in Colonel Meadows Taylor's description of Pahâr Siṅg and his retainers, in the novel of "*Tara*," and there is a large colony of them at Junnar, who owe their origin to the imperial garrison. They are of various tribes; a good many Kachhvahas (Tortoises), whose ancestors probably came here with the famous Jaisiṅg of that tribe, the founder of Jaypur, when he was entrusted with the partial conduct of the war against Râja Śivâji in the latter half of the 17th century. They have not entirely lost the military spirit and objection to labour of their ancestors; but have, no doubt, married a good deal with Dekhanî women of various castes, and are hardly looked upon as equals by the Hindustânî Râjpûts. The general name for them is Dekhanî Pardeśîs. They are mostly peons and sepoys, some of them cultivators. They are very good policemen, uniting the smartness and dash of the Râjpût with the shrewdness and hardihood of the Marâṭhâ.

3. The Liṅgâîts are not strong in the Puṇâ districts; and there they are mostly immigrants and engaged in trade—both the Jaṅgams or clerical caste, and Pañchams or lay division. The former are more apt to deal in tobacco and sugar, the latter in grain or cloth. There are a few Liṅgâît *gavalîs*, or herdsmen, who are Pañchams. But in Śolâpûr, which lies nearer to the great head-quarters of this race in the South Marâṭhâ Country, there are many Liṅgâît cultivators and even pâṭîls. Here it seems only necessary to remark that, although they are said to have originally proclaimed the equality of men, and recruited their ranks from all castes, they are now, to all intents and purposes, two castes of Hindus, uniting in the worship of Mâhâdeva under his symbol of the Liṅga or *Phallus*, a shapeless little representation of which they always wear in a silver case round their necks. The Liṅgâît cultivators are only distinguishable from the Marâṭhâs in point of character by their being much less inclined to military or Government service.

4. The Dekhanî Jains are mostly cultivators, and agree most in character with the Liṅgâît cultivators as above described. They are not distinguishable from them or the Marâṭhâs in appearance or dress. They are not in religious communion with the Mârvâḍî Jains, but are, I believe, with the very numerous followers of that faith in Southern India. They are few in number; and I know of no case in which they hold office, hereditary or stipendiary.

5. There are several divisions of Dhanagars† or shepherds. A great part of the Indâpur, Bhimathaḍî, and Puranḍhar Tâlukas, lying between the Bhîma and Nîra rivers, is inhabited chiefly by Dhanagars, who have given up the pastoral life, and are cultivators, pâṭîls, and soldiers at need. The royal family of Indur belongs to this race, and derives the name of Holkar, I believe, from the village of Hôl, on the Nîra. It is a little curious that many European officers, who might know better, believe the Holkar to be a Vâṇî by caste,—an impression founded, no doubt, upon the mercantile proclivities of the present sovereign of Mâlwâ. I am not aware whether he is an Asal or pure Dhanagar, or belongs to the Śegar division of the caste, which is theoretically distinguished by adding the occupation of blanket-weaving to that of tending the flocks. At present very few of these settled Dhanagars either keep sheep or weave; and they are only distinguishable from Marâṭhâs or from each other by their not eating together or intermarrying. The Asal Dhanagars consider the Śegârs inferior, which the latter do not admit. Neither holds much connection with those Dhanagars who continue the wandering pastoral life, and who are known further north by the name of Thilârîs; these, however, all profess to have some *watan* or fixed residence, which is usually, however, what we may call "*honorary*." A Khândesh Thilârî once

* "Râjpûts strictly refuse to eat with any other caste than their own, and to intermarry with any other castes; in former times, however, of Muhammadan invasion, when pressed by policy or necessity, it would seem that occasional intermarriages between the Râjpût women and the Kolî chiefs, or even the Bhîll, were permitted, and there are now lords of a district, or barons, often called Thâkurs, who claim to be offspring of such unions."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc.* p. 236.

† "The shepherd and the goat-herd caste: they sell milk, butter, ghî, and wool; and make and sell country blankets: they are of middle rank, and under various names are widely distributed in all districts where pasturage is common: they are specially numerous in the South of the Dekhan. The caste is a primitive and comprehensive one, and its members closely resemble Kuṇabîs."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. ut supra*, p. 207.

told me that he belonged to Jejûrî, in the Purandhar Tâluka of Puṇâ, but modified the statement by admitting that none of his family had been near it for four generations. It is likely that there are several divisions among these wandering shepherd tribes, about which it is hard to find out anything reliable. One lot certainly speak a Draviḍian language, Tamil or Telugu. They are all darker, leaner, and wilder-looking than the settled Dhanagars, who are, as I have said, just like other cultivators to look at.

6. The Mâlîs or gardeners are chiefly occupied in the cultivation of irrigated land; but this business is by no means confined to them, or they to it; for they deal also in *jîrâyat* or dry-crop land. They are often village officers, but seldom engage in business or in the public service or army—not indeed from any want of pugnacity; for the habit of constantly squabbling about shares in canal-water has made them the most given, I think, of all the Dekhanî castes, to petty quarrels and assaults.

D. Parwâris; or dwellers without the walls, commonly called Hindu outcastes.

The Parwârîs should not by rights be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors. They are called Atiśûdras, or inferior Śudras, and Antyaja, or *last-born*. We are a good deal too ready to condemn the contemptuous horror with which the superior castes regard them. Any person minutely acquainted with the manners and customs (or customs and absence of manners) of the Parwâris, can only consider their exclusion from the town limits as a necessary measure of sanitary police, and the abhorrence of personal contact with them as the natural feeling of any man who holds his corporeal frame (as the Hindus do) to be the image of God.

1. The Mahârs or Dheḍs are the most important caste of Parwâris. Whether they are the aborigines of the country or not, there does not seem to be any way of deciding; but it seems to me that the term Mahârâshṭra, generally translated "country of the Marâṭhâs," is at least as likely to mean "country of the Mahârs;" and I throw this out for more learned Sanskritists to decide upon. However, they are very important people in it now, nor must it be supposed that their position, though socially low, is without its rights and dignities. The Mahâr, like Audrey, "thanks the gods that he is foul," for thereby he earns his bread. No other Hindu will touch carrion; wherefore he not only carries off the carcasses of deceased cattle and horses, but picks their flesh to the bones which he then throws out to the scarce less dainty dogs and vultures. The skins he converts into ropes, or sells to the curriers; and the horns are bought up by agents travelling for certain firms in Bombay, who ship them to Europe. In the bad year of 1871-72 the Mahâr alone had a full crop; for the cattle of Khândesh and the Northern Dekhan died by thousands, of thirst, starvation, and disease, and the single station of Nândgâṁ despatched 60,000 hides, and bundles of horns innumerable. The Mahâr is the guardian of village boundaries, an office to which his special perquisites make him very attentive. These depending upon the extent of his village, he is necessarily anxious to make it out as big as he can; but at this point he is met by his neighbour Mahâr of the next village, upon similar thoughts intent, and if the two sets of Mahârs can agree about a village boundary, it is seldom that the other villagers will dispute their decision; but if they differ, they will probably have resort to the stout bamboos which they carry in their capacity of watchmen, and, as likely as not, the whole village on each side will join in. Once or twice I have known the officers of the Revenue Survey forced to take strong measures for their own protection, when their decision upon disputed limits was unpopular. In the village of Pimpalwâḍi, Tâluka Junnar, Zillâ Puṇâ, the settlement of a certain boundary gave great offence to the Mahârs, who therefore uprooted at night the stones erected by the Revenue Survey, and defiled the places in such wise that scarce any native of India could be expected to lend a hand in their re-erection. Moreover, when I went to inspect the scene, both parties were rather turbulent, and it was necessary to proceed cunningly. So I got the Mahârs' goddess whom they worshipped, and about a dozen of their fathers' gravestones, the disturbing of which had been the original cause of the war, and set them up upon the boundary I fixed; and I believe they are there to this day. The Mahâr, as I have mentioned, is not only

the guardian of boundaries, but also of the public peace and health, as watchman and scavenger; of communications, for he should guide travellers and make petty road repairs; and of the public treasure and correspondence, for it is his duty to carry the revenue to the treasury, and convey all messages on account of Government. It will be seen that he has no sinecure, when it is added that in no district does he get more for all this than a little *inâm* land and a few rupees cash allowance; and that in Eastern Puṇâ and Śolâpûr he gets nothing at all but the contributions in kind of the villagers, which the revenue officers are not allowed to enforce except by "personal influence" (that is, pressure of *paṭṭâwâllâs*), it is obvious that he is not one of "the Queen's bad bargains." These duties belong to the Mahâr as *yeskar*, or village watchman, with the name of which office that of Mahâr is generally considered synonymous. But the *Tarâl* or gate-ward, an officer found in a good many villages, is generally also a Mahâr by caste. The term Dheḍ is simply Hindustanî for a Mahâr, and is found as we go northward. The Mahârs take service as horse-keepers, in which capacity their hardiness and natural talent for topography make them useful; also as domestic servants (the Sûrat servants, so well known in Bombay, are Gujarâtî Dheḍs), and in native infantry regiments, where they sometimes come to commissions—an arrangement, I suspect, not very favourable to discipline. But for district police and peons they are useless, having no moral influence—that is, no man of caste will submit to be bullied by them. They do not often learn to read and write, because the children of caste generally rather leave a school than sit in the class with them; and at some messes and private houses it is not thought "good form" to bring a Mahâr servant to wait at table. These prejudices, which seem at first sight unreasonable, are, as I have said, justified by the personal habits of a race who will dispute a rotten buffalo with the kite and jackal, and whose favourite method of indicating their displeasure with any thing or body is that by which the Yahoos dislodged Gulliver from his post of vantage by the tree.

2. The Mâṅgs are a tribe who a good deal resemble the Mahârs in personal habits, but are seldom public servants, except in a capacity to be mentioned hereafter. Colonel Taylor, in "*Tara*," has confounded them, in a manner to me unaccountable, with Râmosîs, whom they resemble in no other respect than in being great thieves. But the Mâṅg thief is a mere prowler and pilferer; whereas the Râmosî excels in robbery "considered as one of the fine arts,"—the "*Daroda*," or house-breaking by night with arms and torches. The Mâṅgs are supposed by courtesy to live by making ropes, and it is the privilege of their race to apply their own stock-in-trade to practical use when anybody has to be hanged. It is said that the proudest moment of a Mâṅg's life is when he hangs a Mahâr, for between these two castes exists a bitter jealousy as to precedence! They are great keepers of pigs, and have a method of cookery which reminds one a little of Charles Lamb's account of the discovery of roast pork among the Chinese. A hole is dug in the ground and a good fire lighted till it is full of glowing embers. Four good tent-pegs are then driven in around it, the selected porker is spread-eagled thereto, and, without further preparation, then and there roasted alive, while his squeals serve as grace before meat to the expectant Mâṅgs.

They are also owners of donkeys which carry loads of building materials; and they are sometimes scavengers.

3. The Bhaṅgîs, Mehters, or sweepers, are of two divisions, Hindu and Muhammadan. It should be premised that the Mahârs and Mâṅgs, though not otherwise particular, will not remove night-soil, so that this trade is the monopoly of the Bhaṅgîs; and in these days of sanitation they make a very good thing of it, and no class of labourers in the country gets so well paid for the amount of work done. The men often combine with their hereditary occupation, that of a *kuttrâwâllâ*, or dog-boy, and the women are often prostitutes and procuresses. It is to be noted of the Bhaṅgîs that they have also their point of honour, and nothing will induce them to scavenge a Mahârwâḍâ, or Mahârs' quarter. All the Parwârîs are obliged to find barbers of their own castes, as the Nahâvîs, like their fellow-tradesman chronicled by the late Mr Dickens, "must draw the line somewhere," and they draw it at Marâṭhâs. The Mahârs generally have a little

land; the Mângs and Bhangis less frequently; but both the former tribes are often employed by other cultivators as labourers. There are a good many other castes whom a Hindu would consider Parwârîs, but in my classification they will come under the head of wandering tribes. The Ghaḍaśîs, Chambhârs, and Ḍhôrs, as mentioned under the head of *Sankarjâtya*, are sometimes allowed to live inside villages, and so get the benefit of the doubt.

THE VEDA IN INDIA.

BY PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

Every Brahmanic family is devoted to the study of a particular Veda, or a particular *śâkhâ* of a Veda; and the domestic rites of the family are performed according to the ritual prescribed in the *sûtra* connected with that Veda. The study consists in getting by heart the books forming the particular Veda. In Northern India, where the predominant Veda is the *White Yajush*, and the *śâkhâ Mâdhyandina*, this study has almost died out, except at Banâras, where Brahmanic families from all parts of India are settled. It prevails to some extent in Gujarât, but to a much greater extent in the Marâṭhâ Country, and in Tailangana there is a large number of Brâhmaṇs who still devote their life to this study. Numbers of these go about to all parts of the country in search of *dakshinâ*, and all well-to-do natives patronize them according to their means, by getting them to repeat portions of their Veda, which is mostly the *Black Yajush*, with *Âpastamba* for their *sûtra*. Hardly a week passes here in Bombay in which no Tailanga Brâhmaṇ comes to me to ask for *dakshinâ*. On each occasion I get the men to repeat what they have learned, and compare it with the printed texts in my possession. With reference to their occupation, Brâhmaṇs of each Veda are generally divided into two classes, Gṛihasthas and Bhikshukas. The former devote themselves to a worldly avocation, while the latter spend their time in the study of their sacred books and the practice of their religious rites. Both these classes have to repeat the *Sandhyâ-Vandana* or twilight prayers, the forms of which are somewhat different for the different Vedas. But the repetition of the Gâyatrî-mantra *Tat Savitur vareṇyam*, &c., five, ten, twenty-eight, or a hundred and eight times, which forms the principal portion of the ceremony, is common to all. The *Sandhyâ-Vandana* is performed early in the morning and at sunset by a few pious Brâhmaṇs, but the rest do it a little before the morning and evening meals, *i. e.* from 10 A.M. to 12 noon, and at about 8 P.M. Besides this, a great many perform daily what is called *Brahma-yajna*, which is incumbent on all on certain occasions. This for the Ṛigvedis consists of the first hymn of the first *maṇḍala*, and the opening sentences of the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, the five parts of the *Aitareya Âraṇyaka*, the *Yajus-sanhitâ*, the *Sâma-sanhitâ*, the *Atharva-sanhitâ*, *Âśvalâyana Kalpa Sûtra*, *Nirukta*, *Chhandas*, *Nighanṭu*, *Jyotish*, *Śikshâ*, Pâṇini's *Grammar*, *Yâjñavalkya Smṛiti*, *Mahâbhârata*, and the *Sûtras* of Kaṇâda, Jaimini, and Bâdarâyaṇa.* Such Bhikshukas as have

* Âśvalâyana enjoins the *Brahma-yajna* in the following *sûtra* :—अथ स्वाध्यायमधीयीतर्चो यजूंषि सामान्यथर्वाङ्गिरसो ब्राह्मणानि कल्पान्गाथा नाराशंसीरितिहासपुराणानीति[1]. Upon this is based the following, as repeated by the *Ṛigvedi Brâhmaṇs* in these days :—1. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं &c. up to सचस्वा नः स्वस्तये। (*Rig.* 1. 1); 2. अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः। (*Ait. Brâh.* 1. 1); 3. अथ महाव्रतम्। (*Ait.* 1st *Âraṇ.*); 4. एष पन्था एतत्कर्म। (*Ait.* 2nd *Âraṇ.*); 5. अथातः संहिताया उपनिषत्। (*Ait.* 3rd *Âraṇ.*); 6. विदामघवन्विदा। (*Ait.* 4th *Âraṇ.*); 7. महाव्रतस्य पञ्चविंशतिं सामिधेन्यः। (*Ait.* 5th *Âraṇ.*); 8. इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा। (*Yajurveda Sanhitâ*); 9. अग्न आयाहि वीतये। (*Sâmaveda Sanh.*); 10. शं नो देवीरभीष्टये। (*Athar. Sanh.*); 11. अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य (*Âśv. Kalp. S.*); 12. समाम्नायः समाम्नातः। (*Nirukta*); 13. मयरसतजभनलगसंमितम्। (*Chhandas*); 14. गौः। ग्मा। (*Nighanṭu*); 15. पञ्चसंवत्सरमयम्। (*Jyotish*); 16. अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि। (*Śikshâ*); 17. वृद्धिरादैच्। (*Pâṇini*); 18. योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यम्। (*Yâjn. Smṛiti*); 19. नारायणं नमस्कृत्य (*Mahâbhârata*); 20. अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः (*Kaṇâda Sûtra*); 21. अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा (*Jaimini Mîmânsa*); 22. अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा (*Bâdarâyaṇa-Vedânta-Sûtra*) तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः। ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजं शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे। ॐ नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो अस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधिभ्यः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे महते करोमि।. It would be hazardous to affirm that our *Brahma-yajna*, as recited in these days, was settled in Âśvalâyana's time, but it is evidently based upon his *sûtra* quoted above. No. 1 corresponds to his ऋचः, Nos. 2-7 to ब्राह्मणानि, No. 8 to his यजूंषि, No. 9 to

studied the whole Veda repeat more than the first hymn, and a *khanda* or more of the *Brâhmana*, thus following the precept of Âśvalâyana: *sa yâvan manyeta tâvadadhîtya*, "having recited so much as he wishes." The *Brahma-yajna* of the followers of the other Vedas consists of the first sections of their *Sanhitâs* and *Brâhmanas*, and the opening sentences or verses of the other Vedas. The *Vedângas* and the other works are dispensed with.

The Vedic learning of the Grihasthas extends generally thus far only, but that of the Bhikshukas goes further. Some of these latter are what are called Yâjnikas. They follow a priestly occupation, and are skilled in the performance of the sacred rites. They study the manuals of domestic rites based on the several *Grihya Sûtras*. The manual used by and for the Rigvedi followers of *Âśvalâyana* is one composed by Nârâyanabhatta and known by the name of *Nârâyanabhaṭṭî*. The Hiranyakeshî Yajurvedîs use the *Maheśvara-bhaṭṭî*, composed by Maheśvara-bhaṭṭa, and the manual followed by the Âpastambas is the work of one Chandrachûḍa, while a book of the name of *Prayoga-Darpana* is used by the Mâdhyandinas. There are a few other works of this nature which are occasionally referred to, but the usual practice of the rites is based on these. But a more important class of Bhikshukas are the Vaidikas, some of whom are Yâjnikas as well. Learning the Vedas by heart and repeating them in a manner never to make a single mistake, even in the accents, is the occupation of their life. The best Rigvedi Vaidika knows by heart the *sanhitâ*, *pada*, *krama*, *jaṭâ*, and *ghana* of the hymns or *mantra* portion of the Veda, and the *Aitareya Brâhmana* and *Âranyaka*, the *Kalpa* and *Grihya Sûtra* of Âśvalâyana, the *Nighanṭu*, *Nirukta*, *Chhandas*, *Jyotish*, and *Śikshâ*, and Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyayî on Grammar*. A Vaidika is thus a living Vedic library. The *Sanhitâ* and *Pada* our readers will understand; *Krama*, *Jaṭâ*, and *Ghana* are different arrangements of the words in the *mantras*. All these I show below by an example:—

Sanhitâ.

इदं विष्णुर्विचंक्रमे त्रेधा निदंधे पदम्। समूंळ्हमस्य पांसुरे॥

Padas.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
इदम्। विष्णुंः। वि। चक्रमे। त्रेधा। नि। दधे। पदम्। स-
10 11
मूंळ्हम्। अस्य। पांसुरे।

Krama.

1 2 2 3 3 4 4 5 5 6
इदं विष्णुंः। विष्णुर्वि। वि चंक्रमे। चक्रमे त्रेधा। त्रेधा नि।
6 7 7 8 8 9 10 9
नि दंधे। दधे पदम्। पदमितिं पदम्॥ समूंळ्हमस्य। समूं-
10 11 11
ळ्हमिति सम्ऽऊंळ्हम्। अस्य पांसुरे। पांसुर इतिं पांसुरे॥

Jaṭâ.

1 2 2 1 1 2 2 3 3 2 2 3
इदं विष्णुर्विष्णुंरिदमिदं विष्णुंः। विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि।
3 4 4 3 3 4 4 5 5 4 4
वि चंक्रमे चक्रमे वि वि चंक्रमे। चक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चंक्रमे चक्र-
5 5 6 6 5 5 6 6 7 7 6
मे त्रेधा। त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि। नि दंधे दधे नि
6 7 7 8 8 7 7 8 8
नि दंधे। दधे पदं पदं दंधे दधे पदम्। पदमितिं पदम्।
9 10 10 9 9 10 9
समूंळ्हमस्यास्य समूंळ्हं समूंळ्हमस्य। समूंळ्हमिति
10 11 11 10 10 11
सम्ऽऊंळ्हम्। अस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेस्यास्य पांसुरे।
11
पांसुर इतिं पांसुरे॥

Ghana.

1 2 2 1 1 2 3 3 2 1 1 2 3
इदं विष्णुर्विष्णुंरिदमिदं विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुंरिदमिदं विष्णुर्वि।
2 3 3 2 2 3 4 4 3 2 2 3
विष्णुर्वि वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि चंक्रमे चक्रमे वि विष्णुर्विष्णुर्वि चं-
4 3 4 4 3 3 4 5 5 4
क्रमे। वि चंक्रमे चक्रमे वि वि चंक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चंक्रमे
3 3 4 5 4 5 5 4
वि वि चंक्रमे त्रेधा। चक्रमे त्रेधा त्रेधा चंक्रमे
4 5 6 6 5 4 4 5 6
चक्रमे त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा चंक्रमे चक्रमे त्रेधा नि।
5 6 6 5 5 6 7 7 6 5 5 6 7
त्रेधा नि नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि दंधे दधे नि त्रेधा त्रेधा नि दंधे।

सामानि, No. 10 to अथर्वाङ्गिरसः, No. 11, and perhaps the *Vedângas* from 12 to 17, to कल्पान्, and the rest to गाथा नाराशंसीरितिहासपुराणानि. Of these latter the quotation from the *Mahâbhârata* No. 19 corresponds remarkably to Âśvalâyana's इतिहास, and there is no reason to think this did not form part of the *Brahma-yajna* repeated in his time.

6 7 7 6 6 7 8 8 7 6 6 7 8
नि दधे दधे नि नि दधे पदं पदं दधे नि नि दधे पदम् ।
7 8 8 7 7 8 8 9
दधे पदं पदं दधे दधे पदम् । पदमिति पदम् । समूळ्ह-
10 10 9 9 10 11 11 10 9
मस्यास्य समूळ्हं समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेऽस्य स-
9 10 11 9
मूळ्हं समूळ्हमस्य पांसुरे । समूळ्हमिति सम्ऽऊळ्हम् ।
10 11 11 10 10 11 11
अस्य पांसुरे पांसुरेऽस्यास्य पांसुरे । पांसुर इति पांसुरे ।

Padas are the different words of a *mantra* repeated separately. *Sanhitá* consists in putting them together according to the Sandhi rules and using the Sandhi accents. In *Krama* the first word is repeated along with the second, the second with the third, the third with the fourth, and so on, as shown in the above scheme. The last word of a *mantra* or a half of a Ṛik verse is simply repeated with the word *iti* placed between. This repetition is called *veshṭana.* In the *Jaṭá* arrangement, the first word and the second, the second and the first, and the first and the second again, are repeated together, joined by the Sandhi rules and having Sandhi accents. In the same manner, the second and the third, the third and the second, and the second and the third are put together, and thus it goes on, each word in succession beginning a new *Jaṭá* arrangement, up to the end of a half-Ṛik or of a *mantra*, when the last word is simply repeated, as in the *Krama*. In the *Ghana* there is first a *jaṭá* arrangement of two successive words, and then the third is added on, then the three are put together in the reverse order, and again in the converse. A *Ghana* is thus composed of the first and the second; the second and the first; the first and the second again, then the third; the third, the second, and the first; and the first, the second, and the third. The second word begins the next *Ghana*, and we have the second, third; third, second; second, third, fourth; fourth, third, second; second, third, and fourth, put together. In this manner it goes on to the last word, which cannot begin a new *Ghana*, and is therefore simply repeated, as in the other cases. Whenever there is a compound, there is in addition what is called an *avagraha*, *i.e.* a dissolution of it into its parts, in all these schemes, as in the case of *samúḷham* in the above. It ought by no means to be supposed that to one who has got up the *Padas* these other arrangements are easy, since the Sandhi changes and accents are different in each scheme; and in reciting, the horizontal and vertical (*anudáttatara* and *svarita*) accents, as also the one compounded of these two, are distinctly shown by certain modulations of the voice. The Ṛigvedis do this in a way different from that followed by the Taittirîyas, or followers of the *Black Yajush*, while the Mâdhyandinas indicate the accents by means of certain movements of the right hand. The Kânvas, however, differ from these latter, and follow the Ṛigvedis, as do the Atharvavedis also.

In this manner the Vaidikas learn to recite the *mantra* portion of their Veda. The Brâhmaṇas and other works are learnt and repeated simply as we find them in manuscripts, *i. e.* in the Sanhitâ way. The quantity that the Ṛigvedis have to get up is so large that a person who has carried his studies up to *Ghana* is very rarely to be met with, and generally the Vaidikas of that Veda get up only the *Sanhitá*, *Padas*, and *Krama* of the *mantra* portion, in addition to the *Bráhmaṇa* and the other works enumerated above. Amongst the Taittirîyas, however, a great many Vaidikas go up to the *Ghana* of the *mantra* portion of their Veda, since they have to get up only their *Bráhmaṇa* and *Áraṇyaka* in addition. Some learn the *Taittiríya Prátiśákhya* also; but the Vedângas, including the *Kalpa* and *Gṛihya Sútras*, are not attended to by that class, nor indeed by any except the Ṛigvedis. The Mâdhyandinas get up the *Sanhitá*, *Pada*, *Krama*, *Jaṭá*, and *Ghana* of their *mantra* portion; but their studies generally stop there; and there is hardly one to be found who knows the whole *Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa* by heart, though several get up portions of it. There are very few Atharvavedis in the Bombay Presidency, a few families residing at Mâhuli, near Sâtâra, and some more in Revakâṇṭa (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 129). Last year, two Vaidikas of this Veda, very probably from the latter district, came up to me for *dakshiṇá*. I took a copy of the German edition in my hand and examined them, but they did not seem to know their *Sanhitá* well. The triumph of a Vaidika consists in repeating his Veda fluently, in all the ways above detailed, without a single mistake in the letters or accents. The students of the *Sáma-veda* have their own innumerable modes of

singing the *Sâmas*. These are now being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. The Sâmavedis get up their *Brâhmaṇas* and *Upanishads* also.

The Vaidikas support themselves generally on the gifts or *dakshinâs* of those of their countrymen who are charitably disposed. Often recital-meetings, known by the name of *mantra-jârgaras*, are held by rich Gṛihasthas in their houses, at which the principal Vaidikas in the town or village are invited. The reciters of each Veda are divided into two parties, one of which repeats a portion of a *mantra* in one or more of the several schemes, and the other party takes up the next: and is then followed by the first again. Each of them is silent while the other is repeating. In this manner they go on till the time for breaking up arrives. The reciters are provided with milk and other refreshments, and at the end, a money-*dakshinâ* is given to them by the host, according to his means. It is always a point of honour, at these meetings, who should recite first. By general consent, however, the first place is given to the Ṛigvedis; and after they have repeated their *mantras* the Yajurvedis begin. But, since there are two classes of Yajurvedis, the followers of the *Black* Veda and of the *White*, this second place is the subject of contention between them. And sometimes the quarrel waxes so warm that it is often considered the safest course for the convener of the meeting, in order that his house may not be a scene of tumult, to invite members of only one of these. The third place is assigned to the Sâmavedis.

The Veda-reciters are patronized by native princes also; and the most liberal of these are the Gaikavâḍ and the Râja of Travankor, whose praises are sung by the wandering Tailanga Vaidika. The former has got a regular board of examiners, by whom every candidate that comes up from any part of India is examined and recommended for *dakshinâ* according to his deserts. But, with all these sources of income, the Vaidika is hardly in easy circumstances. Hence the class is gradually dying out, and the sons of the best Vaidikas in Puṇâ or the Koṅkan now attend Government English schools—a result not to be much deplored.

Though the time and energy wasted in transmitting the Vedas in this manner, from the times of Kâtyâyana and other ancient editors of the Vedas, has been immense, we should not forget that this class of Vaidikas has rendered one important service to philology. I think the purity of our Vedic texts is to be wholly attributed to this system of getting them up by heart, and to the great importance attached by the reciters to perfect accuracy, even to a syllable or an accent.

There is another class of Vedic students called Śrotriyas, or popularly Śrautîs, which must not be omitted here. These are acquainted with the art of performing the great sacrifices. They are generally good Vaidikas, and in addition study the *Kalpa Sûtras* and the *Prayogas*, or manuals. Their number is very limited. Here and there one meets with Agnihotrîs, who maintain the three sacrificial fires and perform the fortnightly *Ishṭis* (sacrifices) and the *Châturmâsyas* (particular kinds of sacrifice). The grander Soma sacrifices are now and then brought forward, but they are, as a matter of course, very unfrequent. There was one in the Koṅkan at a village called Golapa, near Ratnâgiri, in May 1868, at which I was present, and another at Puṇâ last year. The young Chief of Kûlâba has made preparations to institute at Âlibâg, at the end of this month (April), a sacrifice which is to be a compound of the species called *Âptoryama* and of a ceremony known by the name of *Chavana*; that is, the ceremony of constructing the *Kuṇḍa* or altar in a peculiar shape. This will occupy the first twelve days, and the whole will last for about twenty days.

TONSURE OF HINDU WIDOWS.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR, BANGALUR.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the shaving of the heads of widows universally prevails among all the superior castes of Hindus. Young and old, beautiful and ugly, are alike amenable to the hateful rite. Here and there, young girls just entering upon their widowhood may be seen with their hair temporarily unshaved; but such cases are few and far between. Among

some classes, like the 'Komaṭîs,' or Vaiśyâs of Southern India, widows are allowed to wear jewels; but their tonsure is a *sine quâ non* of their very existence! Volumes have been written regarding the unhappy condition of a large section of our females. Rapid strides have been made by the Hindus all over India in civilization and religious freedom; but their material and moral progress is devoid of any beneficial fruit so far as their unhappy widows are concerned. There are individual pioneers, who would, in spite of all the world, introduce the remarriage of widows, and otherwise ameliorate their condition. But such solitary reformers have never hitherto enlisted the sympathy of their countrymen.

Under these circumstances it would be highly interesting to inquire into the condition of the widows of a certain high-caste sect in Southern India, who alone enjoy a happy immunity from the hands of the barber. The Brâhmaṇ followers of the great religious teacher, Râmânujâchârya, who flourished between 900 and 1000 years ago, are called Śrî Vaishṇavas, and are divided into two principal sects, known respectively as the Tengalê and Vadaghalê. Like the Muhammadan Shiyâs and Sunnîs, these sectaries are very often irreconcileable in point of doctrine and ritual. They however intermarry and otherwise freely mix with each other. Their facial sectarian marks or *tilakas* are respectively Ⲯ and Ⲯ.* Their Śûdra followers are also distinguished by the same marks and peculiarities.

The chief points of difference between the two sects are these. The Tengalê schismatics deny to Lakshmi, the consort of Vishṇu, any participation in creation, and reduce her to the position of a creature; omit to ring the bell when worshipping their idols; salute each other and their gods only once; make use of highly abstruse Tamil verses in room of Sanskrit *mantras* and prayers; modify the śrâddha ceremony materially, *and do not shave their widows*. They hold, moreover, that once to give up one's self to God and to invoke his salvation is enough to secure it.

The principal texts † cited by the Tengalê SrîVaishṇavas in support of the immunity of their widows from the rite of tonsure are the following:—

I. Muṇḍanam Madhuparkam cha.
Tâmbûlam kusumâdikam.
Maitthunam purushâṇâm cha
Bhâshanam bhûshaṇâdikam.
Bhartṛihîna cha yâ nârî
Hyâpadyapi Vivarjayêt.

Śâṇḍilyah.

Widows should avoid, even when in affliction and danger, shaving, eating of sweets, betel-nut, flowers, sexual intercourse, conversation with men, and jewels.

II. Janmarômaṇi yâ nârî,
Kshaurakarma samâcharêt,
Kanyâ vâ vidhavâ vâpi
Rauravam narakam vrajêt.
Bhartur mritau tu bhâryâ cha
Prakuryâd vapanam vinâ
Dâhâdi piṇḍaparyantam
Prêtakâryam yaṭthâvidhi.
Yêshu kêshu cha kâryêshu
Na strî kshauram samâcharêt.

Śambhuh.

A woman, whether unmarried or widowed, who shaves her hair, will go to the hell called Rauravam. When the husband dies, the widow should perform his due obsequies without shaving. She should never shave on any occasion, or for any purpose whatever.

III. Kanyâ vâ vidhavâ vâpi
Vapanam cha samâcharêt
Kalpa-kôṭi-sahasrâṇi
Rauravam narakam vrajêt.
Bhartṛihîna tu yâ nârî
Môhâd vapanamâcharêt
Kuladvayê pitṛiṇâm tu
Vaktrê rômâṇi vâsyati.
Bhartṛihîna tu yâ nârî
Muṇḍayitvâ samâcharêt
Śrauta smârtâdi karmâṇi
Chânḍâlîm yônimâpnuyât.

Manuh.

If any woman, whether unmarried or widowed, shave (her head), she will dwell in the hell called Rauravam for one thousand *karors* of *kalpâs*. If a widow shave (her head) by ignorance, she will cause hair to grow in the mouths of her ancestors' ghosts on both sides. If she perform any ceremonies inculcated by the *Śrutis* and *Smṛitis* with her head shaved, she will be born a Chanḍâlî.

* See pp. 125-6.

† See *Indu Prakâsh* for 19th May 1873.

IV. Mumukshuh patinâ hinâ,
Yâ nârî kêśa dhâriṇî.
Tasyâs taddhâraṇe bramhan
Doshô nâstîti mê matih.
Prapannâ bhartṛihînâ tu
Gurûṇâmupadêśatah
Na dhârayati yâ kêśân
Yâti sâ narakam dhruvam.
Na kâryam keśavapanam
Vaishṇavyâ bhartṛihînayâ
Yadyajnânât karotyêshâ
Tanmukham nâvalôkayêt.

Vridd'ha Manuh in Khagêśvara Saṁhitâ.

There is no sin in a devout widow, whose object is eternal salvation, wearing her hair. If she should shave she will assuredly go to hell. A Vaishṇava widow should never shave her head. If she do so through ignorance, her face should not be looked at.

V. Sakachcham varṇinam bhikshum
Vikachcham gṛihamêdhinam.
Vikêśîm vidhavâm dṛishṭvâ
Savâsâ jalamâviśêt.

Ananta Saṁhitâ.

If any one observe a Bramhachàri beggar with his *kachchê;* a householder without it; and a widow without hair on her head, he should at once plunge into water with his clothes [*i. e.* must perform ablutions for purification].

VI. Strîṇâm tu bhartṛihînânâm
Vaishṇavînâm vasundharê
Yâvachcharîrapâtam hi.
Praśastam kê śadhâraṇam.

Hayagrîva Saṁhitâ.

It is considered highly meritorious for Vaishṇava widows to wear their hair, as long as they remain in this world.

These are the most important authorities on which the Tengalê Va'ishṇavas depend in support of the immunity of their widows from shaving. There are others to the same effect, which are, however, omitted here. It must be observed, at the same time, that, excepting in the single matter of tonsure, the condition of these Tengalê widows is in no way better than that of their unfortunate sisters of other sects.

"PAṆCHÂNGA," OR INDIAN ALMANAC.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

The Indian Almanac derives its name, Panchânga (*panch* five, *ânga* divisions), from its giving the time of commencement and duration of five important things—1*st*, Vâra, the solar day; 2*nd*, Tithi, the lunar day; 3*rd*, Nakshatra, the constellation for the day; 4*th*, Yoga; 5*th*, Karaṇâ.

For the performance of the many ceremonies which his religion enjoins, it is necessary for a Hindu to examine one and all of these five essentials, to determine whether the time is propitious or not. So complicated are the details that to the masses the Panchânga is a sealed book. A few of the better-read have a slight knowledge of what it all means; but the interpreting the proper times and seasons is the duty of a class of men who have studied the subject, and are called "Jyotiśaru (*Jotiśis*)." The more difficult task of calculating the length of the day, the duration of the Tithi, the proper Yoga, and the right Nakshatra for any one day, is the work of a chosen few who have made astrology a special study. Two schools exist. The Almanacs used in Madras follow the Vâkya; those in Maisur the Siddhânta.

Before giving an example from the almanac, it would be as well to explain what the five Ângas are.

First, Vara, the solar day, is reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, and derives its name from some one of the seven principal planets to which it is more especially consecrated.

Aditya vâra ......the Sun...... Sunday.
Soma vâra ....the Moon . .Monday.
Mangala vâra ...Mars.........Tuesday.
Budha vâra.........Mercury ...Wednesday.
Guru vâra ....Jupiter......Thursday.
Śukra vâra ....Venus ......Friday.
Sani vâra............Saturn......Saturday.

For astrological purposes, each day is divided into 24 *horâs.* So that a *horâ* is equal to an English hour. Each *horâ* of the day is ruled by one of the planets in turn, and the order in which they follow each other is so regulated that the first *horâ* of a day sacred to any one planet falls to the charge of that special planet.

The order is as follows :—

1*st*, Sun; 2*nd*, Venus; 3*rd*, Mercury; 4*th*, Moon; 5*th*, Saturn; 6*th*, Jupiter; 7*th*, Mars.

The 25th hour from Sunday will be the 1st hour of Monday, and is 3 times 7 *plus* 4. The 4th is the Moon. So again the 25th hour from Monday will be the 1st hour of Tuesday. Commencing with the Moon, it will be found that the 25th hour falls to its proper planet, Mars, and so on for the other days of the week.*

In the Almanac it will be found that the vâra, as is the tithi, is divided into 60 *ghaliges* (*ghatikas*), each *ghalige* being subdivided into 60 *vighaliges* (*vighatikas*). The duration of the vâra is always expressed in *ghaliges* and *vighaliges*. Every two or three days after "Ahâ" we find certain figures. These denote the day-time, *i.e.* give the time that the Sun is above the horizon. Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday are, as a rule, considered unlucky days, Sunday being not quite so bad as the other two. The remaining four are generally lucky; but Wednesday, when Mercury is in the same constellation with either Mars or Saturn, is unlucky.

2*nd*.—Tithi is the lunar day, and does not necessarily correspond in time with the Vâra. We may have 3 tithis, *i.e.* the end of one, the whole of the second, and the beginning of the third, in one vâra, when it is called "*âvamâ;*" or one tithi, called "*triduspok*," may be found in 3 vâras. The length of a tithi varies from a maximum of 66 *ghaliges* to a minimum of 54, and is "one-thirtieth part of the Moon's synodical month or relative period, and varies in length according to the inequality of the Moon's motion from the Sun."

Although we have 30 lunar days, yet we have names for 16 tithis only; because, the month being divided into two fortnights, 14 of the names are common to both fortnights. From new-moon till full-moon is called the bright (*Śudhâ*) fortnight, because the light goes on increasing. From full-moon to new-moon is called the dark (*Vadya* or *Krishṇa*) fortnight, because the light decreases.

The following is said to be the Purânic account of the reason for the moon's increase and decrease. Once upon a time, the moon, when on his (with the Hindus the moon is masculine) way through the 27 Nakshatras into which his course is divided, stayed for a longer time with Rohiṇî than he ought to have done; her sisters—the Nakshatras are supposed to be the daughters of Daksha—irate, appealed to their father, who cursed the moon and doomed him to waste away. This was too much for the Ṛishis and gods. The Nakshatras also, when they saw their lord and master becoming small by degrees and beautifully less, repented. All agreed to ask Daksha to revoke his curse. This he said was impossible, but he relented so far as to allow the moon, alternately for fifteen days at a time, to increase and decrease.

The names of the tithis, and the gods to whom they are more especially sacred, are as follows:—

Bright fortnight.

	Amâvasyâ (New Moon)	9-10,	Pitṛi(*galu*).
1.	Padyamî *or* Prathamâ	11-1,	Agnî.
2.	Bidige *or* Dvitîyâ	2-3,	Brahma.
3.	Tadige *or* Tritîyâ	4-5,	Pârvatî.
4.	Chauti *or* Chaturthî	6-7,	Vighneśvara.
5.	Panchamî	1-2,	Âdiśesha.
6.	Śastigi *or* Śashṭhi	3-4,	Kumâr Svâmi.
7.	Saptimigi *or* Saptamî	5-6,	Sûrya.
8.	Astimigi *or* Aśtamî	7-1,	Śiva.
9.	Navamî	2-3,	The 8 Vasûs.
10.	Daśamî	4-5,	The 8 Elephants.
11.	Ekadaśî	6-7,	Yama.
12.	Dvadaśî	1-2,	Vishṇu.
13.	Trayodaśî	3-4,	Manmatha.
14.	Chaturdaśî	5-6.	Kâli.

Dark fortnight.

	Purnima (Full Moon)	7-1,	Chandra.
1.	Padyamî *or* Prathama	2-3,	(*Same gods as bright fortnight.*)
2.	Bidige *or* Dvitîyâ	4-5,	
3.	Tadige *or* Tritîyâ	6-7,	
4.	Chauti *or* Chaturthî	1-2,	
5.	Panchamî	3-4,	
6.	Śastagî *or* Śashṭhî	5-6,	
7.	Saptamigi *or* Saptamî	7-1,	
8.	Aśtimigi *or* Aśtamî	2-3,	
9.	Navamî	4-5,	
10.	Daśamî	6-7,	
11.	Ekâdaśî	1-2,	
12.	Dvadaśî	3-4,	
13.	Trayodâsî	5-6,	
14.	Chaturdaśî	7-8,	

The figures opposite each tithi show the proper Karaṇâs for such. It will be observed that the names of the tithis for the dark and bright fortnight are the same, yet the Karaṇâs differ.

* See *ante*, p. 22.

These fifteen days are divided for astrological purposes into five classes, having three days in each.

Nandi contains...1st,	6th, and	11th.	Indifferent.
Bhadrâ 2nd,	7th,	12th.	Good.
Jayâ 3rd,	8th,	13th.	Do.
Riktâ 4th,	9th,	14th.	Very bad.
Purnâ. 5th,	10th,	15th.	Good.

During the Riktâ tithis no good work, such as marrying a wife, building a house, &c., can be commenced. A knowledge of the tithis is absolutely necessary. to a Hindu, for on them depends a proper performance of the funeral ceremonies to which he attaches so much importance.

3rd. Nakshatras. These are 27 in number, and are the constellations through which the moon in his monthly course passes. Great importance is attached to them in all astrological calculations. They are divided into male, female, and neuter; good, bad, and indifferent; those which look upwards, those which look downwards, and those which look straight forward. Each nakshatra is divided into four parts called *pada*, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakshatras equal a *raśi* or sign of the zodiac.

They succeed each other throughout the month in the following order, and are each sacred to a particular god:—

1. Aśvinî, whose god is Aśvinî Devatra.
2. Bharanî *or* Antakam...Yama.
3. Krittikâ *or* Agneyâ ...Agni.
4. Rohinî *or* Brahmam ...Brahma.
5. Mrigaśiras ....Moon.
6. Ârdrâ *or* Raudrâ ......Śiva.
7. Punarvasu ....Aditi.
8. Puśiya *or* Tiśiya.........Jupiter.
9. Aślesha *or* Sarpam......Serpents.
10. Maghâ *or* Pitriyam......Pitrigalu.
11. Pûrvâ Phalgunî.........Aryamâ.
12. Uttarâ do. ....Bhaga.
13. Hastâ *or* Arkabha ......Sun.
14. Chaitrâ ....Indra.
15. Svâtî ....Vâyu.
16. Vaiśakhâ..................Indra-Agnî.
17. Anurâdhâ ....Mitra.
18. Jyeshthâ ....Indra.
19. Mûla *or* Nerîtî ....Râkśas.
20. Pûrvâ Shadhâ.............Udaka (Water).
21. Uttarâ do. ....Vishve Devatagalu.
22. Śravana ....Vishnu.
23. Dhanishtha *or* Śravishtha.The 8 Vasus.
24. Sâtabhiśa *or* Satataraka .Varuna.
25. Pûrvâ Bhâdrapada ......Ajâchurana.
26. Uttarâ do. ....Ahirbudhnya.
27. Revatî *or* Pûshna ....Pûshâ.

In every Nakshatra there is a time called *tyâjyayoga*, which lasts for $3\frac{3}{4}$ or 4 *ghaliges* (there is a dispute as to the actual length), and while it lasts nothing can be done, no work commenced. The *tyâjyayoga* comes sometimes by day, sometimes by night. The hour of its commencement is always given in the almanac.

4th. Yogas.—These are 27 in number, and, like the nakshatras, follow each other in regular order:—

1.	Vishkambha.	15.	Vajra.
2.	Prîti.	16.	Siddhi.
3.	Âyushmat.	17.	Vyatîpâta.
4.	Saubhâgya.	18.	Variyâna.
5.	Śobhana.	19.	Parigha.
6.	Atiganda.	20.	Śiva.
7.	Sukarman.	21.	Siddhi.
8.	Dhriti.	22.	Sâdhya.
9.	Śula.	23.	Śubha.
10.	Ganda.	24.	Shukla.
11.	Vriddhi.	25.	Brahman.
12.	Dhruva.	26.	Aindra.
13.	Vyâghâta.	27.	Vaidhriti.
14.	Harshana.		

"The yoga is nothing else than a mode of indicating the sum of the longitudes of the sun and moon. The rule for its computation, as given in the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, *Bhasvati*, and *Graha Lâghava*, directs that the longitude of the sun be added to the longitude of the moon, and the sum, reduced to minutes, is to be divided by 800 (the number of minutes in 13° 20′): the quotient exhibits the elapsed yogas, counted from Vishkambha. It is obvious, therefore, that the yogas are 27 divisions of 360° of a great circle measured on the ecliptic. But if they be represented on a circle, it must be a moveable one in the plane of the ecliptic." (Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. II. p. 364.)

A more practical way for finding the proper yoga of the day is—

Find the nakshatra in which the moon is. This is the same as that for the day. Beginning with Śravana (*the* 22*nd nakshatra*), find what the number of this nakshatra is.

(*a*.) Find the **nakshatra** in which the sun is on the same day. This will be found from the sign of the zodiac. Then, commencing with Pushya (8*th nakshatra*), find what the number of this *nakshatra* is. (β.)

Add *a* and β: the sum gives the number of the **yoga** for the day. If the result of $a + \beta$ is more than 27, subtract 27 (the total number of **yogas**), and the result gives the number of the **yoga** for the day.

The length of a **yoga** varies from a maximum of 64 *ghaliges* to a minimum of 54 *ghaliges*, and does not necessarily agree with the **tithi** of the day.

Yogas are divided into good, bad, and indifferent.

5*th*. **Karaṇâs** are eleven in number, and divided into variable and invariable.

Variable.	Invariable.
1. Bava.	8. Śakuni.
2. Bâlava.	9. Chatuspad.
3. Kaulava.	10. Nâga.
4. Taitila.	11. Kimstughna.
5. Garaje.	
6. Vanije.	
7. Vishti.	

"They answer successively to half a **tithi** or lunar day, Kimstughni being always assigned to the first half of the first **tithi**, and the variable *karaṇâs* succeeding each other regularly through eight repetitions. They are followed by the three remaining invariable *karaṇâs*, which conclude the month—*Chatuspad* and *Nâga* appertaining to Amavasya or the new moon, and *Śakuni* being appropriated to the latter half of the preceding **tithi**." (Colebrooke, *ut supra*.)

The Kanarese people reckon the months according to the **Chandramana**, *i.e.* movements of the moon, and each month derives its name from the constellation in which the moon happens to be when full-moon.

The Tamil people, on the other hand, reckon the months by the **Surya mana**, *i.e.* movements of the sun: hence the two do not agree.

In the Kanarese calendar, every third year there is an extra month called Adi Mâsa (*Adhika Mâsa*).

"Śrî Mukha" Nama Saṁvatsara Ashvayuja Mâsa.

Year Śrî Mukha, Month Aśvayuja.

1	2	3
October. 22	Paratâshi. 8	Śu ‖ Sô—Pra 45-15. Ha 60-10. Śubram 13-32. Ki 12-49. Di 21-29 ‖ Mahatridriti—praveśum 32-44—Nirgama 44-30—Jya 4 Ku 13—Dauhitri krita mahalayum—Śaran nava râtrôtsava prarambha—Kalaśa sthâpanâ, mudayade, sardha sapta guntaka mantra—Bhu 1-13. Cha 29.
23	9	Ma. Dvi 49-32. Ha 4-32. Bram 14-33—Bâ 18-23. Di 29-17 ‖ Uttara phalguni 4. Budha 16 Pritidvitîyâ—Chandrôdayum uttara śrigounnte. Bhu 1-23. Cha 30.
24	10	Bu. Tri 52-52. Chi 9-48. Ai 14-28. Tai 21-29. Di 24-48. ‖ Aha 30-4. Tulâynam 40-38. Maghâ 2. Śu 9. Stana vṛiddhi Gauri vrittam. Dagdha yoga, Bhu 1-33. Śâbân chând 1.

The above is a transliteration of 3 lines of the **Panchânga**, and gives the necessary astrological information for each of the three days selected as examples.

It will be observed that the abbreviations are nothing more than the initial letters of the *vara*, *tithi*, *nakshatra*, *yoga*, *karaṇâ*, and planets, which follow each other in regular order.

Col. 1 gives the English month and dates. I have taken the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of October.

Col. 2. The Tamil month and dates.

Col. 3. The Kanarese month, dates, and astrological data.

Taking Col. 3 for the 22nd of October—

'Śu'—Stands for **Śuda**, and means the beginning of the bright fortnight, and is the first day of the Kanarese month Aśvayuja.

'So.' Śomavâra, Monday.

'Pra. Prathama, the Sanskrit name for padyami, the first *tithi*.

45-15. 45 *ghaliges* 15 *vighaliges*, the duration of the *tithi*; counting from sunrise during Monday. This is not necessarily the full duration of the *tithi*; some portion may have elapsed during the previous day. If 45*g*. 15*v*. be deducted from 60 *ghaliges* [the full time in *ghaliges* from sunrise to sunrise of a day], the balance gives the duration of the next *tithi*. In the present case it would be 14*g*. 45*v*.

'Ha.' Hasta, 13th nakshatra.

60-10.—Duration 60 *ghaliges* 10 *vighaliges*.

'Śubram.' One of the names of 24th yoga.

13-32. For 13 *ghaliges* 32 *vighaliges*, reckoning from sunrise, this yoga rules. The rest of the day is ruled by the next yoga in order.

'Ki.' Kimstughna, the 11th karaṇâ.

12-49. Rules for 12 *ghaliges* 49 *vighaliges*.

'Di.' Divi means daytime [sometimes we find *r.* standing for *râtri*], and refers to the *tyajya* or bad time.

21-29. 21 *ghaliges* 29 *vighaliges*. After sunrise this time, during which no work can be commenced, begins and lasts for 4 *ghaliges*.

'Mahatridriti pravesum, 32-44.' Mahatridritî commences at 32*g*. 44*v*. after sunrise, and

'Nirgama 44-30'—finishes at 44*g*. 30*v*. This is supposed to be a very bad time indeed, and due to natural causes connected with the female nakshatras.

'Jye. 4.' Jyeshṭha, 18th nakshatra, 4th quarter or *pâda*.

'Ku. 13.' Kuja, one of Mars' names, 13 *ghaliges*, and means that 13 *ghaliges* after sunrise Mars moves into the 4th quarter of the 18th nakshatra.

'Dauhitri krita mahalayam.' This is the day on which the daughter's son can perform certain funeral ceremonies in honour of his ancestors.

'Śarân nava râtrôtsava prârambha. The Navarâtri (nine nights) feast commences.

'Kalaśa, śthâpana, mudayade, sardha sapta guntaka mantra.' Seven and a half hours after sunrise the "Kalaśa" may be put in its place. This is a pot full of water, which is worshipped during the feast.

'Bhu'. = Bhukti. 1-13. = 1*g*. 13*v*.

Each of the 12 signs of the zodiac has a certain number of *ghaliges* and *vighaliges* assigned to it. These vary from 4¼ to 5½ *ghaliges*, but the total number is 60 *ghaliges*. The Sun moves each day one thirtieth of the number assigned to the sign through which he is passing, so that B h u k t i would be the Sun's rate of progression. The figures after Bhu showing the Sun's position in the sign, in *ghaliges* and *vighaliges*.

'Cha.' Chandra, the Moon.

'29.' The date of the month, according to Muhammadan reckoning.

The 23rd of October is the 9th of the Tamil month Paratasî, and the 2nd of the Kanarese month Aśvayajâ.

'Ma.' Mangalavâra, Tuesday.

'Dvi.' Dvitiya, the Sanskrit for the 2nd *tithi*.

'49-32.' 49*g*. 32*v*. The last *tithi* left a balance of 14*g*. 45*v*., which, added to the duration of the 2nd *tithi* during Tuesday, gives the full duration as 64*g*. 17*v*.

'Ha.' Hasta, 14th nakshatra, only lasts

'4-32.' 4*g*. 32*v*., when it is followed by the next nakshatra in order.

'Bram.'= Brahman, 25th yoga. '14-33'= 14*g*. 33*v*., time.

'Bâ.'= Bava, 1st Karaṇâ. '18-23'=18 *ghaliges* 23 *vighaliges*, time.

'Di.'= Divi, means daytime, and refers to the "tyajya," commences 29*g*. 17*v*. after sunrise.

So far the order in which the tithi, nakshatra, yoga, karaṇâ follow each other is the same all through the Almanac, the only difference being in their names and time of duration.

'Uttaraphalgani.' The 11th nakshatra.

'4.'= *4th pada* or quarter.

'Budha.' Mercury. '16'=16 *guliges*.' That is, 16 hours after sunrise the planet Mercury enters the 4th quarter *of Phalguni*.

'Pritidvitîyâ.' A holy day.

'Chandrôdayum uttara śrigounnte.' The northern end of Moon's crescent raised.

'Bhu. 1-23' = Bhukti, 1 *ghalige* 23 *vighaliges*. If from this we deduct 1 *ghalige* 13 *vighaliges*, the lunar B h u k t i on the 1st, we find the daily rate of progression to be 10 *vighaliges*.

'Cha 30.'=Chandra, 30th day of the Muhammadan month.

It will be unnecessary to explain any of the abbreviations on the 24th. They are the initial letters of the nakshatra, &c., until we come to

'Aha. 30-4.' This means that the daytime is 30 *ghaliges* 4 *vighaliges*.

'Tulaynam, 40-38.' This means that the sun 40 *ghaliges* and 38 *vighaliges* after sunrise turns towards the sign of the zodiac Tula (Libra).

'Maghâ. 2, Śu. 9.' 'Śukra' (Venus) 9 *ghaliges* after sunrise enters the 2nd quarter of Maghâ, 10th nakshatra.

'Stana vriddhi Gauri vrittam.' A good day to worship Gauri for increase of wealth.

'Dagdha yoga.' A hot yoga. No good work ought to be commenced.

'Bhu. 1-33' = Bhukti, 1 *ghalige* 33 *vighaliges*.

'Śâban chând 1.' The first day of the Muhammadan month Śâban.

From the above it will be seen that it is not enough for the *Jyotisharu* (*Jotiśis*) or astrologers, who receive a monthly fee for reading the Panchânga once a week, to be able to read it,—they must have studied more or less the *Kala Amṛita*, where the rules for determining the proper times and seasons are determined.

THE BUDDHIST RUINS AT JAMÂL GARHÎ.*

The village of Jamâl Garhî is situated about eight miles due north of Mardân, communicating with the latter by a fair *kachhâ* road. The hill on which the Buddhist ruins are found is just north of the village. It is about 400 feet above the level of the plain, and is composed of a shaly sandstone or slate, with a small portion of quartz found here and there.

The ruins are characterized by a very massive and well-built style of rubble masonry. The walls generally two or more feet thick, built for the most part of the shaly stone found in the hills on which they stand; the interstices between the larger stones, instead of being filled in with small stones, placed at random in the mortar, are filled with small slabs, one inch to two inches thick, all laid horizontally and carefully fitted in, laid in mortar. Arches with voussoirs are never found; but the openings are spanned by laying each successive layer projecting beyond the one below. (*Fig.* 1.)

Sculptures of the same character are found in all the ruins. The principal figure met with is that supposed to be of Buddha, a man either sitting cross-legged or standing; no hair on the face; the hair of the head dressed in a peculiar fashion with a topknot; the "*tîkâ*" often on the forehead; always clothed in a long flowing robe from the neck to below the knees, and with no sandals or shoes on the feet. This figure is met with both in separate statues varying from 12 inches in height to larger than life-size, and also in sculptured tablets in bas-relief depicting many and varied scenes. (*Fig.* 2.)

The ruins appear to be those of several temples or sacred places in the centre, and the dwelling-houses for the priests and attendants on the temples scattered around the former. The number of dwelling-houses is too small to have accommodated more than the number of people actually required for the service of the temple. Taking the outside view, and assuming each chamber had a corresponding one above it, and each of these chambers had an occupant, the houses discovered could not have accommodated more than 200 people; and if we take about half this number it will probably be nearer the mark. The ruins extend over an area of about 210 yards from north to south, and 180 yards from east to west. The central temple (No. 1), which is the highest but one of all, is an irregular polygonal building of 13 sides.

Around the walls are 13 idol-houses. In the centre is a circular platform, 22 feet diameter at the top, and 4 feet 9 inches high at present. This probably was paved with massive blocks of *kankar* or concrete, as large slabs, about 7 inches thick, were found on the floor of this temple, that would just answer this purpose, and that had the corresponding curved side of the circle. The remains of steps up to the altar were found immediately facing the entrance.

North of this temple, but with no apparent communication with it, is a group of buildings by themselves (No. 2), consisting of—

(A.) A small rectangular temple 24 feet by 22 feet with 13 idol-recesses around the walls, and a square altar in the centre.

(B.) Immediately to the north of this temple, and separated from it by a passage at a lower level than the floor of the temple, is a house with two windows overlooking the temple. This probably was the house of the attendant priest. It is 21 feet by 12 feet in extent. Both the temple and priest's house open to the west into a courtyard.

(C.) On the north side of this courtyard are three houses (12 feet by 8 feet), with a raised terrace in front of them, from which you enter the houses. The entrance to this courtyard is on the south.

(D.) Immediately to the right of the entrance is a small chamber that originally was roofed with one of the pointed arches previously described, and above which a staircase leads from the entrance of the temple to the top of the idol-recesses.

(E.) To the left of the entrance is another house (17 feet by 10 feet), with doors both on the north and east sides.

To the south of the polygonal temple, and communicating with it by a descending staircase, is an irregular quadrilateral temple, with 26† (No. 3)

* *Abridged from a Report on their Exploration during the months of March and April 1873, by the 8th Company Sappers and Miners, under the command of Lieutenant Arthur Crompton, R.E.*

† The factor 13 appears common to all three of the number of idol-houses in the temples, they having respectively 13, 13, and 26 recesses.

PLAN OF MONASTIC AND SACRED EDIFICES

AT

JAMÂL GARHÎ.

B

A

Nº 2

C

D

E

Nº 1

Altar

GRAND TEMPLE

Nº 3

Nº 4

Nº 5

VAULTS

Scale 30 feet to an inch.

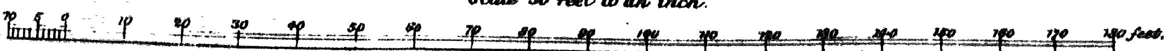


Fig. 1.

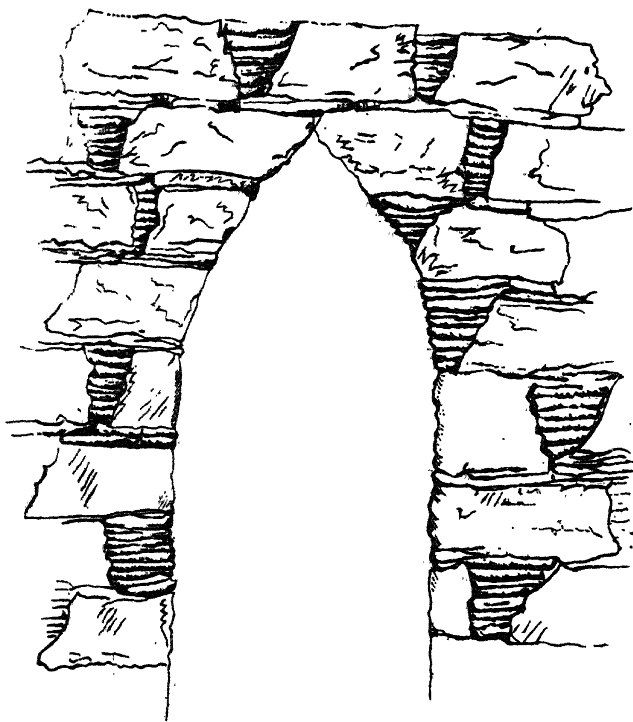


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

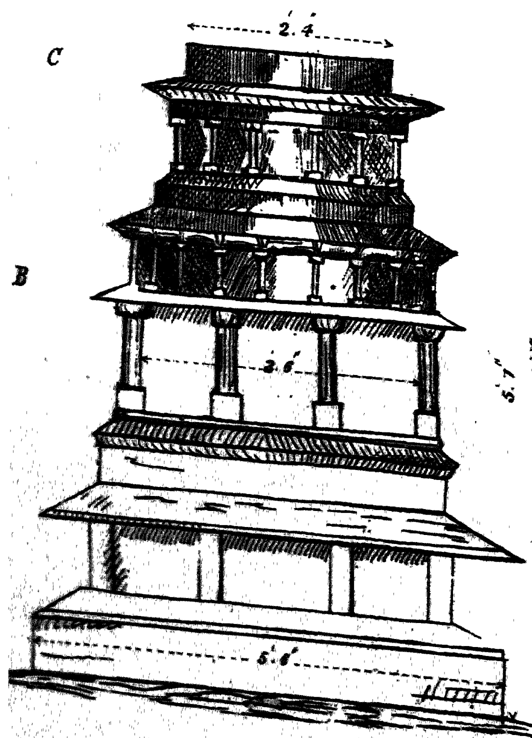


Fig. 4



idol-houses round the walls. In the centre of one of the temples, instead of the usual platform, we find a number of small circular topes (*Fig.* 3).* and also some idol-recesses, all placed in an irregular manner, that leads an observer to suppose that they were built at different times. This probably was a mausoleum, and these topes and idol-recesses were the tombs or memorials of their kings, or persons of distinction and sanctity.

A great number of statues of men, with moustaches, with jewellery on the neck and right arm, and with sandals on the feet, probably those of kings, were found in one of the topes.

To the south-east of this temple a staircase leads down to another temple or mausoleum (No. 4). This, unlike those previously described, is not closed in on all sides, but is open on the east side to a courtyard. In the centre of this temple are also some topes and idol-recesses, one of which was found to have been dug into before the ruins were buried, half of the masonry encircling it being wanting, and a depth of *débris* of 12 to 15 feet precludes any idea of this exploring being of recent date, and rather tends to support the theory of the destruction of these buildings being the work of man, not of time. To the south again of this building, and communicating with it by three doorways, is a rectangular enclosure (No. 5) 74 feet by 30 feet. On the south side are six vaulted chambers, 10 feet by 7 feet 6 inches each below the level of the floor of the enclosure, and with doors all opening to the south. On the west side are two dwelling-houses, and to the east are two recesses in the wall about 5 feet square. To the east of the polygonal temple, and some 25 feet from it, is a building at a higher level than even the temple itself. This building consists of four rooms, two on either side a central passage 6 feet wide.

Towards the southern extremity of the ruins, another small temple, 20 feet by 13 feet, is met with, possessing only three idol-houses at present; possibly there were others originally. In the centre of this temple are two platforms, one 8 feet by 7 feet, the other 7 feet by 6 feet.

Besides the vaults already mentioned as discovered beneath the rectangular enclosure, three other vaults were discovered. In the first case the vault is entered from the face of a vertical retaining wall. The opening to the vault is 5 feet broad, the vault itself 10 feet by 6 feet. In the two other cases the vaults were the same breadth throughout; possibly these were only the basement stories of houses that have been buried by the *débris* of ages.

The original steep slopes of the hill have, in many cases, been much reduced by means of retaining walls and the levelling up the ground behind them. Some of these retaining walls are much as 15 feet high.

Communication to these ruins is usually made now by means of a rough cattle-track from the south-west. But a good road, still in fair preservation, is found on the east side. Ascending by a gorge some quarter-mile from the ruins, and thence advancing along the top of the ridge, this road debouches on a level space to the south-east of temple No. 5, where the road enters this level platform. The remains of a house are found, which probably was a sort of outpost and vidette on this approach. Remains of houses are also found on the south side of the platform, overlooking a scarped face of the hill, and affording excellent defence against a force entering by this road.

No traces of wells or tanks were discovered during the exploration of these ruins, and the present water-level is some 300 feet below the lowest point of the ruins. In two of the buildings large earthenware *gharás* were found buried below the level of the floor of the houses.

These might have been used as small private reservoirs for water, but an equally probable use of them was the storage of grain. Whatever may have been the uses of these *gharás*, it appears probable that the inhabitants were dependent on water carried up the hill from below for their supply, and this alone would preclude any large numbers living here.

The exploration of these ruins has led to the idea that they were destroyed by design, and not by natural decay. All the sculptures discovered, with only one exceptional case, were found thrown down from their original position; and the perfect state in which the sculptures *in situ* were found tends to prove that others would have been in an equally perfect condition if time alone was responsible for the ruin wrought.

These sculptures *in situ* were a series of bas-reliefs on the risers of the steps leading up from temple No. 3 to the polygonal temple. All the larger sculptures nearly, that one would have expected to find intact, were broken. In many cases large and heavy fragments of the same sculpture were found far apart. The large blocks of concrete and *kankar* that formed the top of the platform of the polygonal temple were found scattered about, tending to the belief that the interior of the platform had been examined for treasure.

In exploring these ruins many sculptures were found, some of very delicate and beautiful carving. Dividing them roughly into classes, they are as follows:—

1. Single figures of Buddha, both in sitting and

* The tope found in temple No. 3 is square in plan from A to B, circular from B to C.

standing positions, such as are described in an earlier part of this report. A few were found perfect or nearly so, and many fragments of broken ones. All the largest were broken, whilst the best-preserved were some of the smallest.

2. Single figures of kings. These were found both in a sitting and standing attitude also. The differences between them and those of Buddha are —(*a.*) These figures have moustaches (no beards); Buddha has no hair at all on the face. (*b.*) These figures are generally nude to the waist; Buddha is always draped from the shoulders to below the knee. (*c.*) These figures have always sandals on the feet; Buddha is always barefooted. (*d.*) These figures have usually some jewellery on the right arm, round the neck and on the head—the latter often in the form of a scallop shell with jewel in centre; Buddha never wears any ornament at all. Of these figures a good number were found; some in good preservation, the larger number considerably damaged; none as large as life-size were found of these.

3. Single figures of a man with wings, usually with beard and moustaches, nude to the waist, considerable muscular development in chest and arms, sitting with one leg flat on the ground, the other raised with the foot on the ground. About 12 of these were found, most of them about 8′ high; a few of a larger size, 18″ high, were found. In some of these figures the wings were wanting, but probably the latter had been broken off in these cases.

4. Some very good specimens of capitals, varying in size from 2 feet by 9 inches to 1 foot by 5 inches, *Fig.* 4, found in temple No. 3.

5. Some circular carved stones, apparently the bases of statues; some as large as 3 feet diameter; others not more than 1 foot, carved on the upper surface.

6. Bas-reliefs of many kinds depicting worship of the wheel, of the tree, and of Buddha, and numerous other groups, whose meaning I could not make out. These bas-reliefs varied from 2 feet by 1 foot to 6 by 8 inches. The greater number were slabs, about 6 inches to 8 inches high, above 18 inches long. In some of the smaller ones the sculpture was very fine and delicate.

Throughout all the sculptures found there was a delicacy of feature quite unknown in the ordinary sculpture of the country, whether Hindu or Musalmân. The faces are of a Grecian character in many cases. These sculptures were carved in most cases of the shaly stone or slate of which the hill is formed; but in a few instances of the best sculptures the stone was a finer-grained, and bluer in colour, than any found in the hill.

These sculptures were found in greater or less quantity in all the temples, and were not, with scarcely an exception, met with in the dwelling-houses. In the polygonal temple were found many fragments of large statues of Buddha, but few good or perfect specimens of sculptures. On most of these, traces of gold leaf were met with, showing that they originally were gilt in whole or part.* A few silver and copper coins were turned up. Some iron nails were met with in the course of exploration, and a few copper objects, viz., a ring about $1\frac{1}{2}$″ diameter, and a pin about 6″ long with a shell-shaped head. Two silver articles, apparently the perforated tops of perfume-boxes, and one or two ivory beads about half an inch in diameter, conclude the list.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The 186th number of the Journal contains two papers: the first, by T. W. H. Tolbort, B.C.S., on *Authorities for the History of the Portuguese in India*, is confined to "the period between 1498, when Vasco da Gama discovered India, and 1663, when the capture of Cochin by the Dutch finally broke the power of the Portuguese, and established the supremacy of others in the East." The second, by Prof. Blochmann, is *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period). Part I., Geographical.—Part II., Historical, based on Inscriptions received from Gen. A. Cunningham, C.S.I., Dr. J. Wise, E. V. Westmacott, Esq., W. L. Heeley, Esq., W. M. Bourke, Esq., &c. and on unpublished coins, with notes by E. V. Westmacott, Esq., and Dr. J. Wise.* This valuable Essay, extending over 102 pages of the Journal, will long be an authority on the subject. Additions and corrections will doubtless be made to the information it contains, but it will form an admirable basis for guiding future research. It will not bear abridgment, but we may present a few extracts:—

"The importance of mural and medallic evidence for Bengal History," says Prof. Blochmann, "arises from the paucity and meagreness of written sources. Whilst for the history of the Dihlî Empire we possess general and special histories, often the work of contemporaneous writers, we have only secondary sources and incidental remarks for the early Muhammadan period of Ben-

* On many of the walls were found the remains of plaster casts depicting various scenes. The most common were sitting figures of Buddha.

gal, *i. e.*, from A. D. 1203 to 1538. Nizâmuddîn Ahmad, who served Akbar as Bakhshî, the friend and protector of the historian Badâonî, is the first writer that gives in his *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, which were completed in 1590, a short connected account of the independent kings of Bengal from 1338 to 1538. For the time between 1203 and 1338 we depend on incidental remarks made by Dihlî writers, as Minhâj-i-Sirâj, Baranî, and 'Afîf. Firishtah, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, has a chapter on the same period as Nizâm; but, though he gives a little more, it seems that he used the same, at present unknown, source as the author of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*. But there can be no doubt that this source was a work defective in chronology and meagre in details. Firishtah also cites a historical compilation by one Hâjî Muhammad of Qandahâr, of which no copy is at present known to exist.

"The latest writer on Bengal History is Ghulâm Husain of Zaidpûr, poetically styled 'Salîm,' who composed his *Riyâz ussalâtîn*, or 'the Gardens of Kings,' at the request of Mr. George Udney of Mâldah. This work, the title of which contains in the numerical value of the letters the date of its completion (A. H. 1202, or A. D. 1787-88), is rare but is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time. From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point.* His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates, which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salîm has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Stewart, who used the *Riyâz* as the basis of his History of Bengal, has given a translation of the greater part of the work; but, from a leaning to Firishtah, he has left out useful passages."

On the Geography he says—"Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtyâr Khiljî in A. D. 1203, Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts—(1) R â ḍ h a, the country west of the Hûglî and south of the Ganges; (2) B a g ḍ i, the delta of the Ganges; (3) B a n g a, the country to the east of, and beyond, the delta; (4) B a r e n d r a, the country to the north of the Padmâ (Podda) and between the Karatayâ and the Mahânandâ rivers; and (5) M i t h i l â, the country west of the Mahânandâ."

"It would be wrong to believe that Bakhtyâr Khiljî conquered the whole of Bengal: he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilâ, Barendra, the northern portions of Râḍha, and the north-western tracts of Bagḍi. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of L a k'h n a u t î, and its extent is described by the author of the *Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî*, who says that the country of Lak'hnauti lies on both sides of the Ganges and consists of two wings: the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokoṭ belongs; and the western has the name of Râl [*i.e.*, Râḍha], to which Lak'hnûr belongs. Hence the same writer also distinguishes Lak'hnautî-Deokoṭ from Lak'hnautî-Lak'hnûr. From the town of Lak'hnauti to Deokoṭ on the one side, and from Lak'hnautî to the door of Lak'hnûr, on the other side, an embanked road (*pul*) passes, ten days' march. Distinct from the country of Lak'hnautî is Banga (*diyâr-i-Bang*, Bangadesh, *Tabaqât*. p. 267), and in this part of Bengal the descendants of the Lak'hmaniyah kings of Nadiyâ still reigned in A. H. 658, or 1260 A. D., when Minhaj-i-Sirâj, the author of the *Tabaqât*, wrote his history. Deokoṭ, which still gives name to a large parganah, was correctly identified by Buchanan with the old fort near Damdamâ, on the left bank of the Pûrnâbhaba, south of Dînâjpûr. Close to it lies Gangarâmpûr with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription known in Bengal. Lak'hnûr,* the town or 'thanah' of the other 'wing,' has not yet been identified."

"Minhaj's remark that Banga was, in 1260, still in the hands of Lak'hman Sen's descendants, is confirmed by the fact that Sunnârgâon is not

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* "The end contains the following description of the character of the 'new rulers':—

"'The English among the Christians are adorned with the head-dress of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war, and in festivities, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are unrivalled; and their truthfulness is so great that they would not break a promise should they even lose their lives. They admit no liar to their society, are pious, faithful, pitiful, and honourable. They have neither learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the page of vice; and though their religion is opposed to ours, they do not interfere with the religion, rites, and propagation of the Muhammadan faith.

گفتگوي کفر و دين آخر بيکجا ميکشد
خواب يك خواب است باشد مختلف تعبيرها

"'All wrangling about faith and heresy leads to the same place: the dream is one and the same dream, though the interpretations may differ.'"

* "Major Raverty, of whose translation of the *Tabaqât* two fasciculi have just appeared, informs me that all his best MSS. have لكهنور Lak'hnûr. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition has لكهنور, and often also لكور; and it was, no doubt, the last spelling that led Stewart to substitute Nâgor (in Western Bîrbhûm), which certainly lies in the direction indicated. Outside of the Marâṭhâ wall of Nâgor, we have a Lak'hipûr and a Lak'hînârâyanpûr."

mentioned in the *Tabaqát*, nor does it occur on the coins of the first century of Muhammadan rule. It is first mentioned in the *Târikh-i-Baranî* as the residence, during Balban's reign, of an independent Râi; but under Tughluq Shâh (A.D. 1323), Sunnârgâon, and Sâtgâon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muhammadan governors, the term 'Bangâlah' being now applied to the united provinces of Lak'hnauti, Sâtgâon, and Sunnârgâon.

"The *Târîkh-i-Baranî*, the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* by 'Afîf, and the *Travels* of Ibn Baṭûṭah yield but little additional information. Fîrûzâbâd, or Panḍuah (north of Mâldahâ, or Mâldah), which General Cunningham significantly calls 'Hazrat Panḍuah,' or 'Panḍuah, the Residence,' appears as the new capital, and in connexion with it Fort Ekdâlah, said to be 'near Panḍuah.'"

"From the middle of the 16th century we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical '*Da Asia*' by Joao de Barros (died 1570); and the graphic descriptions of Cæsar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583 to 1591). Nor must I forget the Persian traveller Amin Râzi, an uncle of Nûr Jahân, who composed his *Haft Iqlîm* in A. H. 1002 (A. D. 1594); but it is doubtful whether he visited Bengal, or merely wrote down what he heard at Âgrah."

"But by far the most interesting contribution to the geography of Bengal, in spite of the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., is Todar Mall's rent-roll." In the *Âîn* we find that Bengal proper was divided into 19 Sirkârs, and 682 Mahâls. Eight of the 19 Sirkârs, and 204 of the 682 Mahâls, have Muhammadan names. The rent-roll included both the (*khâlisah* ('genuine'—*vulgo* khalsa) or crownlands, and the *aqtá* or *jágír* lands, *i.e.*, lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or maintenance of troops. The distribution of the Sirkârs depended, as in the old Hindû division, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathi, and Megna, or, as the *Âîn* expresses it, on the courses of the Padmâwatî, Ganga, and Brahmaputra.

For the description of the different Sirkârs and of the Frontiers we must refer to the Essay itself. The following remarks on the Sundarbans may, however, be extracted: "The old Portuguese and Dutch maps have also been frequently mentioned as affording testimony that the Sundarban, even up to the 16th century, was well cultivated; and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five Sundarban towns P a c a c u l i, C u i p i t a v a z, N o l d y, D i p u r i a (or Dapara), and T i p a r i a, which are placed on the maps of De Barros, Blaev, and Van den Broucke close to the coast-line, has inclined people to believe that they represent 'lost towns.' Now the first of these five towns, from its position, belongs to the Sundarban of the 24-Pargaṇâs, and the second (Cuipitavaz) to that of Jessore District, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. But Pacaculi is either, as Col. Gastrell once suggested to me, a mistake for Pacacuti, *i.e.*, *pakká koṭ'hí*, a factory or warehouse erected by some trading company, as we find several along the Hûglî; or it stands for Penchakuli, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the Damûdar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. Cuipitavaz I have no hesitation to identify with Khalîfatâbâd. Van den Broucke also places it correctly south-east of Jessore. Noldy is the town and mahâl of Noldi (Naldî) on the Noboganga, east of Jessore, near the Madhûmatî. Dipuria is Dapara, or Daspara, south-east of Bâqirganj station, near the right bank of the Tîtuliâ, still prominently marked on Rennell's map; and Tiparia cannot stand for anything else but the district of Tiparah, which is correctly placed north-east of Daspara.

"Of other names given on old maps along the southern boundary of Bengal, we have (above Noldy) N a o M u l u c o (?), B u r a m (Borhun, in the 24 Pargaṇâs); M a l u c o (Bhalukâ, on the Kabadak?); west of them A g r a p a r a and X o r e (Agrapârâ and Dak'hineshor, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Hûglî, A b e g a c a, which seems to be some Âmgâchha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambikâ (Kalnah); B e r n a g a r, which should be Barnagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; B e t o r (?) as on Blaev's map, and B e l o r (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Hûglî District, Sjanabath (Jahânâbâd); Sjandercona (Chandrakonâ); Cannacoel (Kânâkul); Deniachali (Dhonek'hâlî); Caatgam (Sâtgâoṇ); Tripeni (Trîpanî, the Muhammadan form of Tribenî); Pandua (Panḍuah); Sjanegger; Basenderi (the old mahâl Basandharî), where Van den Broucke makes the remark, '*t Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexandre M. gestuyt werd*,' the bush Sanderie, where Alexander the Great was stopped!"

On the 'Northern Frontier' we have the Sirkârs G'horâg'hâṭ, Panjrah, Tâjpûr, and Pûrniah.

"The inhabitants of Northern Bengal according to the *Tabaqât-i-Nâṣiri* were the Koch, Mech, and Thârû tribes, whose Mongolian features struck the first invaders as peculiar.

"The Râjahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve a semi-independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtyâr Khiljî, when Debkoṭ, near Dînâjpûr, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north.

"During the fifteenth century the tract north of Rangpûr was in the hands of the Râjahs of K â m a t â کامتا."

"History informs us that Kâmatâ was invaded, about 1498 A. D., by Husain Shâh, and legends state that the town was destroyed, and Nilamba, the last Kâmatâ Râjah, was taken prisoner. He escaped, however, and disappeared; but people believe that at some time in future he will be restored. The Kâmatâ family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty, to which the present Mahârâja of Koch Bihâr belongs. The new Râjas secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation.

"The prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihâr is known from the *Âîn*. The *Haft Iqlîm* has the following:—'There is a cave in this country which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is Âî, and the people are zealous in their worship. Once a year they have a feast, when they kill all sorts of animals found in the country, believing that the meritoriousness of the slaughter comes from Âî. They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogîs, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to Âî, saying that Âî has called them. From the time they become Bhogîs, they may do what they like; every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed.'"

The Historical part deals principally with—I. The 'Initial Period,' or the reigns of the governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, A. D. 1203 to 1338 A.D. II. The period of the independent kings of Bengal, from 1338 to 1538.

The first of these has been already dealt with by Mr. E. Thomas in his *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, but Prof. Blochmann has some interesting additions to make from Bihâr Inscriptions.

The following he gives as the governors of Bengal from Saifuddîn Aibak to Bughrâ Khân. The dates differ slightly from Mr. Thomas's list on p. 8 of his '*Chronicles*.'

Saifuddîn Aibak. Dies at Lak'hnauti in 631. *Tabq*. p. 239.

"'Izzuddîn Abul Fath Ṭughril Ṭughân Khân, governor from 631 to 5th Zi Qa'dah 642. *Tabq*. p. 245. He withdraws to Audh, and dies on the 29th Shawwâl 644.

"Qamaruddîn Timur Khân, governor from 5th Zi Qa'dah 642 to 29th Shawwâl 644, when he too dies. *Tabq*. p. 246.

"Ikhtiyâruddîn Yûzbak Ṭughril Khân proclaims himself king under the title of Sulṭân Mughîṣuddin. Perishes in Kâmrûp. *Tabq*. p. 263. No dates are given.

"Jalâluddîn Mas'ûd, Malik Jânî Khiljî Khân, becomes governor on the 18th Zi Qa'dah 656 (or 17th Nov. 1258). *Tabq*., pp. 206, 225.

"'Izzuddîn Balban was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tâjuddîn Arsalân Khân Sanjar i Khwârazmî, who, however, was captured or killed by Izzuddîn. *Tabq*. p. 267.*"

"Muhammad Arsalân Tatar Khân, son of Arsalân Khân Sanjar. He had been for some time governor when the emperor Balban ascended the throne (664). *Baranî*, p. 66. After a few years he was succeeded by—

"Ṭughril, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sulṭân Mughîṣuddîn." No dates are given.

"Bughrâ Khân, Nâṣiruddin Mahmûd, second son of Emperor Balban."

In the second period the line of independent kings commences with—

1. Fakhruddîn Abul Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, who "had been *Silâhdâr*, or armour-bearer, to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî governor of Sunnârgâon, and on his master's death, in 739 A.H., or 1338 A.D., proclaimed there his independence.

"According to the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, Firishtah, and the *Riyâz ussâlatîn*, Mubârak Shâh was killed by 'Ali Mubârak in 741, after a reign of two years and some months. But as his coins extend over a period of more than ten years, from 739 to 750, it looks as if the date given in the histories should be corrected to ده سال و چند ماه 'ten years and some months.'"

2. 'Alâuddîn Abul Muzaffar 'Alî Shâh,—the title assumed by 'Ali Mubârak—according to the histories, reigned one year and five months. Mr. Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 265), however, gives a coin of the year 742, and he adds that he has seen coins of 744, 745, and 746. "From the fact that the coinage of Mubârak Shâh is restricted to the Sunnârgâon mint, and that of 'Ali Shâh to Firûzâbad (*i.e.*, Panḍuah), we may conclude that the former held Eastern, and the latter Western Bengal. "But 'Ali Shâh was vigorously opposed by Hâji Ilyâs, who struck coins in Panḍuah, 'Ali Shâh's capital, in 740 and 744, and in uninterrupted succession from 746 (probably the correct year when 'Ali Shâh was overcome by him) to 758."

3. Ikhtiyâruddîn Abul Muzaffar Ghâzî Shâh, probably the son of Mubârak Shâh, is supposed to have reigned in Eastern Bengal from A. H. 751 to 753.

4. Shamsuddîn Abul Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, previously known as Hâji Ilyâs, the foster-brother of of 'Ali Mubârak, "having in

* Hence Tâjuddîn Khân should not be put among the governors of Bengal.

746 become master of Western Bengal, he established himself in 753 in Sunnârgâon (Thomas, p. 269), and thus founded a dynasty, which, with an interruption of about forty years in the beginning of the 9th century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H."

"Ilyâs Shâh is nicknamed 'Bhangrah,' a corruption, it seems, of the Hindûstâni *bhangérá*, 'a seller, or eater, of the drug *bháng* (hemp).'"

The histories give his reign 16 years and some months; but the author gives him a reign in Western Bengal from 741 to 759 A.H.

5. Abul Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the son of Ilyâs Shâh. According to the author of the *Riyáz*, "Sikandar Shâh died after a reign of nine years and some months—a statement also given in the *Tabaqát*—of wounds which he had received 'on the field of Goâlpârah,' fighting with his favourite son, Ghiyâs, whom the machinations of a jealous stepmother had driven into rebellion." The histories assign him a reign of 9 years and some months. The Panḍuah inscription is, however, dated 770 A.H., and coins bring down his reign to 792 (A.D. 1390).

6. Ghiyâsuddîn Abul Muzaffar Âzam Shâh, of whom the *Riyáz* says: "Âzam Shâh was treacherously murdered (*ba-daghá kushtah*) by Râjah Kâns after a reign of seven years and some months, or, as I have seen in a little book, after a reign of sixteen years, five months, and three days." The coins go to 799 A.H. (1397 A.D.)

7. Saifuddîn Abul Mujâhid Hamzah Shâh, son of Âzam Shâh, "according to the *Tabaqát*, reigned ten years. But the author of the *Riyáz* saw 'in the little book' that the reign of this king was 3 years, 7 months, and 5 days, which would bring his reign to 802, or 803, A.H." (1401 A.D.)

8. Shamsuddîn. "Firishtah states that as the king was young and deficient in intellect, an infidel of the name of Kâns, who was an Amîr of the court, obtained great power and influence, and usurped the executive and the collection of taxes. The *Riyáz* has the following:—'After enjoying himself for some time, he died, in 788, from an illness, or through the foul play of Râjah Kâns, who at that time was very powerful. *And some writers have asserted that this Shamsuddín was no son of the Sultan ussalátín, but an adopted son* (mutabanni), *and that his name was* Shihâbuddín. *Anyhow, he reigned* 3 *years*, 4 *months, and* 6 *days.*' It is clear that Râjah Kâns, who was zamindâr of Bhatûriah, rebelled against him, killed him, and usurped the throne."

Then follows a new king:—Shihâbuddîn Abul Muzaffar Bâyazîd Shâh. "His coins do not mention the name of his father; and the absence of the usual phrase *ibn ussultán*, 'son of the king,' indicates that he was either a usurper, in which case 'Bâyazîd' might represent the Muhammadan name of Râjah Kâns after conversion, or a puppet king, in whose name Râjah Kâns reigned and coined in the 'Dârul Islâm' of Bengal. If we take the first alternative, we have against it the clear statement of the historians that Kâns remained a Hindû, and also the circumstance that his son does not mention the name of his father on his coins, which he would scarcely have omitted if Kâns had turned Muhammadan. And if we look upon the Bâyazîd Shâh as a successful rival of Râjah Kâns, we have history and legends against us. Hence the theory of a puppet king—a *benámí* transaction—is perhaps the least objectionable."

10. Jalâluddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh—according to the histories the son of Râjah Kâns. "As the coins of Bâyazîd Shâh go up to 816, and the coins of Muhammad Shâh commence with 818, the latter year, or 817, must be the beginning of his reign; and if he reigned for seventeen years, as stated in the histories, his reign may have lasted from 818 to 835" (A.D. 1431-2).

11. Shamsuddîn Abul Mujâhid Ahmad Shâh, the son of the preceding, began to reign about 834, and may have ruled till 850 (1446 A.D.). He was murdered by two slaves.

12. Nâṣiruddîn Abul Muzaffar Maḥmûd Shâh I. a descendant of Ilyâs Shâh, of whom there is a coin of 846, ruled till 864 (1459 A.D.).

13. Rukhuddîn Abul Mujâhid Bârbak Shâh, the son of the last, reigned till 879 (1474 A.D.).

14. Shamsuddîn Abul Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the son of Bârbak Shâh, ruled 7 years, and 6 months, till 887 A.H. (1482 A.D.).

15. Sikandar Shâh II. said to be the *son* of Yûsuf Shâh.

16. Jalâluddîn Abul Muzaffar Fath Shâh, son of Mahmûd Shâh, was raised to the throne, as "Sikandar Shâh had not the necessary qualifications," reigned till 892 or 893 (A.D. 1487), and was murdered at the instigation of the eunuch Bârbak, who ruled as the first of the Habshi kings, under the title of—

17. Sulṭân Shâhzâdah, for a few months.

18. Saifuddîn Abul Muzaffar Fîrûz Shâh II. (Malik Indil Habshî) reigned from 893 to 895 or 896 (A.D. 1490).

19. Nâṣiruddîn Abul Mujâhid Mahmûd Shâh II. "was raised to the throne on Fîrûz Shâh's death, though the government was in the hands of one Habshî Khân. After a short

time, Habshî Khan, and, immediately after, Mahmûd Shâh, were killed by Sîdî Badr Dîwanah, who proclaimed himself king."

20. Shamsuddîn Abul-Nasr Muzaffar Shâh, who ruled 3 years and 5 months, was killed in 899 (A.D. 1494) by—

21. 'Alâuddîn Abul Muzaffar Husain Shâh, "the good," who founded the Husainî dynasty in 899. He reigned till 927, or perhaps 929.

22. Nâsiruddîn Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Shâh ruled from 927 (929?) till 939 (A.D. 1532-3).

23. 'Alâuddîn Abul Muzaffar Fîrûz Shâh III. son of the last, ruled only three months, and was murdered by his uncle—

24. Ghiyâsuddîn Abul Muzaffar Mahmûd Shâh III., who was defeated and slain by Sher Khan in 944 A. H. (A.D. 1537-8).

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BIDÂR.

The city of Bîdar is situated at the edge of a laterite plateau, some 2,300 feet above the sea level, and about 300 feet above the plain or valley of the Manjira, a confluent of the Godâvarî. The city is encompassed by a wall of basalt, and a dry ditch, with a glacis, which nearly hides the wall, and there are bastions at intervals, all more or less decayed. In former times it must have been a very formidable place to attack; as its name Bîdâr implies, 'without fear.' The citadel is situated to the north: in it are the remains of numerous palaces, some of which were four and five stories high, all built of cut trap. This citadel is a perfect labyrinth of arcades and underground passages. In one building there are supposed to be over 1000 rooms, filled with arms, &c. A few years ago some of these were opened, in which some armour, arms, and biscuits were found. The entrance to the citadel is to the south-east, through a zigzag passage protected by three gateways. Over the gate there is a fine lofty dome, the interior of which was painted in bright colours at one time, and there are patches of paint still to be seen on the plaster. The second gateway was covered with encaustic porcelain tiles. In the interior aae the ruins of palaces, one of which, the Rang Mahal (so called from its exterior and some of the interior walls being covered with slabs of painted porcelain or encaustic tile), is now being partially repaired by the Nizâm's Government for the residence of some of the civil officers. Next to this are the remains of a very ancient palace, one courtyard of which has been turned into a jail, the prisoners being located in an arcade, and two domes forming a regular dungeon, and putting one in mind of Byron's description of the prison of Chillon—with its horrors.

In one portion of this palace there is a well about 150 feet deep, with an inclined plane from a moat, for raising the water to the fourth story, where there is a reservoir from whence the water used to be led down the front of the building over an artificial fall forming a cascade, and also by pipes to fountains, of which there are several scattered about the court yards. The basin of one of these has been cut out of a single monolith of porphyry—some 12 feet in diameter and 4 feet high (the design being a most intricate geometrical figure). It is highly polished. There is a hummâm, or Turkish bath, a mint, and an arsenal, and several powder magazines; and on one of the bastions lies a monster gun, not quite so large as the one at Bîjâpur, but better finished. It is 19 inches in bore, and 25 across the muzzle, and 23 feet long. It is formed of bars of laminated iron bound round with hoops beautifully welded and forged, the surface being well polished and bronzed. There is an Arabic inscription on it, in three places, in letters of gold inlaid in the iron. Here, too, there is a tradition as to its wonderful length of range. There is a breach in a tank *bând* distant some seven miles from Bidâr which is attributed to a shot fired from this bastion with it. The gun must weigh over 20 tons. The mystery is how, without proper engines and tools, such a mass of metal could have been forged. It has not been cast, but built on much the same system as is now being adopted for forging 'Woolwich infants' at home, for which special machinery and forges have had to be made.—*Bombay Gazette*, July 17.

ORIGIN OF PÂTNA.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—Long a resident of Pâtna, I have long been curious to know whence this large city derived its name. In the shape of written records there seems to be no authentic account. But in India, as in all ancient countries, fable and tradition, whatever their value, step in to fill the gap where history is silent. In the present case, too, fable has acted its part. In an old Hindi manuscript which professes to be the translation of a part of the Sanskṛit *Bṛihat Kathâ*, the foundation of Pâtna is thus told :—

In the *Satya Yuga* there lived, in a city called Kosambi, a certain Brahman whose name was

Bhumideva. He had two sons, Kusa and Bikusa, married respectively to Pramatî and Sumatî, daughters of a great *muni* named Sarvasiddhi. It once happened that Kusa and Bikusa were reduced to great difficulties, and in order to recover themselves they determined to try their fortunes abroad, and left home accompanied by their wives. After a few days' journey, on a certain night, the two brothers left their wives asleep in a jangal and went away. Soon after, the helpless females awoke and began to lament. Meanwhile Pârvatî and Mahâdeva passed by that way, and the former requested Mahâdeva to take pity on the poor women, and was told that that very night Sumatî would give birth to a son, who should be named Putra, and as often as he should awake from sleep a thousand gold mohars would fall from his head. During the night this prophecy was fulfilled, and as the child awoke from his first sleep a thousand gold mohars fell from his head. The females suspected the money was left there by some thief, and, lest they should be caught and punished as guilty, they thought it advisable to leave the place. But, to their great surprise, wherever they went the same miracle was repeated. The women at last discovered the secret, and came to Kâśi and settled there. Putra soon became very rich. His charity knew no bounds, and from every part of the world men came to share in his gifts. Kusa and Bikusa were now living in Karnâṭa, begging from door to door. When they heard of the gifts of Putra, they came to Kâśi to receive alms. As the two brothers were standing at the gate of Putra's palace, Sumatî, who was walking on the upper veranda of her mansion, saw them and recognized them. They were taken in and treated with great respect. Kusa and Bikusa thus began to live happily. When Putra was sixteen years old, his father became jealous of him, and engaged some Chânḍalas to murder him. The Chânḍalas came to the innocent boy and told him they were the *pandas* (votaries) of the goddess Vindyâsanî, and were sent to take him to that goddess to fulfil certain vows that were made for his sake when he was in his mother's womb. The father, too, said such was the case, and poor Putra was snatched away from home, unaccompanied by a single attendant. When the Chanḍalas had arrived at the middle of a tremendous jangal, they told the whole truth to the boy; but whenever they attempted to put him to death the sword fell down. At last the villains promised to save the boy, on the payment of a large sum of money. This being done, the Chanḍalas returned to Kâśi and informed Bikusa that what he had ordered was done, and obtained a rich prize.

The child, left alone in the midst of the terrible wood, did not know what to do. Night came on and he ascended a tree. In the meantime, two Râkshasas, Sankat and Bikat, came, and, promising that no injury need be feared from them, requested him to decide a case. They said, we are the sons of a great Râkshasa named Karibak. Our father once satisfied Mahâdeva and obtained three things from him. The first is a pair of shoes by means of which a man can travel thousands of miles in a moment; the second is a bag from which all sorts of jewels may be extracted whenever the hand is put into it; and the third, a rod which, if turned round, will in a short space of time create a large and magnificent city. Now our father is dead, and it is to be decided who should obtain these. Putra pointed out a large garden, and said, "Go to that garden, leaving these things here, and whosoever returns first from that place is the owner of these things." The brothers ran towards the garden. In the meantime a voice from heaven told Putra that he was destined to become a great man, and that he should wear the pair of shoes and fly at once to Siñhaldvîpa with the bag and the rod. The boy followed the advice, and in a moment he was on the banks of a beautiful tank in Siñhaldvîpa. There he was informed that the king of that island, Pataleśvara, had a daughter named Pâtalî, who, it was predicted, should be married to a foreigner who would come there, and whose name would be Putra. The young man understood what was meant. During the night he secretly visited Pâtalî in her own apartment and told her who he was. The girl then agreed to go with him wherever he liked. Putra now wore his shoes, took Pâtalî on his back, and within a very short time arrived at a spot on the south bank of the Gangâ, north of Gayâ, east of Sonbhadra, and west of the Punpuna. Here he was visited by Nârada, who wished him to establish a city by means of the rod. Putra then laid the foundation of a large city, and called it, after his own name and that of his wife—P â t a l î - P u t r a. Within a few years he conquered several provinces and became a great king. His mother had died of a broken heart.

Putra's son Kusuma succeeded him, and during his time this city was called Kusumapur. Kusuma had a son Patan, and a daughter Pâtnâ. After the name of the former, this city was for some time called Patan. Pâtnâ did not marry, and was made a *devî* by the gods, and is still the presiding goddess of the city, which is, after her, now called P â t n â. Putra in his old age, left Pâtna with his wife and went to Kailas, where he made over to Mahâdeva the three things which he had obtained from Sankat and Bikat. They lived ever

after in heaven. Such is the legendary account of the foundation of Pâtna.

BASANTA KUMAR NIYGI, B.A.,
Teacher, Pâtna College, Bankipur.

Bankipore, 27th August 1873.

THE COUVADE OR "HATCHING."

SIR,—In the districts in South India in which Telugu is spoken, there is a wandering tribe of people called the Erukalavandlu. They generally pitch their huts, for the time being, just outside a town or village. Their chief occupations are fortune-telling, rearing pigs, and making mats. Those in this part of the Telugu country observe the custom mentioned in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. II. pp. 277-284. Directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. Assafœtida, *jaggery*, and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him.

The Erukalavandlu marry when quite young. At the birth of a daughter the father of an unmarried little boy often brings a rupee and ties it in the cloth of the father of the newly-born girl. When the girl is grown up, he can claim her for his son. For twenty-five rupees he can claim her much earlier.

Can any of your correspondents in other parts of South India, and more especially those in the Telugu-speaking districts, kindly tell me whether they have met with people observing these customs?

JOHN CAIN.

Dumagudem, 31st March 1874.

THE NÂGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES.

SIR,—Having had occasion to examine more carefully the N â g a m a n g a l a inscription, whilst carrying the plates through the photolithographic process,* as requested by you, I beg to offer a few remarks on one or two passages of this highly important document. Though unable to concur with Mr. Rice in some of his readings and interpretations, I have no hesitation in stating that the transliterated text and the translation proposed by him in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 157 (though unfortunately disfigured by typographic errors), are on the whole very fairly done; and he deserves our hearty thanks for having already brought to light such valuable materials on so important a period in the history of Southern India. First, as regards the name of the dynasty of which an account is given on these plates. A re-examination of the original will, I believe, show that the form K o d g a ṇ i, which would certainly be a very near approach to K o ḍ a g u, the name of Coorg, does not really occur in it. The name of the first king, given at the end of the third line of the first plate (being the eighth king of the C h e r a line), I read distinctly as K o ṅ g a ṇ i V a r m a, the conjunct letter being clearly identical with the *ṅg* in *kritottamáṅgaḥ* in the second line of the second plate, and in other words. In an inscription of H a r i V a r m a n, or A r i V a r m a n, the tenth king of the same line, of which excellent impressions were brought home and kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Walter Elliot, the name of the grantor's grandfather is likewise spelt K o ṅ g a ṇ i V a r m a n. The same form is used in the Merkara plates, according to Mr. Rice's transcription in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 363. It may not, therefore, seem hazardous to assume that this is the correct spelling, and that the form K o g a ṇ i, which occurs twice in the N â g a m a n g a l a grant, originally arose from an omission of the dot, which came to be so largely used for the nasals.

The first part of the term *Avinítanáman*, which is applied to the seventh king, can here scarcely be taken as a proper noun, but is, I think, merely intended to explain the rather unpleasant name of the king, D u r v i n i t a ('ill-mannered'). The compound word which precedes the latter name, Mr. Rice reads *kirátárjuniyapanchadaśa(s)sargadikonkáro*, which is translated by him 'equal to Kirâtârjuna, the mighty master of the fifteen creations and of the syllable *om*.' For the last part of the compound we have, however, to read *ṭíkákáro*, and to translate the whole 'the author of a commentary on fifteen cantos (the fifteenth canto ?) of the *Kirátárjuniya*.' This surely is rather an interesting literary item.

In the account of Śrî V i k r a m a, Mr. Rice reads *viśeshato navakoshasya nîtiśástrasya vaktriprayoktṛikuśalo*, 'an embodiment of the nine treasures, skilled among those who teach and practise the science of politics.' For *navakoshasya* the grant has (*a*)*navaśeshasya*; we have to translate, accordingly, '*particularly* skilled among those who teach and practise the *entire* science of polity.

* See vol. II., plates, pp. 156, 158.

The interpretation of a passage on the next king, Bhû Vikrama, is the more misleading, as an imaginary proper noun is introduced therein, which rests entirely on a mistaken separation of the component parts of a compound. Mr. Rice's translation is as follows:—'His son, whose breast being healed of the wounds inflicted by the discus weapon of *Daradana*—exulting in his growing bravery displayed in many wars—bore on itself the emblems of victory, etc.' The compound should be read thus :—*aneka-samara-sampâdita-vijṛimbhita-dvirada-radana-kuliśa-âghâta[ḥ]-vraṇa-samrû ḷha -[śasvad? or bhâsvad ?-]vijaya-lakshaṇa-lakshîkṛita -viśâla-vaksha(ḥ)-sthalaḥ*: 'whose broad chest was marked with the marks of (continual ?) victories; (marks) cicatrized from wounds caused by strokes from the weapons (*kuliśa*) and from [or, made from] the tusks of gaping (or brave ?) elephants obtained in many battles.' With this we may compare a somewhat similar passage which occurs in the account given of the same king in the *Kongadeśa-râjâkkal*, a treatise apparently based entirely on the copperplate grants, mentioned by its author:—'From the great number of elephants which he (Bhû Vikrama Râya) procured, the title of Gajapati was given to him; he had several weapons made of ivory which he kept by him as trophies of victory.'* This passage, I have no doubt, is simply a free translation of the above compound, the words *radana kuliśa* being evidently taken to mean 'ivory weapons.'

The accounts of the kings who succeeded Bhû Vikrama cannot, I fear, be made out satisfactorily from this grant; but I have no doubt that new materials will ere long be forthcoming which will throw light on this as well as the later portions of the history of the Chera dynasty. The word divided between the second and third plates (or the 3rd and 4th pages), and read tentatively by Mr. Rice as *mammatâdsh*, was, it seems, interpreted by the compiler of the Tamil treatise as the name of the river Narmadâ (supposing, of course, that his grant offered the same test of these genealogical accounts, as is indeed generally the case). For the name Śimeshvara, also, the grant has, I think, Śiveśvara.

Sir Walter Elliot's Chera plates, mentioned above, are in the same character as the Nâgamangala inscription, but the shape of the letters is much ruder and less rounded. It records the grant of a village Pṛekoḍu, by king Arivarman, in Śaka 169 (A.D. 247) [*sakakâle navottara-shashṭirekaśatagateshu prabhavasaṃvatsare*]. The name of the king occurs twice—once at the beginning of a sentence after a full stop (11), and is both times Arivarman.† The grant mentions, besides, two predecessors of the king, viz. Śrîmân Mâdhavaḥ Mahârâjâdhirâjâḥ and Śrîmân Konganivarma-dharmamahârâjâdhirâjaḥ, as it does the king's capital, Taḷavanapuram. Since the Tamil treatise mentions another grant made by the same king in Śaka 210, he must have reigned upwards of forty years. In conclusion I may mention that there are in Sir Walter Elliot's collection impressions of four grants relating to the Pallava dynasty alluded to by Mr. Rice in his introductory remarks.

None of these documents is unfortunately dated except in the year of the grantor's reign. One of the grants contains the names of the kings

1. Śrî Skanda Varman.
2. Śrî Vîra Varman.
3. Śrî Skanda Varman.
4. Śrî Vishṛugopa Varman.
5. Siṁha Varma Mahârâjaḥ.

(Dated in the 11th year of this king.)

The second grant records the names

1. Śrî Vîra Varman.
2. Śrî Skanda Varman.
3. Śrî Vishṛugopa.
4. Śrî Siṁha Varman.

(In the eighth year of his reign.)

The third document contains two names only:

1. Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Śrî Râjendra Varman;
2. (His son) Śrî Devendra Varman.

The fourth and last:—

1. Mahârâja Chaṇḍa Varman.
2. (His eldest son) Mahârâja Śrî Vijaya Nandi Varman.

Their kingdom is called Vengirâshtram; and their capital Vengîpuram (and once Kalinganagaram). J. EGGELING.

London, 22, Albemarle Street,
13th March 1874.

* Prof. Dowson, *Jour. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 5, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 362.

† If this be the original and correct spelling of the name, the form Harivarman might easily have originated from its combination with the preceding *śrîmad*.

BHADRA BÂHU AND ŚRAVAṆA BELGOḶA.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALOR.

THE most interesting and probably the earliest among the ancient inscriptions to be found on the rock at the summit of Indragiri at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa is one relating to an emigration of Jainas from Ujjayini (Ujjain) and Northern India under the leadership of Bhadra Bâhu *svâmin*, in order to escape a dreadful famine of twelve years' duration which he had foretold, and his death on the way at this hill. The inscription is in the same antique form of Old Kanarese letters as the others already published by me, but in the Sanskṛit language, and runs thus:—

Svasti ||

Jitam bhagavatâ śrîmad dharmma tîrttha vidhâyina Varddhamânena samprâpta siddhi saukhyâmṛitâtmanâ |
Lokâloka dvayâdhâra vastu sthâsnu charishnu cha sachidâloka śaktih svâ vyaśnute yasya kevalâ ||
Jagatyachintya mâhâtmya pûjâtiśayam îyushah tîrttha krinnâma puṇyaugha mahârhantyam upeyushah |
Tadanu śri Viśâleyajjayatyadya jagaddhitam tasya śâsanam avyâjam pravâdi mata śâsanam ||
Atha khalu sakala jagadudaya karaṇoditâtiśaya guṇâspadi bhûta parama Jina śâsana sarah samabhivarddhita bhavya jana kamala vikasana vitimira guṇa kiraṇa sahasra mahâti Mahâvira savitari parinirvṛite bhagavat paramarshi Gautama gaṇadhara sâkshâchchishya Lohârya Jambu Vishṇu. Dev-Aparâjita Govarddhana Bhadra Bâhu Viśâkha Proshṭhila Kshatrikârya Jayanâma Siddhârtha Dhṛitishena Buddhilâdi guru paramparena kramâbhyâgata mahâpurusha santati samavadyotitânvaya Bhadra Bâhu svâminâv-Ujjayinyâm ashṭânga mahâ nimitta tatvajnena traikâlya darśina nimittena dvâdaśa samvatsara kâla vaishamyam upalabhya kathite sarvva sanghah uttara pathâddakshiṇa patham prasthitah Ârshenaiva janapadam aneka grâma śata sankhyam udita jana dhana kanaka sasya go mahishâja vikala samâkîrṇam prâptavân. Atah âchârya prabhâ chandrâṇâm avani tala lalâma bhûtethâsmin Kaṭavapra nâmakopalakshite vividha taru vara kusuma dalâvali vikachana śabala vipula sajala jalada nivaha nîlopala tale varâha dvîpi vyâghrarksha tarakshu vyâḷa mṛiga kulopachitopatyaka kandara dari mahâ guhâ gahanâbhogavati samuttunga śringe śikhariṇi jîvita śesham alpatara kâlam avabuddhyâdhvanah suchakitah tapassamâdhim ârâdhayitum âprichchhya niravaśesheṇâ sangham visṛijya śishyeṇaikeva pṛithulakastîrṇa talâsu śilâsu svadeham sanyasyârâdhitavân kramena sapta śatam ṛishîṇâm arâdhitam iti. Jayatu Jina śâsanam iti.

The following is the translation:—

May it be well!

Success through the adorable Varddhamâna, a *tîrthankara* by his own merit, an embodiment of the nectar of the peace of acquired *siddhi* (the fruit of penance);

Refuge of both the upper and lower worlds, himself all things moveable and immoveable, by his own energy pervading the worlds of both mind and matter;

Having obtained inconceivable greatness and supreme honour throughout the world, having acquired the great *arhantya* in the group of worthies who have become *tîrthankaras*:

Moreover whose undisputed (and indisputable) doctrine, overcoming those of the other disputing sects, is supreme in Śri Viśâla,* and a security to the world.

After the great sun Mahâvîra had gone down, an abode of glorious qualities which illuminated all worlds, a great orb of a thousand brilliant rays which, dispersing the darkness, caused to unfold the lotus of the faithful multiplying in the lake of the supreme Jaina faith:—(there arose) the adorable great Ṛishi Gautama Gaṇadhara, his personal disciple Lohârya, Jambu, Vishṇu Deva, Aparâjita, Govarddhana, Bhadra Bâhu, Viśâkha, Proshṭhila, Kshatrikârya, Jayanâma, Siddhârta, Dhṛitishena, Buddhila, and other gurus. Bhadra Bâhu Svâmin, of the illustrious line and direct descent of these great men, who by virtue of his severe penance had

* An ancient name of Ujjayini.

acquired the essence of knowledge, having, by his power of discovering the past, present, and future, foretold in Ujjayini a period of twelve years of dire calamity (or famine), all classes of the people leaving the northern regions took their way to the south under the Rishi's direction. And in the countries they traversed might be counted many hundreds of villages filled with ruins, among which appeared remains of human bodies, money, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes, and goats. But when they had reached a mountain with lofty peaks, whose name was Kaṭavapra,—an ornament to the earth; the ground around which was variegated with the brilliant hues of the clusters of gay flowers fallen from the beautiful trees; the rocks on which were as dark as the great rain-clouds filled with water; abounding with wild boars, panthers, tigers, bears, hyenas, serpents, and deer; filled with caves, caverns, large ravines and forests;—that moon among the *áchâris* perceiving that but little time remained for him to live, and fearing on account of his present mode of life, announced to the people his desire to do the penance before death, and dismissed them, so that none were left. Then, with one single disciple, performing the *sanyasana* on stones covered with grass, by degrees he quitted his body and attained to the state of the seven hundred *ṛishis*. May it prosper this Jaina *śâsana!*

The inscription thus appears to be very circumstantial, and to present several points whereby the period to which it belongs may be identified. But the name Bhadra Bâhu, though an illustrious one in Jaina annals, has been borne by more than one individual. Those who have made the Jaina hierarchy their study may be able to adjudge to the hero of the present inscription his proper position therein. I will content myself with relating such traditions of him as have been met with in Maisur.

My authority is the *Râjávali Kathe*, a work in ancient Kanarese containing a summary of Jaina history from the earliest times, the narrative being frequently interrupted by curious legendary stories, and the whole winding up with an apparently unexaggerated chronological statement. The author's name is Devachandra, but he mentions nothing more about himself than that he is "a truthful historian." The manuscript is very old, and in places obliterated. It has the appearance of being written by an aged hand. The work may probably repay examination and analysis, but at present I will confine myself to extracting the account it gives of the occurrences recorded in the inscription before us.

We may begin with the birth and education of Bhâdra Bâhu:—While Padmarada was reigning in the city of Kotikapura, in Pundra Varddhana, in Bharata Khaṇḍa, his queen being Padmaśri, and his *purohita* Soma Śarmma, a Brâhmaṇ; the wife of the latter, named Somaśri, bore a son. His father, from an inspection of the child's horoscope, perceiving that he would become a great upholder of the Jaina faith, named him Bhadra Bâhu, and performed the initiatory ceremonies of *chaula* and *upanayana* according to the Jaina ritual. One day when Bhadra Bâhu, being then seven years of age, was at play with other children, Govarddhana Mahâmuni—who, accompanied by Vishnu, Nandi Mitra, and Aparâjita, all four being *Śruta Kevalis*, and with five hundred disciples, had come to Kotikapura in order to do reverence at the tomb of Jambusvâmi—passed by. Looking on Bhadra Bâhu, the *muni* discerned from his lucky marks that he was destined to be the last of the *Śruta Kevalis*. He therefore took the boy by the hand and conducting him to his father, offered to take charge of him and bring him up in all wisdom. Soma Śarmma, prostrating himself, consented, relating how he had perceived at the boy's birth that he would become a distinguished Jaina. But his mother, Sômaśrî, begged that before the *dikske* was performed she might see her son again. To this Govarddhana Svâmi agreeing, took Bhadra Bâhu with him, and made arrangements for his board and lodging in the house of Aksha Śravaka.

Through the *svâmi's* instructions he acquired a knowledge of the four great branches of learning—*yogini*, *sangini*, *prajñyâni*, and *prajñaṭṭena*—of the Veda of the four *anuyoga*, of grammar and the fourteen sciences. Then, feeling a strong desire for renunciation of family, body, and pleasure, he begged for *dîkshe*, on which the *svâmi* sent him first to see his father and mother. Having obtained their consent, he took the *dîkshe*, and by the practice of *jñyâna*, *dhyâna*, *tapassu*, and *samyama* became an

âchârya. And Govarddhana Śruta Kevali went to the world of gods.

The next appearance of Bhadra Bâhu in the history brings us to the events mentioned in the inscription:—And Chandragupta, the king of Pâṭaliputra, on the night of full-moon in the month Kârtika, had sixteen dreams. He dreamed that he saw—1, the sun setting; 2, a branch of the *kalpavṛiksha* break off and fall; 3, a divine car descending in the sky and returning; 4, the disk of the moon sundered; 5, black elephants fighting; 6, fireflies shining in the twilight; 7, a dried-up lake; 8, smoke filling all the air; 9, an ape sitting on a throne; 10, a dog eating the *pâyasa* out of a golden bowl; 11, young bulls labouring; 12, *Kshatriya* boys riding on donkeys; 13, monkeys scaring away swans; 14, calves jumping over the sea; 15, foxes pursuing old oxen; and 16, a twelve-headed serpent approaching. The king arose next day much troubled in mind on account of these visions. After performing the morning ceremonies, he entered the council-hall, when the keeper of the royal garden appeared with intelligence that Bhadra Bâhu Muni, travelling over many countries, had arrived there. The king with all his councillors immediately went forth to do him reverence, and, after receiving religious instruction, informed him of the dreams.

Bhadra Bâhu's interpretation of them, some parts being very significant and curious, is, in short, as follows:—1. All knowledge will be darkened. 2. The Jaina religion will decline, and your successors on the throne take *dîkshe*. 3. The heavenly beings will not henceforth visit the Bharata *kshetra*. 4. The Jainas will be split into sects. 5. The clouds will not give seasonable rain, and the crops will be poor. 6. True knowledge being lost, a few sparks will glimmer with a feeble light. 7. Âryakhaṇḍa will be destitute of Jaina doctrine. 8. The evil will prevail, and goodness be hidden. 9. The vile, the low-born, and the wicked will acquire power. 10. Kings, not content with a sixth-share, will introduce land-rent and, demanding twice and thrice the amount, oppress their subjects. 11. The young will form religious purposes but forsake them when old. 12. Kings of high descent will associate with the base. 13. The low will torment the noble, and try to reduce them to the same level. 14. Kings will assist in oppressing the people by levying customs duties and other unlawful taxes. 15. The low, with hollow compliments, will get rid of the noble, the good, and the wise. 16. Twelve years of dearth and famine will come upon this land.

One day, soon after, when Bhadra Bâhu had despatched his disciples in various directions to beg for alms, himself went and stood before a house where was an infant crying in its cradle. So loud were its cries that although he called out twelve times no one heeded. From this sign he knew that the twelve years' famine had commenced. And the king's ministers offered many sacrifices to avert the calamity, but Chandragupta, to atone for their sin of taking life, abdicated in favour of his son Siṁha Sena, and, taking *dîkshe*, joined himself to Bhadra Bâhu.

Siṁha Sena's ministers advise him to send for Nammâlva Bhantika and to perform a great *yagna* (an illustration perhaps of the way in which a Hindu government would deal with such a calamity). But the Mûla (Jaina) Brâhmaṇs are called, and a long discussion ensues regarding the innocence or sinfulness of animal sacrifices, when the advocates of the latter doctrine prevail.

Bhadra Bâhu then—proclaiming that all rain and cultivation will cease from the Vindhya mountains as far as the Nilgiris; the people will die of starvation; those who remain here will have their faith corrupted—collected a body of twelve thousand disciples and went southwards.

And on coming to a certain hill he perceived that his end was approaching. He therefore gave *upadeśa* to Viśâkha Muni, and committing all the disciples to his care sent them on under his guidance to the Choḷa and Pâṇḍya countries. Chandragupta alone received permission to remain, who on his master's death performed the funeral rites in a cave, and there abode, worshipping his footprints.

Meanwhile Viśâkhâchârya, taking with him all the people, worshipping the Jaina *bimba* (or images) of the various Jinâlayas in the villages and towns on the way, and milking the nectar of *dharmma* to the Jainas in those places, dwelt in *vihâras* in the Choḷa maṇḍala.

The narrative then returns to the scene of the famine, and describes the sufferings of the Jainas who had remained behind under Sthûla Bhadra Muni and others. Religious observ-

ances were neglected, and scruples about food disregarded. All the grain was consumed; no leaves, flowers, fruit, berries, roots, bulbs, or seeds were left; and the people, wandering here and there in search of food, perished.

And when the twelve years of famine were ended, Viśâkâchâri with the twelve thousand disciples turned northwards, and entering the Karnâṭaka country journeyed to the cave in which his guru, Bhadra Bâhu, had expired. There he found Chandragupta Muni engaged in the worship of the footprints, his hair grown into a great mass. The latter on seeing Viśâkha Muni rose, and coming forward did obeisance, which he did not return, considering that Chandragupta was corrupted by feeding on roots and berries during the famine. But, accepting the obeisance, he learned from him all the particulars regarding Bhadra Bâhu's end. Fasting that day, they prepared next morning for a long journey, as they could not get food in that uninhabited country. But Chandragupta offered to conduct them to a town in the forest close by. They wondering followed, and were entertained with the best of food by the Śravakas there. But on their way back to the cave a *Brahmâchâri*, discovering that he had left his pot behind in the town, returned to fetch it. What was his surprise to find the town vanished, and his pot hanging on the branch of a tree! Viśâkhâchâri then perceived that Chandragupta had resorted to magic to supply them with food; so, after extracting the hairs of Chandragupta's matted locks, he gave him absolution (*prâyaschitta*). And absolving himself and his disciples for partaking of that magical food, all went their ways.

And after a time a king named Bhâskara, the son of Siṅha Sena, came with all his forces for the purpose of worshipping at the place of Bhadra Bâhu's decease, and doing obeisance to Chandragupta, his guru and grandfather. There he set up some *chaityâlayas*, and, remaining for many days, built near the hill a city which was named Beḷgoḷa.

The death of Chandragupta at the same spot is subsequently related.

This is a strange story. How much of it may be accepted as historical is not easy to say. The account of the twelve years' famine, and the consequent emigration of Jainas southward, agree with what is stated on the inscription. The two also coincide in relation to Bhadra Bâhu, that he foretold the famine, that he headed the expedition, and that he died at a hill on the way, having only a single disciple with him at the time.

The occurrence of the twelve years of famine we may perhaps admit as real, and further research will probably bring to light other references to such an event.* There is nothing improbable, moreover, about the emigration to the south arising out of the famine, for there is evidence that Jainas were settled in great numbers throughout the south in the earliest times of which historical records exist. That Bhadra Bâhu was the leader of the pilgrims, and that he died at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, may be received as facts. For, apart from the existence of the inscription there, the cave in which he expired, and his footprints in the cave, are to this day the objects of worship. These it is indeed which give Beḷgoḷa its sanctity in the eyes of the Jainas, and they are deemed of greater importance than the colossal image of Gomaṭeśvara. The latter was the consequence of the Jaina settlement there, the former its cause. That Bhadra Bâhu received to the last the ministrations of a disciple named Chandragupta may perhaps be allowed, as the following occurs among the shorter inscriptions on the hill:—

Śri Bhadra Bâhu sa Chandra Gupta munîndra yugmadi noppeval |

Bhadramâgida dharmmam anduvaḷikke vandini padulo. . . . .

Which may be rendered;

The pair who pursue in the steps of the holy Bhadra Bâhu along with the great muni Chandra Gupta will acquire unshaken faith, and by reverence attain to the world of happiness.

There remain then the statements that this Bhadra Bâhu† was the last of the *Śruta Kevalis*, and that his faithful disciple was the celebrated Chandragupta, the king of Pâṭaliputra.

On the first of these points the following quotation may be made from Prof. H. H. Wilson:— "The succession of Jaina teachers is always

* Sir Bartle Frere refers to *Ancient Dekhan Famines* in his work '*The Bengal Famine*,' p. 55.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 139, 197, 261, 263, and 305.

deduced from Mahâvîra, through his disciple Sudharma. Of the rest all but Gautama died before their Master, and Gautama survived him but a month, which he spent in penance and fasting. Sudharma, therefore, was the only one who remained competent to impart instruction. His pupil was Jambusvâmi, the last of the *Kevalis*, or possessors of true wisdom: six teachers follow, termed *Śruta Kevalis*, or hearers of the first masters, and then seven others, *Daśapurvis*, from having been taught the works so named. These are common to all the lists when correct."* In a note to the extract a list is given of the six *Śruta Kevalis*, the last two being Bhadra Bâhu and Sthûla Bhadra. It is evident that the *Śruta Kevalis* were contemporary; slight variations may therefore be expected in the order of naming them. Now we learn from the narrative of the *Râjâvali Kathe* that Govarddhana, Vishṇu, Nandi Mitra, and Aparâjita were the names of four of them who visited in company the tomb of Jambusvâmi. Also that Sthûla Bhadra, whom we will suppose to be a fifth, stayed out the famine in the north. Bhadra Bâhu is therefore consistently called the last, that is, the sixth. The names occur in the same order in the inscription, but Sthûla Bhadra is there omitted, the reason for which may be that those who remained in the famine-stricken districts were considered to have fallen from orthodoxy through forced neglect of religious observances,—an opinion which receives support from more than one statement in the history. The great Svetâmbara secession appears, according to the same, to have arisen out of the irregularities of that period of distress.

That Viśâkhâ succeeded Bhadra Bâhu is ascertained from both records.

Before considering the story of Chandragupta, it may be well to ascertain, with the aid of the chronological table at the end of the *Râjâvali Kathe*, the date assigned to the last of the *Śruta Kevalis*, as it will assist in fixing the age of the inscription.

Chronology of the Râjâvali Kathe.

After the death of Vîra Varddhamâna Gautama and the other *Kevalis* .... 62 years.
Then Nandi Mitra and the other *Śruta Kevalis* ....100 years.
" Viśâkha and the other *Daśapurvis* ....183 "
" Nakshatra and the other Ekadaśângadhara ....223 "

Then was born Vikramaditya in Ujjayini; and he, by his knowledge of astronomy, having made an almanac, established his own era from the year Rûdirodgâri, the 605th year after the death of Varddhamâna.

An interesting summary of the rise of various heresies, and the location of the principal *sanghas* and *gachchhas* follows, but need not be introduced here.

All Jaina chronology turns upon the disputed period of the death of Varddhamâna or Mahâvîra. From the list above given we obtain for that event the date B.C. 661,† and for the death of the last *Śruta Kevali* B.C. 499. The inscription cannot, therefore, be older than this latter date. But that it was inscribed some time after the events to which it relates, is evident from the genealogy being carried on to Viśâkha, the first of the *Daśapurvis*, and his successors. There seems, therefore, nothing by which to approximate to the time when the inscription was engraved on the stone, except the character of the letters as compared with other inscriptions at the same place. Now at the foot of the great statue are a few words, in Devanâgari and in Ancient Kanarese characters, stating that it was erected by Châmuṇḍa Râya. These characters are not so archaic in form as those of the inscription now before us. But assuming, as is reasonable, that they were engraved at the time of the erection of the image by that prince, we must, according to Wilson, assign to them the date B.C. 50 or 60.‡ So far, then, as our data go, we may perhaps put down our inscription as of the third or fourth century B.C.

We may now investigate the story of Chandragupta and the Jainas of his day. The identification of this sovereign with the *Sandrakoptos* of the Greek historians, and the contemporary of Seleucus, has long supplied one of the most certain landmarks in the history of Ancient India. Of the religious sects existing

* *Works*, vol. I. p. 336.

† From various statements LASSEN obtains B.C. 392, 569, 358, and 495 (*Ind. Alt.* IV. pp. 762, 779); WEBER, B.C. 349 (*Sat. Mah.* p. 12); COLEBROOKE, B.C. 651 (*As. Res.* IX. p. 264); TOD, B.C. 533 (*An. Raj.* I. p. 59). In the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 150, Bhadra Bâhu is placed 170 years after Mahâvîra.

‡ *Works*, I. p. 333.

among the Hindus at that period, Wilson remarks:—"It has been supposed that we have notices of the Jaina sect as far back as the time of the Macedonian invasion of India, or at least at the period at which Megasthenes was sent ambassador to Sandrakoptus, and that these notices are recorded by Strabo and Arrian."* Colebrooke, who examined the passages referred to, thus states the conclusion at which he arrived: "The followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the *Brachmanes* and *Sarmanes.* The latter, called *Germanes* by Strabo and *Samanœans* by Porphyrius, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina or to another."†

The materials for the history of Chandragupta are contained in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa,* the *Bhâgavata,* and the *Vṛihat Kathâ.* They have been summarized by Wilson in his preface to the *Mudra Râkshasa,*‡ a drama also connected with Chandragupta. The only facts we need refer to in his account are that Pâṭaliputra, the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, was the capital of Chandragupta, and that the latter, after a reign of 24 years, left the kingdom to his son. The name of the capital agrees with that given in our narrative. But the concluding statement leaves it uncertain whether Chandragupta's reign came to an end by his abdication in favour of his son, as our history relates, or in the ordinary course, by his death. On consideration of such coincidences as may be noticed in the received account of Chandragupta as given above, and those set forth in the Jaina history now brought to light, it will perhaps be conceded that there seems nothing irreconcileable between the two.

Now the reign of Chandragupta falls, by consent of the best authorities, in the fourth century B.C. §. There is thus a discrepancy between the period we have derived from the chronology of the *Râjâvali Kathe* for the death of Bhadra Bâhu, and the period during which Chandragupta lived. But when the variations, extending over more than three hundred years, in the dates given for the death of Varddhamâna, on which the former depends, are taken into account, it is easy to conceive that the difficulty is capable of solution.

The antiquity of the Jainas has been argued against, on *à priori* grounds, by high authorities in the field of Oriental research. Some light, it is to be hoped, may be thrown on the subject‖ by the accumulation of evidence such as we have in the record of the *Râjâvali Kathe,* and in the inscription we have been examining, which carries us back more than two thousand years from the present day.

* Works, I. p. 324.

† Essays, II. p. 203. Conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. pp. 700, 710.

‡ *Theatre of the Hindus,* II. p. 127.

§ Elphinstone, *Hist. of Ind.* p. 139.

‖ And on that other question, the relation in which they stand to the Buddhists.

DR. LEITNER'S BUDDHISTIC SCULPTURES.

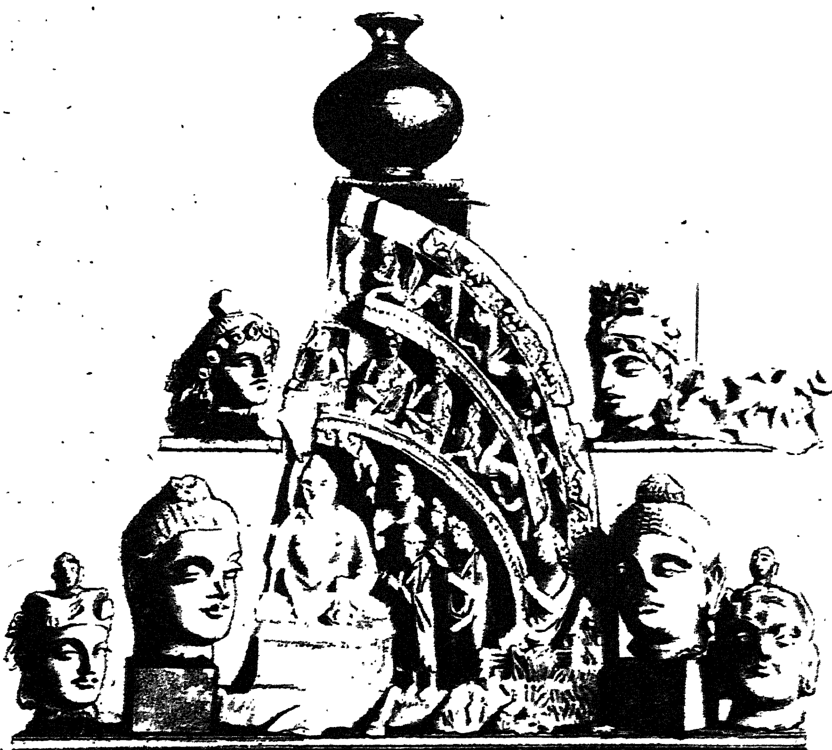
The accompanying illustration, from a photograph by Mr. Burke, represents a group of sculptures from the collection of Dr. Leitner of Lahor. They belong to various periods in Græco-Buddhistic, Buddhistic, and ancient Hindu archæology.

At the top is a brass jug on which scenes from the *Râmâyaṇa* (the rape of Sîtâ and the war with Lankâ), the incarnations of Vishṇu, and representations of Śiva, are most exquisitely engraved. This jug was obtained at Jelâlpur (the true site of the battle of Alexander with Porus, as Dr. Leitner and others consider): the two heads on the top ledge are, the one a Baktrian, the other a most beautiful Græco-Buddhist female; whilst the fragment near the latter represents the lower part of a jovial procession, with a goat led out and followed by dancing men.

The big fragment of a group on the second ledge consists of men-dragons; in the upper row, of Buddha when still a prince; in the second row, sitting in the unusual attitude of a European on a throne; and in the main or lowest group, of Buddha as a teacher.

This fragment is supported by purely Buddhist heads, distinguished by the hair simply tied in the well-known topknot, whilst on the extreme left is the head of a Baktrian or Græco-Buddhist prince.

On the third row (from the top) are a variety of figures and groups, which are quite an historical contribution. Beginning from the extreme right, we have Buddha meeting with







BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PESHAWAR.

the recluse; then a peculiar Hindu-Buddhist figure (transition period), obtained at Ketas, the ancient Sinhapurâ *(?), from a female saint, in whose family it is said to have been for eight hundred years; then a Skythian (?) or aboriginal head, which, with another representing a face in deep agony, surrounds a group in which two persons carry a horse and its rider. The smaller fragments before and beyond it are too indistinct to furnish any immediate explanation, but attention is deservedly arrested at a highly elaborated and perforated bit of architecture surrounding a group in various and nobly conceived attitudes of prayer.

On the lowest ledge is a confused mass of fragments, one belonging to the fragment on the second row which represents,—beginning, on the extreme right,—the usual group surrounding Buddha followed by a well-bearded old man in a kilt, and other indistinct figures of men, dragons, &c. &c., none of which, however, are at all conceived in the grotesque spirit of Indian idols.

The whole antiquarian collection of Dr. Leitner consists of 172 pieces, of which the majority were excavated by him in 1870, at Takht-i-Bahi.

"One group presented by Dr. Leitner to the Belvedere, Vienna, is interesting as the most complete specimen of the ordinary Buddhist worship of the purest type. There were bas-reliefs showing Buddha surrounded by female as well as male worshippers. In one figure, the North Indian Râja, with his thin moustache, and the *ṭikkâ* mark on his forehead, was represented with a Greek diadem and head-dress. The face showed dignity and resolution, and Dr. Leitner considered it the finest specimen in his collection. One particularly beautiful group, of which casts have been sent to both the Belvedere and the Vienna Exhibition, consists of ten sculptures, which seemed to represent almost a continuous tale. A young prince (probably Buddha) is led by an attendant holding an umbrella (the sign of authority) towards an idol, to which he appears to refuse worship, beyond which and a solitary pillar ugly dwarfs are seated. Again the boy (who appears to be the rightful prince) is led forward on to a block, in front of a stern-looking king, to be killed, whilst one of the group of attendants seems to keep back his brother, or perhaps a pretender; whilst at the side niche the boy is already on the sacrificial altar, his mother (probably that of Buddha) vehemently interceding for his life before the same stern ruler. In the next, Buddha, riding an ass, with his attendants, arrives at the gate of a town, where they meet with a writer with a tablet. At a place in the Kyang plain, in Middle Thibet, about 10,000 feet high, a similar carving is seen, where Buddha is represented riding on an ass, and preceded and followed by men wearing branches of the palm-tree (which is unknown in that region). In connection with this group Dr. Leitner mentioned a very remarkable carving, showing Indians at Olympian games. A most remarkable point about all these groups is the minuteness of the carving on the stone or slate, and the variety and completeness of historical and religious representation, which yet require much study. Of architectural fragments, the most notable is the "Buddhist railing"—the device of serpent ornamentation. Curious were the two specimens of figures in mortar (gypsum) resting on a thick base, and representing Buddha and two worshippers. The Græco-Buddhists evidently knew how to cast moulds in mortar, and the art of casting moulds in mud is still faintly preserved at Lâhor. There are also cornices, capitals, &c., of which the highest school of architecture need not be ashamed. The figure of a Buddhist hermit who has just breathed his last is a marvellous success of artistic representation. The sunken eyes and the lines in the cheeks, and the mouth, showed thought and privation. The carving had received a red daub on the forehead by some Hindu who wanted to worship it. On most of the statues, to whatever type they might belong, the *ṭikkâ* was worn on the forehead. Very few, in fact only two, of the faces were bearded, and those that were so belonged either to a Muhammadan cast of countenance or to the kilted invaders (probably Skythians). Modern Hindu village gods, in clay and brass, showed that the lineaments of Buddha still lingered in the mind of the sculptor in the Panjâb, Zanskar, and Ladak."†

Dr. Leitner's collection is by no means a

* Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 124-5; but see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 16, note ‡.—ED.

† From report of a Lecture by Dr. Leitner in *The Building News*, March 6, 1874.

completely representative one, but the sculptures are, in the opinion of competent judges, a most valuable series, and were they and other materials, such as the so-called Græco-Baktrian sculptures in the Museums of Lahor, Dehli, Calcutta, and Edinburgh University, only made accessible by adequate photographic representations, it would not be very difficult, probably, to arrange a series of Buddhist sculptures extending almost without a break from B. C. 250 to A. D. 700, which would not only be a most interesting chapter in the history of Eastern art, but would form a chronometric scale by which to test the age of other monuments, and especially of the Buddhist caves, at an age when we know, as yet, very little about the matter.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S.

(*Continued from page 96.*)

II.—*Draviḍian, Rommany, and English.*

Mr. Charles G. Leland, though more widely known as the author of *Hans Breitmann's Ballads*, has shown, in his amusing volume *The English Gipsies and their Language*, that he has no small skill in antiquarian philology. He supports the theory that the Gipsies are of Indian origin, the remnant of an exodus of low-caste or servile tribes driven out by unrecorded convulsions or persecutions, and arriving in Europe by unnoticed ways and at unnoticed periods, and has plausibly shown that many slang or sporting expressions which have filtered into common use from the Rommanis tongue are derived from Indian words. The strange word "shindy," for quarrel or disturbance, and the 'extraordinary expression' "cutting up shines," with the same meaning, have only appeared within the present century, and are of Gipsy origin. Mr. Leland derives *shindy* from the Gipsy "chingari," a quarrel; and *shines* from "chindi," meaning the same; whilst *cutting* he refers to "cut," signifying to fight in Rommanis, thus throwing some light upon the apparently unmeaning phrase "cutting shines." But I could suggest that a more direct Indian origin for the word *shindy* may be found in the Tamil *shandè*, a quarrel or fight, which may have been carried into Europe by the Gipsy wanderers; and *cut*, in the sense used, may come from *kăttu*, which in all Draviḍian languages bears as many meanings and applications as Dickens found *fix*—its primary signification—to bear in America. Another word that has more completely come into vulgar use is *row*, an uproar or disturbance: this expression, though so familiar, is comparatively a stranger in our tongue, and Mr. Leland derives it from "*rov*" or "*rav*," I howl or cry, in German Gipsy: and allied to this may be the word *rowdy;* but I suspect that *row* may also be of Draviḍian derivation. When an assistant in the Tamil country, and frequently trying cases of assault, a common beginning of a witness's statement would be, "As I was coming along the road I heard *raus shabdam*"—a sound of clamours or disturbance; it was a village term which I have not found in any dictionary, but was of common occurrence, and the same in sound and meaning as the English and Gipsy *row*, for which I am not aware that any more plausible origin can be offered. There is a remarkable absence of similarity between Draviḍian and English words. I once heard the first of English Telugu scholars, Mr. C. P. Brown, observe that the only Telugu word at all resembling an English word that he knew was *mikkili* = mickle, much. In Tamil there is one curious example, *teen* meaning grief, sorrow,—the very word used by Elizabethan writers to denote the same, frequently employed by Shakespere, Spenser, and the rest; and remarkably too, both in English and Tamil it is archaic. Its root in the latter language is *tī* = fire; its meaning evidently taken metaphorically from the scorching, withering effects thereof, but how it found its way into English seems difficult to guess. Another word that may be noted is *shen*, signifying in Tamil red, bright, polished, as *shenkatir*, "the red-rayed," *i.e.* the Sun; *shen Tamil*, "polished Tamil," the high dialect; the likeness of this word to the old English *sheen* is obvious. Mr. Leland even suggests that Shakespere, who knew everything, may have taken his name Caliban from the Rommany *Kaulopen*, which means "the black one;" and indeed Shakespere may well enough be imagined to have passed an hour or two by a gipsy camp-fire in Warwickshire

lanes, listening to gipsy talk, before stealing into Charlecote Park; and we may venture to add that "Kaulopen" may not improbably originate from that commonest of Tamil low-caste names, *Kărŭppŭn*, signifying "black fellow."

III.—*Folklore.*

Of late years the researches of mythologists and gatherers of folk-lore have disclosed, in the most interesting way, how all popular fairy-tales and nursery stories have been current amongst all Aryan nations from the remotest antiquity. More or less modified, the same old root-stories appear in all languages and countries. Fairy tales and nursery legends, varied in accompaniments according to customs and climate, are told in the same way from extremest West to remotest East, from Ireland to Japan. An example or two may be not without interest. In that most delightful of all collections of fairy stories, Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, we find several most racy stories of the wily fairy who knows where the pot of treasure is concealed. His general appearance is that of a shrivelled, pigmy old man, and if surprised and caught by any mortal may be forced by threats to disclose where the pot is hidden; only if whilst showing it he can get his captor's eyes turned from him for an instant, he has the power of disappearing. Tom, an Irish peasant, coming home one evening, had surprised and seized one of these crafty beings, and threatened him with all sorts of horrors if he did not show where his money was. The rest of the story may be told in C. Croker's inimitable way:—

"Tom looked so wicked and bloody-minded that the little man was quite frightened; so, says he, 'Come along with me a couple of fields off, and I'll show you a crock (pot) of gold.'

"So they went, and Tom held the Fairy fast in his hand, and never took his eyes from off him, though they had to cross hedges and ditches and a crooked bit of bog (for the Fairy seemed, out of pure mischief, to pick out the hardest and most contrary way), till at last they came to a great field all full of boliauns (ragweed, a large plant growing abundantly on waste land), and the Fairy pointed to a big boliaun, and says he, 'Dig under that boliaun and you'll get the great crock all full of guineas.'

"Tom in his hurry had never minded the bringing a spade with him; so he thought to run home and fetch one; and, that he might know the spot again, he took off one of his red garters and tied it round the boliaun.

"'I suppose,' said the Fairy, very civilly, 'you've no further occasion for me?'

"'No,' says Tom, 'you may go away now, and may good luck attend you wherever you go!'

"'Well, good-bye to you, Tom,' said the Fairy, 'and much good may you do with what you'll get!'

"So Tom ran for the dear life till he came home, and got a spade, and then away with him, as hard as he could go, back to the field of boliauns; but when he got there, lo and behold! not a boliaun but had a red garter, the very identical model of his own, tied about it; and as to digging up the whole field, that was all nonsense, for there was more than forty good Irish acres in it. So Tom came home again with his spade on his shoulder, a little cooler than he went; and many's the hearty curse he gave the Fairy every time he thought of the neat turn he had served him."

Compare with the foregoing a legend given by Mr. W. R. Holmes, in his *Sketches on the Shore of the Caspian*, as current at Semnûn, in Persia, respecting a quarrel between Shem and Ham and the Guebres. The latter are said to have pursued the prophets with intent to plunder them, and were about to overtake them on a plain, when the earth opened and closed upon them and their treasure. Nightfall being near, the Guebres placed a small heap of stones on the spot where they had disappeared, and returned next morning to dig them out, but to their confusion found the whole plain covered with similar heaps of stones; so returned disappointed.

Again in the "Legend of Bottle-Hill," in the Croker collection, a peasant distressed for rent meets a Fairy on a hill, who gives him a bottle, which the peasant takes home, puts on the ground, and on pronouncing, as instructed by the Fairy, "Bottle, do your duty" two tiny mannikins rose like light from the bottle, and in an instant covered the table with dishes and plates of gold and silver full of the finest victuals, and when all was done went into the bottle again; the wealth thus obtained was soon spent, and the peasant, contrary to express injunction, sold the bottle, and then, poor as before,

was going over the same hill again, when the same Fairy appeared, and gave him another bottle. The peasant hurried home with it exultingly, but on placing it on the ground and repeating the adjuration two stout men with big cudgels issued from the bottle, and belaboured the peasant and his family till they were half dead. Sir R. Alcock, in his *Capital of the Tycoon* (vol. II. page 287), gives a Japanese fairy tale, to the effect that an old couple living together had a sparrow, the twittering of which annoyed the wife. One day she slit its tongue and let it go. Her husband was angry and went searching for it over the hills, when he met a beautiful girl, who thanked him for his kindness to her when a bird in his house, and offering him two baskets asked him whether he would have the heavy or the light one. He took the lighter, and on opening it at home found it full of beautiful gold-inwoven clothes. His wife thought she would try her luck, so went to the hills, where the same girl appeared and upbraided her for her unkindness, but also offered two baskets to choose between. She took the heavy basket, but on opening it at home two goblins jumped out and beat her well.

Besides this universality of popular stories, there is hardly a mediæval legend of the Saints that has not its parallel in the East. The Śaiva Catechism tells of the saint Tiru-Narukkarasu-Svâmi that when the Buddhists tied him to a pillar of stone and cast him into the sea, the pillar floated on the waves like a raft of wood, and the saint was carried along upon it until he came to the mouth of the river Kedila, near Tiru-Padirippuliyur, and there he landed. In like manner Scott relates the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body:—

"In his stone coffin forth he rides,
A ponderous bark for river tides,
Yet light as gossamer it glides
Downward to Tilmouth cell.
And, after many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his Cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear."

Marmion, Canto II.

(*To be continued.*)

PASSAGES EXPRESSING RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SENTIMENTS, FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

By far the largest portion of Hindu theology is closely connected with one or other of the principal philosophical systems, mostly with the Vedânta; while the devout sentiment which abounds in the *Purâṇas* is almost always associated with, and modified by, the peculiar worship of Vishṇu in one or other of his supposed manifestations, or with the adoration of Mahâdeva or of his consort. But it deserves investigation whether these same and other Indian works do not contain a more or less numerous class of passages which express the devout feelings of persons practically unaffected either by philosophical theories, or popular mythology and sectarian devotion, and influenced only by their own inherent religious emotions.

It is my object in this paper to offer, as a contribution to this inquiry, some specimens of the purest religious conceptions and the most elevated moral ideas which I have noticed in the *Mahâbhârata*.

I.

The first, and by far the longest, extract is from the *Vanaparvan*.

During the exile of the Pâṇḍavas in the forests, as narrated in the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, a conversation took place, as the poet informs us, between Draupadî and Yudhishṭhira, in the course of which the former maintains that no forbearance should be shown to the Kurus, who were greedy and malicious. "The time for energy," she adds, "having arrived, thou, Yudhishṭhira, oughtest to display that quality. The mild man is despised, whilst people tremble before the man of fire and vigour. He who, when the time has come, understands these two truths, is really a king." (vv. 1063 ff.) Yudhishṭhira, in answer, proceeds to expatiate on the evils of angry passion, and the merits of patience (vv. 1065—1116). "The patient," he says (v. 1102), "attain to a world above those of the men who offer sacrifice, of the men who know Brahma [or the Veda], and of austere devotees." Draupadî, in reply, enlarges on the righteous character of Yudhishṭhira, and says he would rather abandon his brothers and her than offend against duty. She then goes on (vv. 1124 ff.):—

Speech of Draupadî, in which she complains of the hard lot of the righteous Yudhishṭhira, and charges the Deity with injustice.

"Righteousness, when protected, protects a king who guards it,—so I have heard from men of noble character; but, I ween, it does not protect thee. Thy unchanging resolution always pursues righteousness, as a man's own shadow follows him. Thou hast never contemned thine equals or thine inferiors, much less thy superiors: and though thou hast obtained the whole earth, thy horn* has not risen higher. Thou constantly servest the twice-born, the deities, and the departed fathers with oblations and reverence. Brâhmaṇs, Yatis, seekers after final liberation, and householders are always satiated by thee with all the objects of their desire. They eat from golden platters, with me for their attendant; and thou bestowest iron vessels on the dwellers in the forests." She then gives further particulars of his charities and sacrifices: and among the latter is mentioned the "Gosava," or sacrifice of a cow; † and proceeds (v. 1134): "Thou, a king, having lost thy understanding, wast beaten in the unfortunate contest with dice, and didst lose thy kingdom, thy goods, thy weapons, thy brothers and me. How did that resolution [to gamble], arising from the vicious taste for dice, arise in the mind of thee, who art upright, mild, bountiful, modest, and truthful? When one hears of this thy suffering, and of a calamity such as this, the mind is greatly perplexed and afflicted. Here men relate this ancient legend about the manner in which people are subject to the control of God, not to their own. God (Îśâna), the Disposer, allots to creatures everything—happiness and suffering, that which is agreeable and that which is disagreeable, darting radiance before him. ‡ Just as the wooden figure of a woman, as it is adjusted (1140), moves its several limbs, so too do these creatures. As the ether surrounds all created things, God ordains both good and ill fortune in this world. As a bird bound by a string and confined is not its own master, a man must remain under the control of God: he is neither the lord of others nor of himself. Like a gem strung on a thread, or a bull tied by a nose-string, a man follows the command of the Disposer, to whom he belongs, and on whom he depends. Not subject to himself, this man obeys some conjuncture of time, like a tree which has fallen from the river-bank and has reached the middle of the current. A creature, ignorant, and not master of his pleasures or sufferings, must go to heaven or hell, according as he is impelled by God (1145). As the tips of grass are subject to the blasts of a strong wind, so too all beings are subject to the Disposer. Impelling to noble actions, and again to sinful deeds, God pervades all creatures, and it is not perceived that he is there. This body, called the field (*kshetra*) [of the soul], is but the Disposer's instrument, whereby the Lord causes acts having good or evil fruits to be performed. Behold how this force of illusion (*mâyâ*) is exercised by God, who destroys creatures by [other] creatures, deceiving them by his own illusion! Differently are things perceived by sages who behold the reality; differently do they revolve like the blasts of the wind; differently do men regard such and such things; and differently does the Lord effect them and change them. Just as a man cleaves motionless, lifeless things, wood by wood, stone by stone, or iron by iron, so does the Divine Being, the God, the self-existent primeval Parent, destroy creatures by (other) creatures, assuming a disguise, [*chhadma kṛitvâ*]. Acting according to his pleasure, this Lord, associating them, or dissociating them, plays with living beings as with a child's toys. The Disposer does not deal with his creatures like a father or a mother, but acts angrily, as any other being like ourselves. Seeing noble, virtuous, and modest men in straits for

* This word is here employed as denoting a feeling of self-importance or pride: see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*

† See *Udyogap.* vv. 529 ff. quoted in vol. I. of my *Sanskṛit Texts*, p. 312 f.

‡ *Purastât śukram uchcharan.* The phrase is difficult. It occurs again in the *Udyogaparvan*, v. 917, where it is said: "The Deity (*Dhâtṛe*) places under control the good man and the bad, the boy and the old man, the weak man and the strong. God (*Îśâna*) gives everything—to the child learning, and to the learned man childishness, darting radiance before him." The commentator in both places expounds the words differently. According to him they mean that the Deity, in dispensing good and evil to particular persons, is developing the seeds of their works done in a former birth His words are in the one place, "śukram" *prâk-karma-bîjam* "uchcharan" *utkarshena anusaran*; and in the other, "śukram" *rijubhûtam prâchînam karma* "uchcharam" *uddîpayan.* The same phrase occurs again in a different connection, in reference to the sun, in the *Udyogaparvan*, v. 2751: *Yathâ purastât Savitâ driśyate śukram uchcharan, yathâ cha paśchâd nirmukto dhruvam paryeti raśmimân.* Here the commentator takes *śukra* in the sense of *tejas*, fervour or lustre.

subsistence, and ignoble men happy, as it were bewildered by anxiety (?), and perceiving this thy adversity and the prosperity of Suyodhana,* I censure the Disposer, who regards you with an unequal eye. Bestowing good fortune on the son of Dhṛitarâshṭra (Suyodhana), who transgresses the rules observed by noble men, who is cruel, greedy, and a perverter of justice, what good result does the Disposer gain? If an action performed affects [*i.e.* should in justice affect] the doer, and not another person, then God is sullied by that evil action [*i.e.* not treating men according to their deserts].† But if an evil deed committed does not affect the doer, might only [not right] is the cause of this; and in such circumstances I lament (the case of) feeble men."

Here we have the same question raised as is proposed, but not solved, in the book of Job, viz. how it happens that the righteous often suffer, whilst the wicked prosper. Yudhishṭhira, in his reply, rebukes Draupadî for her impiety, and while he declares that he himself practises righteousness disinterestedly, without hope of reward, he maintains that it is wicked to doubt that it is recompensed by the Deity.

Reply of Yudhishṭhira.

"I have heard, Yâjnasenî (Draupadî) the charming and amiable discourse, full of sparkling phrases, which thou hast spoken; but thou utterest infidel sentiments (*nâstikya*). I do not act from a desire to gain the rewards of my works. I give what I ought to give, and perform the sacrificial rites which I am bound to celebrate. Whether reward accrues to me or not, I do to the best of my power what a man should do, as if he were living at home. I do not fulfil my duty for the sake of the rewards of duty, being careful not to transgress the injunctions of the sacred writings, and having a regard to the practice of the virtuous. It is on duty alone that my thoughts are fixed, and this, too, naturally. The man who makes of righteousness a gainful merchandize is low, and the meanest of those who talk about righteousness, the man who seeks to milk righteousness [*i.e.* to get out of it all the advantage which he can], does not obtain its reward: and he who doubts while he performs duty sins in his disposition through his scepticism. I say it emphatically:‡ do not doubt about righteousness: he who does so is on the way to be born as a brute. The weak-minded man who doubts about his righteousness or the inspired precepts of ṛishis, shall remain at a distance from the undecaying eternal heaven, as a Śûdra must stand aloof from the Veda. A royal sage who studies the Veda, who is devoted to righteousness and has been born in an intelligent family, is to be ranked by the righteous among aged [and therefore wise] men. He who, transgressing against the scriptures, and dull of understanding, doubts about righteousness, is a greater sinner than a Śûdra and is worse than a robber. And thou hast seen with thine own eyes the austere sage Mârkaṇḍeya, illimitable in soul, moving (among men), and of great age, in consequence of his righteousness. Vyâsa, Vaśishṭha, Maitreya, Nârada, Lomaśa, Śuka, and other ṛishis are all wise through righteousness. For thou plainly seest these sages distinguished by a celestial power of contemplation (*yoga*), able both to curse and to bless, and more important even than the gods. For these men, resembling the immortals, and possessing an intuitive knowledge of scripture, in the beginning declared that righteousness was continually to be practised. Wherefore, O fair queen, thou oughtest not, with erring mind, to censure and to doubt the Deity and righteousness. The fool who distrusts righteousness regards all who have attained to certainty as insane, and does not admit the authority of any one else. Finding his authority in himself, puffed up, despising goodness, the fool believes only so much as rests on popular testimony and is connected with the gratification of the senses: in regard to anything beyond that he goes astray. There is no atonement for the man who doubts about righteousness: although bent upon their attainment, that wretched sinner does not attain to heavenly realms. Abandoning authoritative testimony, reviling the contents of the Vedas and other scriptures, and transgressing through lust and covetousness, the deluded man goes to hell. But he who with a constantly fixed resolution attains to righte-

* Called also, and more commonly, Duryodhana.

† The commentator explains this differently, and makes it mean that if the doer only, and no other, reaps the recompense of his work, the Deity also, as the causer of the act, is tainted by the sin.

‡ *Ativâdât*, which the commentary explains thus: *mânântaram atikrânto vâdo vachanam tasmât vedaika-prâmânyât.*

ousness, and is free from doubt, enjoys immortality in the next world. Setting aside the authority of rishis, not practising righteousness, and transgressing all scriptural injunctions, the deluded man finds no happiness in any of his births. He who does not admit the authority of ṛishis, or follow approved custom, does not enjoy happiness either in this world or in the next—this is certain. Do not doubt regarding that righteousness which is practised by the virtuous, which is ancient, and has been set forth by omniscient, all-seeing ṛishis. Righteousness, and nothing else, is the boat which conveys those who are on the way to heaven: this only is the ship like that on which the merchant seeks to cross the ocean. If righteousness, when practised, were without reward, this world would be plunged in bottomless darkness; men would not attain to final tranquillity (*nirvâṇa*), would lead the life of brutes, would not addict themselves to learning, nor would any one attain the object of his desire. If austerity, continence, sacrifice, sacred study, liberality, honesty—if all these things brought no reward, men now, and others succeeding them, would not practise righteousness. If works were followed by no rewards, this state of things would be an exceeding delusion. Ṛishis, gods, Gandharvas, Asuras, and Râkshasas—why should these lordly beings have reverenced and practised righteousness? They knew that the Deity was a bestower of rewards; they practised righteousness, which was the sure road to well-being, for that is [the cause of] eternal blessedness. Righteousness is not without a recompense, nor is unrighteousness: for there are rewards to the intelligent and rewards of austerities. Think, too, of thine own birth, Kṛishṇâ (Draupadî), as it has been reported to us; and thou knowest how the valorous Dhṛishṭadyumna was born.* This illustration is sufficient. A wise man obtains the recompense of his works; but he is content with even a little; whilst the ignorant and foolish are not satisfied even with much. They obtain not the recompense which springs from righteousness; nor in the next world is any blessedness reserved for them. The award of recompense to works which are revealed as holy, and to such as are wicked, as well as the production and dissolution of the world, are secrets of the gods. Whoever knows these (secrets)—in regard to them men are perplexed—he does not attain to blessedness even after a thousand *kalpas*.† These (secrets) of the gods are to be guarded; for their wonder-working power is mysterious. Brâhmaṇs who have formed the desire, who are devoted to religious observances, whose sins have been burnt up by austerities, and who have clear mental intuitions, perceive these (secrets). No doubts must be entertained in regard to righteousness, or to the gods, merely because the recompense of works is not visible. Sacrifice must be diligently offered, and liberality exercised without grudging. Works are followed by a recompense. And this eternal ordinance was declared by Brahmâ to his sons, as the ṛishi Kaśyapa knows. Wherefore let thy doubt vanish as a vapour. Be certain that all (this) is (so): abandon the state of disbelief (*nâstikya*: the idea that there is no God or moral government). Do not censure God, the creator of living beings. Learn (to know) him; reverence him: let not thy opinion be such (as thou hast declared it). Do not contemn that most excellent deity, through whose favour the mortal who is devoted to him attains to immortality."

In the preceding discourse of Yudhishṭhira there is a distinct recognition of God as the dispenser of rewards and punishments,—of a moral government of the world; and at the conclusion reference is made to the inscrutable character of the divine dispensations; reverence towards the Deity is enjoined, and an intimation is made that it is those who are devoted to him who enjoy his favour and attain immortality. But while the speaker maintains that it is culpable, and even an unpardonable sin, to entertain any doubt as to the ultimate consequences of righteousness, he expresses a stoical indifference to the attainment of any recompense in his own case, and a lofty scorn of the notion of trafficking in goodness as to an instrument for procuring pleasure or happiness,—asserting even that those who seek to extract from virtue all the advantages which it can yield will gain

* See Prof. Monier Williams's *Indian Epic Poetry*, p. 99, note, and vv. 6931 ff. and 7311 of the *Âdiparvan* there referred to. In v. 6931 Draupadî is said to have sprung from the altar, and in v. 6933 her brother Dhṛishṭadyumna is said to have been born in the fire. In v. 7311 Draupadî is said to have issued from the earth.

† The sense of this verse is not clear.

nothing,—and appears to rise to the elevated position of loving moral excellence for its own sake, as a good in itself, and as its own reward.* In this speech, although Brahmâ is mentioned in one place (v. 1199) as making a revelation to his sons (where it is not necessary to suppose that he is the same as the God spoken of elsewhere), the Supreme Being does not appear to be identified with any of the three persons of the Indian triad: and the same is the case in the two discourses of Draupadî by which it is preceded and followed. In her second reply to Yudhisṭhira, which I am about to quote, the Deity is, indeed, designated by the name Maheśvara (v. 1225); but though this word, meaning the great Îśvara, or god) is most commonly appropriated to Śiva, there is is no reason for taking it in that sense here. The other names applied to God in these passages are Dhâtṛi, the creator; Vidhâtṛi, the disposer; Îśvara, the lord (the most common designation in Indian books of a personal Deity; Îśâna, the lord (frequently applied to Śiva); Bhagavat, the divine or venerable; Deva, the god (this word is most commonly employed to denote the different members of the Indian Pantheon); Svayambhû, the self-existent (very often appropriated to Brahmâ); Prapitâmaha the forefather; Prajapati, the lord of creatures (frequently applied to Brahmâ); and Uttamâ devatâ, the most excellent, or highest, deity.

In one place (v. 1196) the gods, *devatâḥ*, are mentioned in the plural, where the word may be taken in the abstract sense of "the higher powers." In v. 1180 of Yudhishṭhira's discourse births (*janmasu*) are referred to, and in v. 1191 the peculiar manner in which Draupadî and her brothers were born is alluded to as the reward of their good works in a former existence. The author of the passage, therefore, no doubt held the common Indian belief of the soul passing through different stages of embodied being; but the idea is not much insisted upon, but allowed to remain in the background; while the fact that rewards and punishments are allowed by God is dwelt upon in several places. The case is different in the discourse of Draupadî which is now to be quoted, where the speaker enlarges upon a variety of ideas which are peculiarly Indian. Here also the Deity is recognized as the recompenser of men's works, but his action is, in a great measure at least, determined by their conduct.†

Answer of Draupadî.

"I do not despise, or find fault with, righteousness: and how should I contemn God, the lord of creatures? In my distress I talk thus idly; understand me so: and I shall yet further lament. Do thou, who art kind, comprehend me. A man who is rightly informed must perform works. Motionless (objects) live without working; not so other beings (1215). Living creatures gain a livelihood by action, so far as (in the case of a calf) drinking from the mother-cow's udder, or taking shelter in the shade. Among creatures that can move, men, especially, seek by action to promote their own welfare, both here and hereafter. All creatures recognize (the necessity of) exertion ‡; they obtain for their acts a visible return, which is witnessed by all the world. All creatures derive their subsistence § from their own exertions. This is true of the creator and disposer also, just as it is of yonder crane in the water. Creatures who did no work ‖ could obtain no subsistence. Let a man resort to that, and never neglect it (1220). Practise action; be not faint; be equipped with action; for he who

* The following is a passage from the same *Vanaparvan*, in which Yudhishṭhira himself asks how it happens that he, though not, as he believes, devoid of good qualities, is the most distressed of all kings; whilst others, who have no good qualities, and do not practise righteousness, are prosperous. To this the ṛishi Lomaśa replies, vv. 8489 ff.: "Thou must not, O King, be distressed by the fact that the men who take pleasure in unrighteousness flourish through unrighteousness. A man prospers by unrighteousness and sees good, and conquers his enemies: but he perishes root and branch." He then goes on to illustrate this by the example of the Daityas. Compare *Psalm* xxxvii. vv. 2, 9, 10, 15, 20, 35, 36, and 38.

I add two passages in which men are represented as being unreasonably dissatisfied with the dispensations of Providence:—

Vanap. 13847: "The uninstructed man, having fallen into an unprosperous condition, inveighs loudly against the gods: he does not consider the faults of his own works."

Śântip. v. 3877: "The fool who is unfortunate in consequence of antecedent acts, continually reviles the Deity, and cannot endure those who have attained the objects of their desire, and regards as unworthy of their good fortune other men who are prosperous."

† In former births.

‡ The commentator interprets *utthâna* and *samutthâna*, the words rendered by "exertion" in this and the next verses, as meaning *prâk-karma-saṁskâra*, the impulse or disposition resulting from former works; and according to him, therefore, the sense is "All creatures recognize this impulse, and are in consequence led to act, and so they obtain," &c. Further on, the same commentator renders *utthâna* "effort."

§ In consequence of the previously existing disposition in his mind, the creator repeats himself in each successive creation, which corresponds to those which preceded it. Such is the commentator's explanation.

‖ Here, present and not past works are now referred to, according to the commentator.

comprehends work is, or is not, (one) in a thousand. Let it be a man's object to augment and preserve (his acquisitions): for even the Himavat mountain, being constantly worn away, must be reduced to nothing, unless its substance be replenished. All earthly creatures must sink unless they work; and they will not prosper if their work be attended by no returns. We also see men doing work which produces no result: but even so, men do not obtain subsistence by any other means. The man who ascribes everything to fate,* and he who maintains that everything happens by chance, are both of them wicked. The doctrine that everything is the result of works † is that which is commended (1225). For the fool who, waiting upon fate, lies at his ease and makes no exertion will be ruined, as an earthen vessel which has not been fired (is dissolved) in water; so too the feeble and witless man who relies on chance, who sits idle, though capable of work, shall not live long, like one who has no helper. If a man obtains any object of desire without any antecedent cause, this is regarded as happening by chance; for it is not [a consequence of] any one's exertion. And whatever any one obtains as what has been fated, that is determined to be divine, as settled by divine ordination. Then, whatever result a man obtains by his own action, that, being apparent to every one, is called human (1230). Again, whatever object any one, when acting, obtains naturally, and not through any cause, that is to be regarded as a result of a natural character.‡ But whatever things a man obtains, either by chance, or by fate [or divine ordination], or by natural result, or by exertion—all these are the fruits of previous works. For God the Disposer, also, determines his own acts according to this or that reason, allotting to men the recompenses of their previous works. Whatever act, good or bad, a human being performs, know that that is the realization, fixed by the Disposer, of the recompense of previous works. This (present) body is the instrument of the Deity's action. Just as he impels it (the body), so it acts submissively §(1235). For the great God appoints (the man) to do such and such acts: he constrains all creatures to act, and they are helpless. Having first of all fixed in his mind the objects at which he shall aim, a man of himself afterwards attains them by action, preceded by design: of this man is the cause. Actions are innumerable: the construction of houses and towns is caused by the action of men. An intelligent man will perceive that there is oil in a *tila* plant, milk in a cow, and fire within wood, and will devise the means of drawing them forth. He afterwards proceeds to employ the means which will produce the effect: and living beings depend for subsistence upon the results produced by these exertions (1230). A work done by a skilful agent is good, and well performed: but such another work is perceived, by its difference (in result), to have been performed by an unskilful man. No fruit will result from sacrifices and works, there will be no pupil and no teacher, if men are the cause of the things which are to be effected through works. It is from the fact of his being a worker that a man is commended when a work is accomplished, and that he is blamed when it is not effected; how, then, is he not in these cases the agent? Eveything happens by chance, say some; by fate, say others; by men's efforts, say others again: there is then a threefold explanation of things that occur. But others ‖ think that this is not sufficient; everything, whether fated or accidental, is the invisible (result of former works, as the commentator explains) (1235). For the acquisition of an object is seen (to come) both from chance and from fate. A man gains the result he seeks, partly from

* The compound words rendered (1) "he who ascribes everything to fate" (*dishta-para*) and (2) "he who maintains that everything happens by chance" (*hatha-vâdika*) are explained by the commentator, the 1st as a *Kaulika*, who holds that men's ends are attained by incantations, herbs, and other things acting invisibly; and the 2nd as a *Chârvâka*, who denies the fact of previous births, and consequently disbelieves that anything that comes to pass is the result of former works: and the wickedness of both consists in denying former births. The Kaulikas are Śâktas: see Aufrecht, *Cat. of Sansk. MSS. in the Bodl. Library*, pp. 91 ff., and H. H. Wilson's *Works*, I. 254 f. and 261.

† *i.e.* both works done in a former birth, and present works, according to the commentator.

‡ The commentator says that a "natural" result is one originating in the favourable action of works done in a previous birth, and gives as an instance of it the discovery of a gem by a man who is in search of a lost cowrie. Further on (under v. 1133) he says that what happens naturally is included in chance (*hatha*).

§ Or should the verse be rendered thus? "The existing body is the cause of the Deity's action. As it impels him, he acts submissively." This translation is that suggested by the commentator, who remarks that God and the body are each dependent on the other;—it, as the result of previous works, necessitating that he shall determine its present lot.

‖ Believers in the Vedas, according to the commentator.

fate, partly from chance and in part naturally: there is no fourth cause;—so clever * men, who understand the truth, affirm. In this way if the creator did not award to creatures desirable or undesirable retribution, no creature would be wretched.† For if there were no consequence springing from previous works, every man would obtain, as a result of his (present) acts, whatever object he aimed at. But those persons who do not perceive not only the attainments of ends through three means, but also the non-attainment of ends, are as stupid as inanimate objects. ‡ It is laid down by Manu that works are to be performed: for the man who is utterly inert sinks into distress. For success generally attends the person who works, whilst the indolent does not attain to any great result. But there is a cause for its (the result's) absence: but let an expiation he kept in view. If the work has been performed, the doer becomes free from all liability. Misfortune befals the sluggish man who sits at ease. The clever man, having without doubt gained the desired result, enjoys prosperity. Those who abide in doubt are unsuccessful; those who are free from doubt succeed. Are there anywhere prudent men devoted to work and free from doubt? At present this utter want of success attaches to us, but it would undoubtedly cease if thou wert to engage in action. Or if thou wert to fail, then that would be a condemnation § of thee, and Bhîma, Arjuna, and the twins. Whether the action of others or our own would succeed,—this the man who had made the experiment would in the end know, according to the result. The cultivator who cleaves the earth with the plough and sows his seed, sits quiet: Parjanya (the rain-god) is the cause of that (which follows). If rain does not favour him, the cultivator is not in the wrong. 'I have done all that another man could have done. If our efforts have been fruitless, it is no fault of mine.' So reflecting, a wise man will not blame himself. If, though acting, I fail to gain my object, this should lead to no self-disparagement: for two other things are the cause of this. Whether success or failure is experienced, inactivity is to be avoided. Successful results of action spring from a concurrence of many conditions In the absence of suitable qualities in the agent the results will be small or none at all. But where there is no effort, neither fruit nor quality can be perceived. The wise man intelligently, according to his power and strength, avails himself of place, time, means, and good fortune, in order to augment his welfare. That should be done with vigilance: and here vigour is a man's helper. In carrying out action, vigour must be regarded as the main thing. When an intelligent man perceives that (another is his) superior in respect of many good qualities [and cannot therefore be overcome by force], he must seek to attain his object by conciliation, and apply towards him the proper action. Or let him seek his opponent's fall or banishment: [for one may desire the removal ?] of an ocean or of a mountain: how much more of a mortal.‖ The man who is constantly making efforts to discover the weak points of his enemies discharges his duty both as regards his neighbour and himself. A man must never despise himself: for he who is contemned by himself never attains to prosperity. Such are the conditions of success in the world.—Success is declared to depend upon a procedure according to times and circumstances. My father formerly gave lodging to a learned Brâhmaṇ, who told him all these rules of conduct, as uttered by Vṛihaspati, and formerly recommended them to my brothers. From them I then heard all this in my home. He spoke to me comforting me, when, employed on some work, I had come and was sitting in my father's lap, doing dutiful service."

The following extract from the *Śântiparvan* is a specimen of the elevated and even stoical morality enjoined in the Indian writers. The words are put into the mouth of the sage Jaigîshavya.

Pure and Stoical Morality.

"I will tell thee what is the perfection, the high stage, the great tranquillity attained by

* This epithet, according to the commentator, is ironically applied to the maintainers of false doctrine, who are answered in the next verses.

† This, as explained in the next verse, seems to mean that no man would be a sufferer, as his efforts to help himself would always succeed if the evil consequence flowing from his previous bad actions did not hinder this.

‡ So the word *âtmâ*, which means body as well as soul, is here explained by the commentator. Their stupidity consists in their not seeing that while other things coöperate, former works are the chief agents.

§ "A proof that you are all unfit for royal authority" (*sâkalyena pramâṇaṁ râjyânarhatve*):—commentator.

‖ The commentator gives no explanation of this obscure line. I can only make a conjecture as to how the ellipsis is to be supplied.

the holy. They regard in the same way those who revile them, those who praise them, and those who deny their good conduct and virtuous deeds. These wise men, when addressed in an unfriendly way, will not reply in the same manner;* when smitten, they do not seek to smite in return. They do not regret the want of that which they have failed to obtain; they act according to circumstances; they do not bewail nor regard the past. When honour has come to them of itself, when engaged in the pursuit of their objects, they act according to the occasion, energetic and strenuous. Mature in knowledge, great in wisdom, subduing their anger and their senses, they never offend either in thought, deed, or word. Free from envy, they do not injure one another; and composed, they are never vexed at the prosperity of others. They are not excessive either in their praise or censure of others; nor are they ever affected by praise or censure. Perfectly tranquil, devoted to the good of all creatures, they are neither angry nor glad, nor do they offend against any one. Casting off the bonds of the heart, they move about freely according to their pleasure. They have no kinsmen, nor are they kinsmen to any: they have no enemies, nor are they the enemies of any one: men who act thus, who are devoted to righteousness and know all things, always live happily. But those who forsake this course, rejoice or grieve. Pursuing this path, why should I, if reviled, bear ill-will towards any one, or exult if I am commended? Whatever men desire, let them, therefore, pursue after it; neither loss nor gain can accrue to me from censure or commendation. How will the discriminating man, who knows the reality, be delighted with contempt as with ambrosia, and loathe honour like poison! The man who is despised rests happily and without fear, both here and hereafter, freed from all imperfections. It is the despiser who is conscious [of such faults?]. Those wise men who aim at the highest blessedness, after fulfilling this course of conduct, enjoy happiness. The man of subdued senses who has offered up all sacrifices, attains to the realm of Brahmâ, which is above and beyond Prakṛiti (matter). Neither gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśâchas, nor Râkshasas ascend after him to this region, where he has attained the highest perfection."

(2.) *Śântip.* 6641: "*Having nothing and yet possessing all things.*" (2 *Cor.* vi. 10.) "Boundless, verily," says king Janaka, "is my wealth, though I possess nothing: if Mithilâ [his capital] were burnt up, nothing of mine would be consumed."† The same line is repeated as v. 9917, with the substitution of "most happily, truly, do I live," for "Boundless, verily, is my wealth."

"*And they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not.*" (1 Cor. vii. 30.) *Śântip.* 8277: "In the time of sorrow, be not sorrowful, and in the time of joy do not rejoice."

Asceticism, ceremonial acts, caste, and theological learning unavailing without moral goodness.

(4.) *Vanap.* 13445: "The carrying of the triple staff, silence, a load of matted locks, shaving, a garb of leaves and skins, the performance of vows, washings, the agnihotra-sacrifice, an abode in the forest, the drying up of the body, all these things are false and vain if the disposition of the mind is not pure."

Ibid. 14075: "The Brâhmaṇ who lives in the commission of degrading offences, sanctimonious but wise in evil doing,‡ is on a level with a Śûdra. But I regard as a Brâhmaṇ the Śûdra who is always active in self-restraint, in truth, and in righteousness, for in conduct he is a twice-born man."

(5.) In answer to a question of Dhṛitarâshṭra whether a man who knows the three Vedas, if he commits sin is thereby polluted, Sanatsujâta answers (*Udyogap.* vv. 1624 ff.): "I tell thee truly neither Sâman, Ṛik, nor Yajush texts deliver the foolish man from sinful acts. Sacred texts do not rescue from sin the deceitful man, who lives in deceit. As birds, when their wings are grown, forsake the nest, so do holy texts abandon that man at the time of his end." Dhṛitarâshṭra then asks: "If a wise man the Vedas cannot deliver without righte-

* Compare with this and some other following precepts 1 *Peter* ii. 23: "Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again: when he suffered, he threatened not;" and ibid. iii. 9: "Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but contrariwise blessing;" *Matthew*, v. 32: "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil," &c.

† This, as well as many, or most, of the other passages quoted below, will be found in Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche.*"

‡ Instead of *dushkritaḥ prâjnah* the reading of the Calcutta edn. of the *Mahâbhârata*, Böhtlingk in his *Ind. Sprüche* reads *dushkṛita-prâjnaḥ*, which gives the sense required here.

ousness, whence arises this eternal chattering of the Brâhmaṇs (about them)?" Sanatsujâta replies: "It is in his (the Deity's) various manifestations, name, and the rest, that the world appears to us. The Vedas point out and declare this, and set forth this diversity of the universe. To this end this austerity and sacrifice are enjoined: by them the instructed man attains holiness: and having destroyed sin by purity, he afterwards becomes illuminated by knowledge," &c., &c. (*Ânusâsanikap.* v. 1542.)

(6.) "All the Vedas, with the six Vedângas, the Sânkhya, the Purâṇas, and birth in a good family—all these things together do not bring salvation to a Brâhmaṇ who is destitute of virtuous character:" v. 3652. "Truth is more excellent than a thousand aśvamedha sacrifices."

(7.) In verse 17402 of the *Vanaparvan*, Yudhishṭhira answers thus a question put to him by a Yaksha as to the true path to be followed: "Reasoning is uncertain; Vedic texts are mutually discrepant; there is no muni (sage) whose doctrine is authoritative; the truth regarding righteousness is involved in mystery; the path in which an eminent man* has walked, is the (true) path."

(8.) "*Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.*" (*Rom.* xii. 21.)

Udyogap. v. 1518 f.: "Let a man overcome anger by calmness, a bad man by goodness, a niggard by liberality, and falsehood by truth. This identical maxim occurs in the *Dhammapada*, v. 223. Whether it is originally Buddhist or Brâhmanical, I cannot venture to say.

Vanap. 1059: "By mildness a man overcomes both severity and gentleness. There is nothing which mildness cannot effect. Mildness is therefore the sharpest thing."

(9.) *The Widow's Mite.*

Udyogap. v. 1028: "These two men, O King, abide above the heaven, the powerful man who is patient and the poor man who is liberal." Compare *Luke* xxi. 2: "Of a truth I say unto you that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all," &c.

Somewhat to the same effect is the following from the *Âśvamedhikap.* 2788: "Righteousness is not pleased with the bestowal of abundant gifts, so much as it is satisfied with small gifts (out of what has been) justly gained, and purified by faith."

(10.) "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life," &c.: *Matt.* vi. 14.

Âśvamedhikap. 2784: "The gate of heaven is very small, and through delusion is not perceived by men. The bolt of that door is formed of greediness, it is guarded by passion, and it is hard to be drawn aside."

(11.) *Knowledge requisite for right action.*

Śântip. 8643: "The man who seeks to perform righteousness but is without discrimination, practises unrighteousness: or he practises righteousness which is like righteousness, as it were regretfully."

(12.) I give the following lines, *Sabhâp.* 2679 ff. and *Udyogap.* 1179 f., as a counterpart of the well-known saying, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat* ("God first of all deprives of their reason those whom he wishes to destroy"): and also as a recognition of a divine government of the world:

"The gods take away the understanding of the man on whom they inflict defeat; so that he sees all things wrongly. When his understanding has been dimmed, and destruction has arrived, imprudence, which resembles prudence, cleaves to him. Things which are hurtful rise up in the form of things beneficial, and things beneficial in the form of things hurtful, to cause his ruin: and this is pleasing to him."

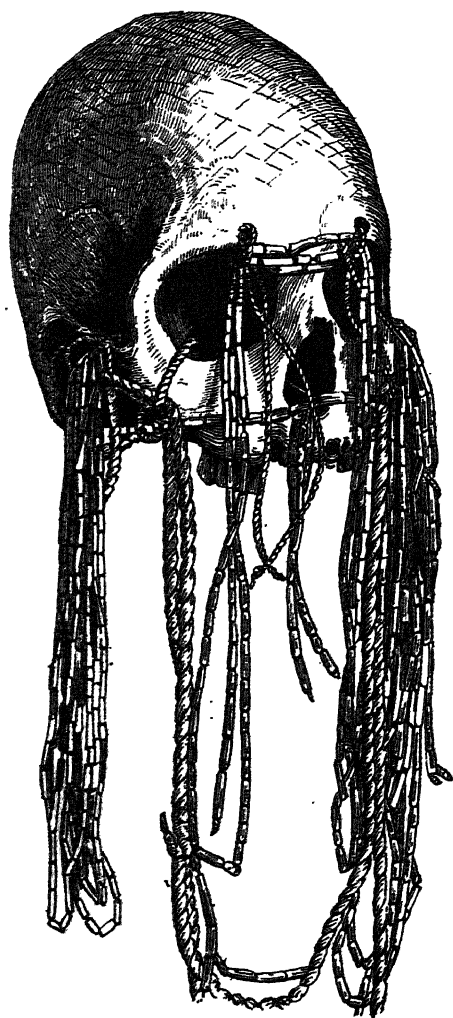
The converse is stated in the following couplet, *Udyogap.* 1222:—

"The gods do not guard men like a cattle-herd with a staff: but they endow with understanding him whom they wish to protect."

Edinburgh, 9th April 1874.

(*To be continued.*)

* The commentator interprets *mahâjanaḥ* by *bahujanaḥ*, "many men." In conformity with this, Böhtlingk renders it "the multitude." If this is the true sense, the maxim does not seem to be a very safe one. At all events, it does not show a high appreciation either of reason or scripture.



VISIT TO THE ANDAMANESE "HOME," PORT BLAIR, ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY V. BALL., M.A., GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

In the following paper I do not intend entering into any general account or history of the Andaman Islanders, but shall simply confine myself to a description of a visit which I paid to the "Home" established by the Government of India, in connexion with the convict settlement at Port Blair, for the purpose of commencing the civilization and inspiring the confidence of the hitherto untamed aborigines of the Andaman Islands.

On the 8th of August 1869, in company with Mr. Homfray, who is in charge of the Andamanese Home, and Assistant-Surgeon Curran, I started from Viper Island, in Port Blair, to visit Port Mouat and the Home at Mount Augusta.

Close to the landing-place at Homfray's Ghât there is an old kitchen midden, in which the valves of oysters, *Arcas* and *Cyrenas*, were abundant.

Mr. Homfray told me that the present race of Andamanese do not eat oysters—a rather singular fact, and suggesting the possibility of there having been different inhabitants of this part of the island at some former period.

The road to Port Mouat runs along by the side of a mangrove swamp, in which *Cyrenas* abound. These molluscs are eaten by the Andamanese, and the valves, in consequence of their sharp edges, are used as substitutes for knives.

Shortly after arriving at Port Mouat, we started in a boat for Mount Augusta. As we approached the shores near to which the Home is situated, a swarm of little woolly-headed Andamanese struck into the waves, and, swimming and diving under and about the boat, so accompanied us to the shore.

On reaching the Home, we found that out of the 200 individuals who were said to be availing themselves of the shelter and the ration of 2 lbs. of rice per head per diem which Government gives them, the greater portion of the men had gone out in their large canoes to another part of the island to hunt for pigs.

The sight presented to our eyes on entering the Home was most singular, and one not readily to be forgotten. At intervals along both sides there were a number of family groups, variously occupied. Some were boiling rice; others were engaged in cooking pork, which they effect by placing small strips in a hollow bamboo, which is then laid on the fire, and the meat, when scarcely more than warmed, taken out and eaten.

Mr. Homfray assured me that the Andamanese, so far as he knows, never eat meat in an actually raw condition.

Of the men present in the Home, several were smoking—that being one of the few accomplishments they have learnt from their contact with civilization. *Calcutta poko*, which is the Andamanese name for tobacco, is in great demand with them now. After a little preliminary shyness had worn off, they did not hesitate to search our pockets to see if we carried any with us.

The simplicity of the clothing arrangements of the Andamanese is well known, the elaborate toilets of civilization being represented by a leaf, which is worn by the women suspended from a girdle of ratan or *pandanus* fibre. Sometimes this *pandanus* fibre is so beaten out as to form a bushy tail.

Of the various ornaments worn by the women, none seemed more extraordinary than the skulls of their defunct relatives, festooned with strings of shells, which some of them carried suspended from their necks. (*See Plate.*)

Those who had recently lost relatives were in mourning, which consisted in their being shaved and covered from head to foot with a uniform coating of white clay. Non-mourners were more or less adorned with red clay.

Several of the men were amusing themselves manipulating, with pieces of string, the puzzles of the "cat's-cradle." Trivial as this circumstance at first sight appears to be, it is really one of some importance, as it may be used as evidence in favour of a primitive connexion between the Andamanese and races inhabiting the Malayan Archipelago. Mr. Wallace found the Dyak boys in Borneo more skilful than himself in the mysteries of "cat's-cradle." He says regarding this accomplishment—"We learn thereby that these people have passed beyond that first stage of savage life, in which the struggle for existence absorbs the whole faculties, and in which every thought and idea is connected with war or hunting, or the provision for their immediate necessities." These remarks cannot be applied with the same force to the Andamanese, whose rank in the scale of civilization is lower than that of the Dyaks.

Mr. Homfray pointed out one old woman who, he said, possessed great influence over the tribe, and acted as arbitrator in all disputes. Until the rule was enforced in the Home of making those who came to it give up their bows while remaining there, quarrels not unfrequently led to two parties being formed, who discharged their arrows at one another even within the walls. A man on either side being struck was the signal for a cessation of hostilities.

Notwithstanding such outbursts, the Anda-

manese possess great affection for one another. Almost every one who has written about them has borne witness to this trait in their characters.

I had proposed for myself one subject upon which to make special inquiries on the spot: this was their method of making flakes of flint and glass, which they had been reported to make use of as lances. My attention, however, was so taken up by other subjects of interest that I should have forgotten to investigate the point, had it not fortunately happened that on reaching one of the family groups I observed a woman engaged in making flakes, which she skilfully chipped off a piece of dark bottle glass with a quartz pebble. Having struck off a flake of suitable character, she forthwith proceeded, with astonishing rapidity, to shave off the spiral twists of hair which covered the head of her son.

Mr. Homfray informed me that the Andamanese can still manufacture the flakes of flint, which they effect by first heating the stones in a fire, that being found to facilitate the breaking in the required directions.

Thus we have, at the present day, a race who practise an art, proofs of the wide-spread knowledge of which in prehistoric times are shown by frequent discoveries in all quarters of the globe.

The Andamanese are, however, advancing beyond their *stone age*. In one corner of the building, a woman was occupied in polishing and wearing down into shape an iron arrow-head. It was a most formidable affair, heart-shaped, and from 2½ to 3 inches in diameter.

In the centre of the Home there was a trophy formed of the bones of pigs, dugong, and turtle, together with some bundles of human ribs, which latter had been deposited there after having been carried about by the relatives of the deceased. All these objects were covered with red clay.

Mr. Homfray said that he had encouraged the occupants of the Home in the formation of this collection, as it served to attach them to the place, and to make them really regard it as their home.

I made some selections, with Mr. Homfray's permission, from this trophy. The strings with which the objects were tied were severed by a *Cyrena* valve; this shell, as I have above noted, furnishing the ordinary knives.

In hunting dugong and turtle, the practice appears to be to run the canoe close to where the animal lies asleep, or basking on the surface of the water. The striker, grasping the spear or harpoon firmly in both hands, springs forward, the weight of his body serving to drive in the weapon further than could be done by mere hurling. A tussle in the water ensues, at which other men jumping from the canoe assist.

As to the reported cannibalism of the Andamanese, Mr. Homfray furnished me with the following evidence. He interrogated the natives themselves, and they manifested the greatest repugnance to the idea, and denied most emphatically that such a custom existed amongst them.

Further, some few years ago, thirteen men who landed from a ship on the Little Andaman. for the purpose of searching for water, were all murdered. An expedition was, on the arrival of the news, despatched from Port Blair to visit the scene and ascertain the circumstances. The members of this expedition, together with some of the Port Blair Andamanese, landed on the island. They were received with the most determined hostility, which the unruly and aggressive conduct of the Port Blair natives—who, it was hoped, would act as go-betweens—served greatly to intensify. The bodies of the thirteen murdered men were discovered on the beach, slightly covered with sand, so that no cannibalism had taken place in this case.

It may be added, with reference to this expedition, that the boats had to be regained through a heavy surf, and under cover of musketry, as the natives, for whom firearms had no terrors, and the effects of which they could not at first realize, closed round in great numbers, and discharged clouds of arrows.

The inhabitants of the Little Andaman seem to have some peculiarities which distinguish them from the inhabitants of the northern islands. Their houses are of a beehive shape, and of considerable size, being sufficient to accommodate 100 men; they are not elevated from the ground on posts as are those of most Malayan races.

From the evidence given above, I am inclined to believe that the reputed cannibalism of the Andamanese is more than doubtful. That such a belief should be prevalent is no matter for surprise, considering their admitted hostility to all visitors to their coasts, and the general tendency there both was and is, on the part of travellers, to attribute such propensities to savage races about whom little is known.

As to the affinities of the Andamanese, there can be no question that they belong to the scattered race of Negritos, traces of which are to be found in many detached localities. Mr. Wallace, whose close acquaintance with and study of the various races of the Malayan Archipelago has enabled him to draw distinctions not hitherto recognized, writes that the "Negritos and Semangs of the Malay peninsula agree very closely with each other, and with the Andamanese Islanders, while they differ in a marked manner from every Papuan race." Again—

"The Negritos are, no doubt, quite a distinct

race from the Malays, but yet, as some of them inhabit a portion of the continent, and others the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, they must be considered to have had, in all probability, an Asiatic rather than a Polynesian origin."*

Unfortunately, there is no reliable vocabulary of the Andamanese language yet published, and it is therefore impossible to institute any comparison with the known languages of the Malayan Archipelago.

It is not much to the credit of the officers who have been stationed in the Andamans for twelve years that no such vocabulary has been made available to philologists and ethnologists. Not only is the publication of a vocabulary and sketch of the language desirable on scientific grounds, but on account of the means it would afford of opening up communication with the people throughout all the islands, so that they may be civilized, at least to the extent of being taught to give a more hospitable reception than a shower of arrows to those who may have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their shores.†—*Read before the Royal Irish Academy, November* 13, 1871.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 187 (Pt. I. No. 4, 1873) contains:—1. A 'Note on two Muhammadan Coins' by the Honourable E. C. Bayley, C.S.I. "The first is a gold coin of Nâśir-ud-dîn Khusrau, the usurper who ascended the throne of Dihlî after the assassination of Quṭb-ud-dîn Mubârak in 720 A. H., and reigned a little more than four months.

"The coin is in beautiful preservation and weighs about 169 grains.

"It is of the same type as the silver coin described as No. 155 of Thomas' 'Pathan Kings.' The marginal inscription is, however, complete, and runs ضرب هذه السكه فيحضرت دهلی في سنة عشرين وسبعمايه

"In the centre, too, of the reverse, the word preceding 'الرحمن.' reads clear as 'ناصر' 'Nâśir-ul-rahmân.'"

The other is a coin of the Bengal usurper Muzaffar Shâh.‡ The reverse has the Muhammadan profession of faith, or *Kalimah*, with the date; the margin—the names and titles of the four companions: and the obverse—

شمش الدنيا والدين ابو الظفر مظفر شاه
سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته

"The first difficulty is as to the title 'ابوالمظفر.' The legend in this line and that below it is very much cramped at the end, and is with difficulty legible. It is possibly meant for ابو المظفر'

"Unfortunately, the chief doubt of the reading centres in the *date*. The numerals are preceded by two scarcely legible groups of letters, which I take to represent في سنة and these cover the numerals, which are very ill executed. Attached to the marginal scroll on the left may be seen a triangular mark. This may be either a part of the scroll itself, or it may be intended for the cipher ٨ or 8.

"On the other hand, the extreme right-hand cipher, if examined by a glass, resolves itself clearly into two, and it may therefore either stand for ٦ or 6, or for and ١ *i. e.*, '0' and '1.' The date may therefore be read as 901, or 896 indifferently.

"This is unfortunate, for the date of this king is uncertain. We know but little of him. The main facts which seem to be clear are that he murdered his immediate predecessor, Mahmûd Shâh, and at once ascended the throne. After some time a rebellion arose, headed by his eventual successor, 'Alâ-ud.dîn Husain. It would appear, moreover, that Muzaffar Shâh was before long driven into the fortified city of Gaur, and that he held his own within this refuge for a very considerable time, defeating all the attacks of his opponents. In the end, however, they triumphed,—one account says by the treachery of his courtiers, whom he had disgusted by his cruelty; another story is that, emboldened by success, he rashly hazarded a battle outside his fortification, and fell in the contest.

"The popular dates assigned to this king vary very much, but it is specifically stated that his reign lasted three years and five months.

"One set of dates, that most generally accepted, carries his reign as far down as 903, which would place his accession in either the beginning of 899 or end of 898 A.H.; but, as will be seen, this is probably too late.

"The only one point on which there is no doubt is that he erected a building at Gaur in 898."

The coin published by Marsden (Pl. xxxviii. No. 792) dated 899 and attributed to 'Alâ-ud-dîn Husain is "indirect evidence, *not* that Muzaffar Shâh was then dead, but that he was still alive in possession of Gaur. For *this* coin of 'Ala-ud-dìn is struck

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* *Malay Archipelago*, pp. 452-3.

† These remarks must be somewhat modified in consequence of its having recently been discovered that there are several very distinct dialects, if not quite different languages, in use amongst the different tribes scattered through the islands.—V. B.

‡ Vide *ante*, p. 149.

at Fathâbâd, a mint of which I believe no other specimens exist; whereas his later coins bear the mint mark usually of 'Jannatâbâd,' the well-known mint name of new Lak'hnauti or Gaur. It is of course more than probable that 'Alâ-ud-dîn Husain, in the flush of victory and with his adversary penned up and beleaguered in a fortress, at once assumed, while himself in camp or at some obscure town, the regal style, and struck coins, while Muzaffar Shâh might still have done the same inside his strong fortress." Mr. Bayley inclines to read the date 901 A.H.

2. 'Notes on two Copper-plate Inscriptions of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj,' by Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra. The first of these was "found in the village of Basâhi, about two miles north-east of the tahsili town of Bidhunâ, in the Etâwah District. The village is in a small *kherá* or mound, into which a Ṭhâkur cultivator was digging for bricks to build a house. He came on the remains of a *pakká* house, in the wall of the *dálán* of which were two recesses (*ták*), and in each of these recesses was a plate."

No. 1 measures 16 inches by 10½. "The subject of the inscription is the grant, to an astrologer named Ahneka, of a village named Vâsâbhi, in the canton of Jiâvani, in the Etâwah district. The donor is Râjâ Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, and the date of the gift Sunday, the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of Pausha, Saṁvat 1161, corresponding with the end of December in the year 1103 of the Christian era." Mr. Aikman "identifies the place with the modern *kherá* village of Basâhi, where the record was found. He says 'the only name like Jiâvani in Parganah Bidhunâ is Jiva Sirsâni, about ten miles south-east of Bidhunâ, which has a large *kherá*. The name Bândhama still exists as the name of a village about 2½ miles east of Basâhi. Pusâni may be identified with Pusaoli, two miles south of Basâhi. For Varavvalâ the local paṇḍits give Belgur, two miles southwest, or Banthara, two miles west, of Basâhi. Sâvahada is apparently the modern Sabhad, 2¾ miles N. N. W. of Basâhi. All these are *kherá* villages, with which the whole north-east of Bidhunâ Parganah appears to be studded. Tradition has it that Sahad, in the Phaphûnd Parganah, which is now but a *kherá*, was the site of the elephant-stables of the rulers of Kanauj, and, though there is now no vestige of a wall, the villagers still point out the sites of the gates, as the Dihli Darwâzah, &c.'"

In the preamble it says: "*Om! Salutation to the glorious Vásudeva.* I adore Dâmodara, the first among the gods, the three folds of skin on whose belly are said to be the three worlds in his lap. In the dynasty of Gâhaḍavâla was born the victorious king, comparable to Nala and Nabhága, the son of the auspicious Mahiâla. When king Bhoja had become an object of sight to the charming wives of the gods (*i. e.* died), when the career of kings Śrî Karlla had come to a close, when there was a revolution, then Chandradeva became king. Of him was born the renowned of earth, Madanapâla—a lion to the inimical elephant Ilâpati, (king of Ilâ), who engaged himself in frequent warfare,* and made the trunks of his decapitated enemies dance in the battle-field. Of him was born the celebrated prince Govindachandra, whose lotus-like feet were adored by hosts of mortal sovereigns—a prince of refulgent might, the ornament of mankind, and the disturber of the enjoyment of his enemies."

Of Madanapâla, the son and successor of Chandradeva, an inscription has been published, bearing date the 3rd of the waxing moon in the month of Mâgha, Saṁvat 1154 = 1097 A. D.;* according to this inscription he was still reigning in 1103 A.D.

The second plate gives the dynasty of—

Yasovigraha,

Mahichandra his son,

Chandradeva, son of Mahichandra, "by whose glorious majesty was repressed the revolts of the subjects of the unrivalled great kingdom, of auspicious Gâdhipura,† which was earned by the valour of his arms.

"5. Repairing, as a protector, to Kâśi, Kusîka, Uttara Kôśala, Indrasthâna, and other places of pilgrimage, he marked the earth by the performance of a hundred *tula* rites, in course of which he repeatedly gave to the twice-born his own weight in gold.‡

"6. His son was Madanapâla: that crest-jewel of the lords of the earth flourishes as the moon of his race."

"The subject of the patent is the gift of two villages by Govindachandra to a Ṭhâkur of the name of Devapâla Śarmâ, son of Ṭhâkur Udyi, and grandson of Ṭhâkur Yogi, of the Kâśyapa clan. The title of the donee and his ancestors appears in its ancient form of Ṭhakkura. The date of the gift is the third of the wane in the month of Phâlguṇa, Saṁvat 1174, or just thirteen years after the first grant."

3. 'A Metrical Version of the opening Stanzas of the *Pṛithirâj Rásau*, with a critical commen-

* Jour. As. Soc. Ben. vol. XXVII. p. 218.

† Ancient name of Kanauj.

‡ The ceremony is a very costly one, but it is not uncommon. Within the last ten years it has been several times celebrated in Calcutta, and in course of it not only gold, but silver, rice, paddy, sesamum seed, and other articles were weighed against the donor, and presented to Brâhmans. The *Dânakhanda* of Hemâdri, now in course of publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, contains a full description of the details of this rite.

tary,' by F. S. Growse, M.A., B.C.S. Omitting the commentary, the following is Mr. Growse's version :—

I. Bowing low before my master, I the queen
of speech entreat,*
And the world-supporting serpent, and
great Vishṇu's holy feet.
Then the perfect, sin-consuming god of gods,
that awful power,
Life of man and life of nature, I the poet
Chand adore.

II. From the seed of Revelation,
Watered by Law divine,
Sprang with thrice six spreading branches
Faith, a straight and goodly pine,
Each leaf a lettered sign.
Rich in fruit of lovely colour
And honeyed flowers of song,
Sweet to taste, to see and handle,
For the poets, parrot throng.

III. The Vedic Scriptures, God's best gift,
First claim respect profound,
With threefold branches spreading wide,
Each leaf a lettered sound;
Its bark religion, whence the bud
Of virtue forced its birth,
Ripening to fruit of noble deeds,
Heaven's bliss 'midst men on earth.
Who tastes, unshaken by the blast,
Firm as king's counsel, stays,
Aye growing to more perfect good,
Unsoiled by these foul days.

IV. The world, a pleasant garden-plot,
Watered with Vedic lore,
From good seed cast into its midst
The plant of wisdom bore.
Three great boughs spread, and the earth
grew glad
At the leaves' new melody,
While flowers of virtue swelled to fruit
Of immortality.
The bird-like sage quaffed the sweet juice
Of this exquisite marvellous tree,
With its single stem and its far-spreading
boughs
Full of glory and victory.

V. First reverence to the serpent-king, who
ordereth all things well,
Whose name is told ways manifold, though
one, unchangeable.
Next he adored the Sovereign Lord, the
God of quick and dead,
Who by strong spell set fast the world on
the great serpent's head.
In the four Vedas' holy texts is Hari's
glory shown,
A witness to the eternal truth where only
sin was known.
Be Vyâsa third, from whom was heard the
tale of the Great War.
Where Krishṇa, first of charioteers. drove
Arjun's sounding car.
Fourth, Sukadev, who at the feet of king
Parikshit stood,
And wrought salvation for the whole of
Kuru's lordly brood,
Śrî Harsha, fifth, pre-eminent in arts of poesy.
Who on king Nala's neck let fall the wreath
of victory.
Sixth Kâlidâs, in eloquence beyond all
rivals great,
Whose voice the heavenly Queen of Speech
vouchsafed to modulate:
Upon whose lips great Kali's self thought
it no shame to dwell.
The while he framed in deathless verse
King Bhoja's Chronicle.†
Be seventh in place the jocund grace of
Dânda-Mali's theme,
Sweeping along, full, deep and strong, like
Gangâ's mighty stream.
Eighth Jayadeva, bard of bards, most
worthy that high name,
Whose sole delight to tell aright the great
god Gobind's fame.
Thus each great name of elder fame I the
bard Chand invoke;
For as the present god inspired, those
loving servants spoke.
In humble phrase I dare to praise the deeds
of one and all,
Who can but gather up the crumbs that
from their table fall.

VI. Hearing Chand rate his art so low,
His lovely consort cries:
O pure and all unblemished bard,
Skilled in rare harmonies.

VII. Nay, good my Lord, thus quoth his spouse,
Great bard, unblemished elf,
Whose prayers and spells have power to win
The love of Heaven itself.
Hierophant of mystic lore,
Charm of the courtly throng.
Like to a child in untaught play
Lisping divinest song;
In faith pronounce one holy name
(For faith and love make wise),
'Tis Brahma's self; no dregs of eld
Deem then thy melodies.

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 317.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 213, 240, 306, and vol. III. pp. 29-31, 81.

With reverence to his dearest spouse
Quoth Chand in accents mild;
That holy name of God most high,
Pure, infinite, undefiled,
Beyond the compass of all shape,
Form, stroke, or lettered sign,
Fathomless, indivisible,
That no sphere can confine,
Hymned I that name, by my Lord's help
And Sarasvati's grace,
Jeers still would mock my faltering style,
O Queen of the lotus face.

IX. O reverent and most pure-souled bard,
Versed in all rhythmic law,
Who lisped in numbers as a babe,
Numbers that knew no flaw,
Like Gangâ's stream, on pours thy song
In rich mellifluous flood,
A spell of might that all confess,
But most the wise and good;
The incarnate god, who rules the world,
King Prithiraj the Great,
Of lordly chieftains lordlier lord,
Be it thine to celebrate.

X. Unto his fair and stately dame
Quoth Chand in loving wise:
Dear charmer, clinging vine of love,
Foretaste of Paradise,
With girlish eyes of witching glance,
My queen, my soul's delight,
Noting all faults but knowing none,
Heaven's rich-dowered favourite;
List while I tell in faltering tones
How infinite a throng
Of diverse talents, diverse theme,
Are the great lords of song.

XI. First I adore the one primeval Lord,
Who breathed the unutterable, eternal word;
Who out of formless chaos formed the earth,
And all creation, as he willed, had birth.
Through the three spheres his threefold glory sped.
Fiends, gods, and men—earth, heaven, and hell o'erspread.
Then the supreme, in Brahma's form revealed,
By the four Vedas heaven's closed gate unsealed.
How sing the great creator, uncreate,
Passionless, formless, aye unchanged in state? &c.

4. "The Initial Coinage of Bengal under the early Muhammadan Conquerors,' Part II. by E. Thomas, F.R.S. This paper is devoted to the illustration of a recent find of 37 coins in the fort of Bihâr, and restricted to a period of 13 years, of the age of Ghiyâs-ud-dîn 'Iwaz, of whose career Mr. Thomas gives the following outline:—"Husâm-ud-dîn 'Iwaz, *Khiljî*, a native of Ghor in Afghânistân, on joining Muhammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.* He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokoṭ,† by Quṭb-ud-dîn 'Aibak's representative commissioner in the south-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Sherân and the other confederated Khiljî chiefs.‡ On the definite

*Variants كنكتوري — كنكوري Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautri* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23′; 86° 55′) on the line of country between Bihâr and Nâgor, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication named Gidor (24° 53′; 86° 55′), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihâr head-quarters.

† Deokoṭ (lat. 25° 18′; long. 88° 31), the chief place in Gangârâmpûr (district of Dînâjpûr), is now known by the name of Damdama. Hamilton states that it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan government (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtyar, after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nadiyâ (lat. 23° 25′; long. 88° 22′), contented himself by destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lak'hnauti, Deokoṭ again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minhâj-i-Sirâj in describing Lak'hnauti at a later date (641 A.H.) mentions that the province lay on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lak'hnauti proper was situated on the western bank. The author adds that an embankment or causeway (پل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey through the capital from Deokoṭ to Nâgor in Birbhûm (lat. 23° 56′; long. 87° 22′).—Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 57; Persian text of *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, pp. 161, 162, 243; *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, II. 14; Elliot's *Historians*, II. p. 318, III. p. 112; Rennell's *Maps*, p. 55; Wilford, *As. Res.* IX. p. 72.

‡ The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's *Hindustan*. The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gaur was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacca in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dvípa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hugli river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hugli and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gaur on the east; the Hugli or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal Sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gaur, but chiefly at Bikrampur, eight miles south-east of Dacca." Bollal Sen was succeeded by Lakshmana Sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Baktyâr. The author continues, "It is possible that the Râja only retired

appointment of 'Alî Mardân Khiljî to the kingdom of Bengal by Quṭb-ud-dìn Aibak, he paid his devoirs to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kûsi, and accompanied him to Deokoṭ, where he was formally installed in power. When Quṭb-ud-dìn died at Lâhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alî Mardân assumed independence under the title of 'Alâ-ud-dìn; but after a reign of about two years he was slain by the Khiljî nobles, and Husâm-ud-dìn was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dìn Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *lákhs* [of *tankahs* ?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dihlî, made over the government of Bihâr to 'Alâ-ud-dìn Jâni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed; for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Nâṣir-ud-dìn Mahmûd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghiyâs-ud-dìn 'Iwaz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghiyâs-ud-dìn killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.*

The *Proceedings* for Dec. 1873 contain Prof. Blochmann's readings of seven inscriptions from Dihli, Badaon, Champanagar, and Kanauj; and the following account of 'The Bhâdu and the Bâurìs,' by Upendra Chundra Mukerjea:—"The festival most remarkable in the district of Bânkurah, and in that part of the non-regulation province of Chutiâ Nâgpûr which goes under the name Mânbhûm (and better known as Parûlia), in the Bhâdu, which takes that name on account of its celebration in the month of Bhâdra.

"The Bhâdu originated with the Bâurìs, the aborigines of Bânkurah and Purûlia. It is celebrated on the two last days of the month of Bhâdra, and is personified in an idol of a small size representing a young girl seated on a lotus or sometimes on a small square table: like all Hindû idols, the Bhâdu wears a coronet on the head, and is decorated with garlands. The month of Bhâdra is an interesting season for the people of Bânkurah. In the beginning of the month the idol is ushered into the house of every well-to-do Bâurî woman with shouting and singing; and every evening (till the end of the month) there is a gathering of women and girls round the Bhâdu. who pay homage in songs to their adored deity. It is interesting to note that the Bhâdu is not actually worshipped with *mantras*, as it has not got the sanction of the Hindû religion, but is adored with songs. The Bâurìs are probably the descendants of the adjoining hill tribes, and are an able-bodied and strong race who follow the hard and laborious profession of the *pálkì*-bearer. In complexion they are dark, but in their structure they are symmetrical and well proportioned. Their food consists generally of rice of the coarsest kind, *dál*, and meat of all sorts, especially pork. The women are of a robust make. Country spirit is their chief drink, and the great peculiarity is that women and men generally join when drinking and singing. At marriage feasts women sing round the bride and bridegroon, and men play the *madal*. Their music is not harmonious, the sound of the *madal* resembles that of an English drum. But to return to the Bhâdu. The last two days of the month of Bhâdra are passed in continually beating the tom-tom: at night people get no sleep; and the whole town seems to be as it were in a state of complete excitement: on the Sanskrânti, or the last day of the month, the drowning of the idol in the famous tank of Dûbeband takes place.

"The Bhâdu saw the light only twenty-five years ago in some village within the Pachet Râj, in the district of Mânbhûm. It is said that one of the Râjas of Pachet had a little daughter who was the very personification of humanity and beauty. She was noted for her extreme kindness towards the Bâurìs and other lower orders of the people, whose extreme poverty had excited her compassion. This little girl died very early in the month of Bhâdra, and on her death the people round Kâshîpûr commenced to worship her. According to others, Bhâdû had its origin in the royal house of Pachet, where the Rânî, in memory of her daughter Bhâdrabatti, had a small idol prepared and adored in the month of Bhâdra, when her daughter died.

to his remote capital, Bikrampur, near Dhákâ, where there still resides a family, possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soonergong, in the vicinity of Bikrampur, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gaur malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Râja Lakshmaṇa."—Hamilton's *Hindustan* (1820), I. p. 114.

و چون او [محمد شیران] مهتر امراي خلج بود همگنان اورا خدمت مي کردند و هر امير بر اقطاع خود مي بود Text, p. 158.—Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 51; Elliot's *Historians*, II. p. 315.

* Allowing 'Ali Mardân from 607-8 to 609-10, this leaves an interval up to 612 during which Husâm-ud-dîn' Iwâz was content to remain head of the Khiljî oligarchy, and local governor.

"Whatever may have been the origin of the Bhâdu, it has a hold on the lower orders of the people, who, in the absence of other idols to worship, adore the Bhâdu with songs.

"It is difficult to trace the derivation of the word Bâurî, as it is difficult to derive the names of races like the Bhills, the Kols, the Dhângars. They are divided into the following classes :—

"1. Sikhoria. 2. Molo. 3. Dholo. 4. Pano.

"Sikhoria appear to have come from Sikhorbhûm (in the district of Purûlia), the Molos from Malabhûm (in the district of Bânkurah, formerly known as the land of wrestlers), the Dholo from Dholbhûm (in the district of Purûlia), and the Pano from Pûri.

"The marriage ceremony is thus celebrated: the bride and bridegroom are placed under an artificial tree, which is specially prepared for the occasion, when a twig of the Mahwâ tree and a pot of water from a Brâhmaṇ's house are brought, and the head Bâurî of the bridegroom's family then takes the twig and dips the same into the pot of water and sprinkles the water on the heads of the bride and bridegroom; the ceremony is concluded by handing round spirits and meat. The barking of a dog at the time of the wedding is looked upon as a good omen, and some of the people present generally manage to bring in a dog, which is then beaten till the auspicious bark is heard.

"The following is a specimen of the songs sung by the Bâuris in worshipping Bhâdu—

"1. Our princess Bhâdu is quite a stranger to want! Ah! our chaste gold Bhâdu, thy (infant) milk-drinking throat is dried for want of drink.

"2. We will go to the goldsmiths and have a throne prepared, upon which our darling princess Bhâdu shall play.

"3. My Bhâdu, delicate and gay, O how beautiful is thy gold nose-ring! we shall wrap thy body with kerchief, and thy breast with muslin.

"4. The day is over, the evening has come, adjust your hair, my child; do not weep, O Bhâdu. No more shall I send thee to thy father-in-law.

"5. At whose house hast thou been, Bhâdu? who hath worshipped thee? thou hast red sandal powder upon thy breast, and red *jabá* (a red Indian flower) on thy feet.

"6. Bhâdu is in her offended mood, in which she has passed the night; break thy angry mood, O Bhâdu, thy dear lover is at thy feet.

"7. I have brought odorous flowers from forests, the *malathi* (jasmin), to make a garland for Bhâdu seated on her couch.

"8. We shall smear thy temples with scented sandal essence, adjust thy tuft of hair turned a little askance, and blacken the edges of thy eyes.

"9. Bhâdu, my delicate girl—my life's treasure! I lose my sense every minute I lose sight of thee."

In the *Proceedings* for Jan. last is given the outline of a paper on 'The Identification of certain Tribes mentioned in the Purâṇas with those noticed in Col. E. T. Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal,' by Bâbu Rangalâl Banerji. The following extracts are taken from it :—

"The Kirâtas, otherwise called Kirâtis and Kirântis. Manu classifies the Kirâtas under the head of Mlechchhas in Chapter X., where he reckons them along with the Pauṇḍras, Oḍras. Draviḍas, Kâmbojas, Yavanas, Paradas, Chinas, and the Pahnavas.

"All these tribes have been identified: the Pauṇḍras or Pauṇḍrakas were the people of Western Bengal. Professor Wilson enumerates the following districts of Bengal and Bihâr to have comprised the ancient Pundra, viz. :—Râjshâhi, Dinâjpur, Rangpur, Nadiyâ, Bîrbhûm, Bardwân, Midnapur Jangal Mahâls, Râmgaḍh, Pâchete, Palamow, and part of Chunar. The word Puṇḍra signifies sugarcane of a particular species, called Puñri Akh in Bengali, so that Puṇḍra evidently means the country of sugarcane. It may be remarked here that the other name of Bengal, Gauḍa, is derived from *guda*, or molasses; Gauḍa consequently means the land of molasses. The two names of the country thus have a meaning almost analogous in purport. The quotation from Manu proves beyond a doubt that Bengal and Bihâr were reckoned as Mlechchha Deśa, or unholy land, in the days of the great Hindu lawgiver; and there was then no distinction of caste in those countries, for Bharata, the sage, defines Mlechchha Deśa as the country where the four castes do not dwell.

"But to return to the Kirâtas. They have been noticed in Book II. Chapter III. of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* as a people living on the east of Bhârata or India: they were known to the Greeks as the Ceriadæ. These foresters and mountaineers are still living in the mountains east of Hindustân, and are still called Kirâtis or Kirântis.

"The bard of Siprâ, Kâlidâsa, notices the Kirâtas in his famous poem *Kumâra Sambhava*, or the *Birth of the War-god*, when describing the Lord of mountains, Himalaya.*

"Although the Kirâtas were classed by our poets and sages among the *Mlechchhas* or barbarians, still it is clear that they were not hated or shunned by the Âryan conquerors, like the other aboriginal tribes of India. The great hero of the *Mahâbhârata*, Arjuna, adopted the name, nationality, and guise of a Kirâta for a certain period, to learn archery and the use of other arms from

Śiva, who was considered as the deity of the Kirâtas. This episode of the *Mahâbhârata* was taken up by the poet Bhâravi, who describes it in detail in his celebrated poem *Kirâtârjuniya*.

"Again, both the Himalaya-born goddesses Umâ and Gangâ have the nicknames of Kirâti applied to them by our lexicographers; and it is a question, therefore, whether these goddesses were the daughters of some Kirâta chieftain of the Himalaya, married to Śiva, a Hindu divinity, affording an example of miscegenation among the two races effected at a very early period of history; or whether Śiva was himself a Mongolian.

"It is remarkable that the medicinal Chiretta is a corruption of Kirâta, which is the Sanskṛit name for this drug. The only other synonyms in Sanskṛit are *Bhunimba, Anâryya-tikta,* and *Kandalitikta:* the first means that it is the *nim* or *azadirachta* of the earth; the second implies the bitter of the non-Âryans; and the third signifies that which contains bitter in its trunk. The second name is very suggestive. It is a well-known fact that the Chiretta grows in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, the country of the modern Kirântis or Kirâtis.

"In the topographical lists of the *Mahâbhârata, Bhisma Parva,* separate mention of the Kirâtas occurs more than once; this leads me to infer that the aborigines now known under that appellation must have separated themselves and formed different clans before the great epic was composed. The *Râjmâlâ*, which gives an analysis of the royal family of Tipperah, states that the ancient name of Tripurâ was Kirâta. According to Major Fisher the people of Tripurâ are of the same origin with the Kâchâris, but Colonel Dalton places the Kâchâris in the same group with the Kirântis—the latter are placed under the head of 'Northern borderers,' and the former under 'Population of the Assam valley.' The dispersion of a race of hunters like the Kirâtas was natural, and it was helped to a large extent by the Âryan settlers pushing them on further and further as they spread, and that will account for the wide range they now occupy.

"2. Hayâsyas, Haioos, or Hayas. The horse-faced race.

"Dr. Campbell gives a tradition that the Hayas originally 'came from Lankâ, having left that country after the defeat of their king Râvaṇa by Râmachandra: but the Raksha king Râvaṇa is still their hero and god, and they have no other. They say that they remained a long time in the Dekhan, whence they journeyed on to Semroungadh, in the days of its glory, and that lastly, but a long time ago, reached the hills, their present abode.' Now the Kinnaras, or heavenly choristers, were described by the poets of India as living in the Himalaya under Kuvera, the Indian Plutus, and they were yclept Hayâsyas or horse-faced, an epithet which is well accounted for when we read the physical traits of the modern Haioos or Hyas in Hodgson. The tradition of their being the kinsmen of Râvaṇa is explained by the fact that in the *Râmâyaṇa*, Kuvera, the lord of the Hyâsyas is styled the step-brother of Râvaṇa. Again, the Hyâsyas were designated Kinnaras, which means men of ugly features. Mr. Hodgson's description certifies the deformity of this people very plainly and pointedly, as will be seen in the following extract:—'The physiognomy of this tribe is rather of the Mongolian cast; the bridge of the nose is not perceptibly raised, the cheek bones are flattened and very high, the forehead narrow.'

"Mr. Hodgson defines the Kirant country thus:—

"1. Sunkosi to Likhu. } Khombuan.
2. Likhu to Arun. }
3. Arun to Mechi. } Limbuan.
4. Singilela ridge. }

"He observes that the Khombuan and the Limbuan are, at all events, closely allied races: and, according to Dr. Campbell, in the generic term Limbu are included the Kirântis, the Eakas (Hodgson Yukhas), *i.e.* Yakshas, and Kais. That the Kirâtas and Yakshas herded together or occupied the same region of Himalayas in Ancient India may be gathered from the following extract from Kâlidâsa:

"The Kimpurushas were the Kinnaras, *i.e.* the Hayâsyas, *i.e.* the modern Haioos. That they originally migrated from Mongolia may be deduced from the fact of Hindu geographers placing the Kimpurusha varsha, or the country of the Kimpurushas, between the Himalaya and Hemakuta or Altai mountains.

"3. Yakshas = Eakas or Yakhas.

"These people are thus described in the Purâṇas:—'The Yakshas are the servants of Kuvera, moving in pairs, with storax and stones in their hands, dark as collyrium, their faces deformed, eyes a dull brown, their statures enormous: they are dressed in crimson robes and crystal beads. Some of them are of high shoulder-bones.'

"The ancients knew well that the country of the Yakshas was the land of the pine and turpentine. The Sanskṛit for *Pinus longifolia* and turpentine is *Yaksha Dhupa* or incense of the Yakshas. This 'is a native of the Himalayas, at elevations of 500 to 600 feet, and also found in the Kherri Pass, the entrance to Nepâl. The wood is light, and being full of resinous matter, like the *Pinus Deodara,* both are frequently employed in the hills for making torches.'

A very aromatic unguent was said to have been much used by the ancient Yakshas, called *Yaksha Kardama*, or Cerate of the Yakshas, composed of camphor, agallocham, musk and kakkola (*Myrica sapida ?*). All these ingredients excepting agallocham are productions of the sub-Himalayan range.

"4. Bhillas, Bhîlls, or Bheels.

"The following is a description of a Bhîlli or Bheel woman from the *Hyagriva-vadha Kávya*:—

"'The Bhilla damsel, clad in leaves girt with a creeper, was reclining on the brow of a hill, whilst her husband was engaged in decorating her locks with hill-jessamines, culled by herself.'

"This description puts one in mind of the Patuâ or Juângâ women, so graphically described and illustrated by Col. Dalton. Very likely the Bhîll women had not given up the verdant foliage for their dress when the *Hyagriva-vadha* was composed; but a hypothesis may be started as to the origin of the Bhillas of Râjpûtâna and the Juângâs of Keonjhar. It is a puzzle to ethnologists whether the Bhîlls and the Kols do not belong to the same aboriginal stock. Mr. Forbes Ashburner, the Rev. Mr. Dunlop Moore, Sir John Malcolm, Captain Probyn, and other authorities are of opinion that the Kols or Kolîs and the Bhîlls are not distinct races, and we know that the Juângâs or Janguâs are a subdivision of the Kolarian race: the conjecture therefore follows that the Kolarian race, with all its branches, was known to the Purânic writers under the generic name of Bhillas, for we have hitherto failed to find in the Purâṇas and the poetic literature of the middle ages any description or details of the Kols distinct from those of the Bhîlls. The *Bramha Vaivarta Purâṇa* ascribes the origin of the Kols to a Tivara mother. Parâsara and others say that the Bhillas were born of a Tivara father and a Brâhmaṇi mother.

"The elder Hindu writers classed the Bhîlls among the *Antyajas* or lowest castes of the Hindus. It has been already noticed that the great Parâsara, the father of the still greater Vyâsa, ascribes their origin to a Brâhmaṇi mother and Tivara father; the Tivara is the modern Tiar of Northern India and Bengal, and the Tivaras, according to the same authority, were the offspring of a Churnaka woman by a Pundraka, both very low castes, —the Churnakârs are the Chunârîs or makers of chunam; and these facts show that the Bhillas were considered from a very early period to be a cross between an Âryan and an aboriginal tribe. Later writers, particularly lexicographers, it is true, classed them among the Mlechchhas, but neither Manu nor the other lawgivers have done so. Parâsara appears to be a great tolerator of all the hated tribes, and this may be accounted for by the fact that he himself begot Vyâsa by a Kaivarta woman called Matsyagandhâ, or she of fishy smell. Her son, Vyâsa, of course gives her a Kshatriya origin by a most unnatural myth, though he admits her to be the nursling of Dosa, the Kaivarta chief. Now these Kaivartas have been classed along with the Bhîlls in one of the law books of the Hindus. So we have not only the Kaivartas, but the Rajakas (washermen) and the Charmakârs (leather-dressers) in this category. The Charmakârs are scarcely considered as Hindus. Sir George Campbell, speaking of them in his *Ethnology of India*, says: 'They used to be sworn in a court by a peculiar guru of their own, not by the ordinary name of God.' But though the Châmârs are hated as outcastes and helots to this day, their congeners, the Kaivartas and Rajakas, are not—at least in Bengal. The late millionaire lady Râsmani Dâsi of Jânbazâr was a Kaivarta; and the first man of Calcutta who interpreted the English merchants to the weavers of Sutaloti was a Rajaka, or washerman; his name was Kâli or Kalan Sarkâr, and one of the streets in the native part of the town still bears his name: he is said to have been the foremost native of influence in Calcutta during his time.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ŚRÂVAKA TEMPLE AT BAUTHLÎ.

DEAR SIR,—The following facts may prove interesting to some of your readers.

During the past few years the Junâgaḍh Darbâr has been engaged in pulling down the old fort at Bauthlî, a flourishing town about five miles south of Junâgaḍh, and building a new one on a larger *enceinte*.

About a year ago in removing one of the large towers, a Śrâvaka temple was discovered inside. It had been built over, and no one had the slightest idea of its existence. Every care was ordered to be taken of it, and in all probability it would have become an object of pilgrimage; but unfortunately about two months since, I conclude from contact with the fresh air, it all fell in.

I saw the temple myself last November: it was then in an excellent state of preservation: the carvings were similar to those in the Jaina temples on the Girnâr: its diameter was about 16 feet. The fort is said to be now a thousand years old: the temple, therefore, must have been of great antiquity.

CHARLES WODEHOUSE, Capt.,
Acting Judicial Assistant, Kâṭhiâvâḍ.

Jaitpûr, 12th April 1874.

MUSALMÂN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KONKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Bo. C.S.

IV.—The Fort of Korlê.

IN the account I recently gave of Chaul under the Musalmâns, I mentioned the capture of the fort of Korlê by the Portuguese. I think the detailed account of this fort as it was in Musalmân times, and also the particulars of its capture, may be acceptable. Its plan and works are quite different from those of any other fort on the coast that I have seen, and I saw no traces of Marâṭhâ work in it.

Translation from *De Coutto—Decada* 11, *cap.* 30:—"Opposite to our city of Chaul, and running half-across the mouth of the river, is a high and precipitous hill called the Rock (Morro), which the forces of Melique (the Ahmadnagar king) had converted into a great fortress, as strong as any in the world. This rock was surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth was a ditch which extended from the sea to the river, and which was crossed by a wooden drawbridge. On the inner side of the ditch was a high and strong wall, also extending from the sea to the river, and relieved by two great bastions. Between the bastions, and looking down from the wall, stood a bronze lion with this inscription—'None passes me but fights.'

"Crossing the Rock about the middle was another wall with bastions, and on the top of it a great and strong tower which commanded the summit, and was called the 'Tower of Resistance.' From the highest point of it looked down a bronze eagle with extended wings and with this inscription—'None passes me but flies.' At the point of the Rock stretching furthest into the river was another great and strong bastion. There were thus seven in all, armed with more than 70 pieces of heavy artillery. Inside the walls the Moors had a deep cistern or tank, well built of costly cut stone, several magazines full of warlike stores of all sorts, and some good houses. The garrison consisted of about 8,000 troops, horse and foot, among whom were many rich and noble Moors, who were quartered outside the walls in costly tents of gay colours. Adjoining this camp was a bazâr of nearly 7,000 souls, all engaged in trade, which contained everything necessary for the wants of such a population, and here also was great store of rich stuffs, money, and merchandise." *

The historian goes on to relate that in April 1594 the Moors, notwithstanding the peace that existed between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese, began to molest the latter, especially by cannonading the Portuguese city from the Rock. The Portuguese had several partial encounters with them, and always with success, particularly on the occasion of the arrival of fourteen Moguls, who having come to the court of Melique were sent by him to witness the defeat of the Portuguese, which he looked on as a certainty. As soon as they appeared in the camp, the Portuguese were upon them, killed nine and captured two, the remainder saving themselves by flight, and taking with them the Eunuch Thanadar, mortally wounded. An Abyssinian named Frate Khan succeeded him, of whom it had been foretold by his father that he would be killed by the Portuguese. After this, there were several more skirmishes, and at this time arrived Don Alvaro de Abranches, captain of the troops which had been sent to reinforce Bassein on account of the war. He brought all his force, as did the Captain of Salsette, and they entered the river under a tremendous fire from the Rock, but without loss.†

On September 2 the Captain of Chaul, Cosme de Lafeitar, being thus reinforced, determined to go across and burn the Musalmân bazâr, without any idea of gaining the fort.

Before starting, all the soldiers confessed and attended mass, and all the churches and convents in the city were kept open. The Portuguese crossed in boats to the number of 1500, Don Alvaro de Abranches having the vanguard, and Don Cosme de Lafeitar the rear The Musalmâns appear to have been prepared, and there was a sharp encounter; but one of their elephants being wounded, rushed back and fell into the ditch. The Musalmâns began to retreat, and made for the drawbridge, as did

* This account is evidently much exaggerated. The fort, though strong, is of no great size or height, compared with many hill-forts, and derives its whole importance from its position. It could not have held the garrison described, at any time, although a considerable auxiliary force could have lain outside, as stated.—ED.

† Vessels over 50 tons must enter the river almost within pistol-shot of the Water Battery.—ED.

a great number of the bazâr people. Some of the Portuguese crossed with them, and, the gate in the first wall being blocked up by the wounded elephant, got into the fort. The Musalmâns, seeing this, tried to shut the gate in the second wall, but were prevented doing so by a wounded horse having fallen there. Here fell the Franciscan Father Antonio, who had accompanied the troops with a crucifix fastened on to the end of a lance. This enraged the Portuguese, who rushed forward and got inside the second wall, notwithstanding the fierce resistance of the Musalmâns, and Frate Khan was here taken desperately wounded. Only the "Tower of Resistance" now remained, and here the Musalmâns who had escaped made a last stand. The Portuguese sent to C h a u l for scaling-ladders, and so, after great resistance and slaughter, got possession. Frate Khan, convinced by the Portuguese victory of the truth and power of their God, became a Christian, and dying of his wounds was buried at C h a u l with great pomp. His wife and daughter were taken in the "Tower of Resistance;" the former was ransomed for a great sum, and the latter sent to Goa and afterwards to Lisbon, where she became a Christian.

In this affair the Portuguese lost only 21 killed, and about 50 wounded; the Musalmâns are said to have lost 10,000 in killed alone. The works were destroyed, as the Portuguese had not men enough to hold them, except the "Tower of Resistance," and the battery which stood on the point running out into the river, in which a captain with a few men were afterwards posted. The trophies of the day, besides the riches of the bazâr, were much ammunition, many horses, five elephants, seventy-seven pieces of artillery, and a quantity of small arms.

De Coutto's work, from which the above account is taken, was published early in the 17th century. An inscription (given in Mr. Hearn's *Statistical Report on the Colaba Agency*) states that the Viceroy of India ordered the present fort to be built in 1646, and that it was completed in 1680.* The greater part of the works are still in very good preservation,† and it is clear that the Portuguese rebuilt it on the same general plan as the Musalmâns had originally adopted. The promontory is fortified all round, and crossed at the top by two or three walls with gateways and bastions, so that each enclosure might be defended as a separate fort: several of these gateways have the names of saints engraved on them.‡ At the point commanding the entrance to the harbour is a large battery, and the level space between this and the bottom of the hill apparently contained the quarters of the troops. At the extreme point is a large pedestal, on which probably stood a cross: for De Coutto mentions that, before the Musalmâns first fortified the Rock, there was a cross at this point, which was miraculously preserved from destruction, though the Musalmâns did their best to overthrow it. The chapel is in the highest part of the fort and close to the magazine.

MAXIMS RENDERED FREELY FROM THE MAHÂBHÂRATA, &c.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 170.)

Mahâbhârata, Âśvamedhika Parvan 2784: "*Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life,*" &c.: Matthew, vii. 14.

Heaven's narrow gate eludes the ken,
Bedimmed and dull, of foolish men.
Within that portal, sternly barred,
To gain an entrance, oh! how hard!
What forms its bolts and bars? the sin
Of those who seek to enter in.

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* "This castle was commanded to be built by the Viceroy of India, Don Felippe Meneses, in November Anno 1646, Fernando de Miranda Uyeri being Captain of Chaul, and was finished in May 1680, while Christova da Breuda Zevedo was Captain of this fortress."

It is over a gateway in the highest part of the fort, 400 feet above sea-level, and is surmounted by the arms of Portugal. In another place are the same arms, with three arrows in sheaf on the left, and on the right a terrestrial globe—devices which also occur in Chaul, and are said by Hearn to signify, the arrows thirty years of peace, and the globe the foreign power of the Portuguese. Compare the globe which is the badge of our Royal Marines.—ED.

† Only an outer wall on the E. slope has almost disappeared.—ED.

‡ So have the bastions, which were all named after saints, but have now Marâthi names. The last Marâthâ commandant, who was a Wanjârî by caste, died a few years ago. A very large gun is said to have been given by the English Government to the Habshi of Jinjira from the Pusantî Bûrj or S. E. Bastion.

The Pâṭil family of Korlê still worship the remaining guns once a year.—ED.

Udyogap. 1625. *Knowledge of the Vedas does not save the bad man.*

No cherished store of holy texts has power
To save the man in craft and fraud expert.
His lore forsakes him in his final hour,
As birds full-fledged their native nests desert.

Vanap. 13445. *Austerities and rites unavailing without inward purity.*

The triple staff, long matted hair,
A squalid garb of skins or bark,
A vow of silence, meagre fare,
All signs the devotee that mark,
And all the round of rites, are vain,
Unless the soul be pure from stain.

Udyogap. 1028. *Two inheritors of heaven.*

These two of heavenly bliss are sure:
The lordly man who rules the land
With mild and patient self-command;
And he who freely gives, though poor.

Âśvamedhikap. 2788. *The most meritorious kind of liberality.*

Rich presents, though profusely given,
Are not so dear to righteous Heaven
As gifts, by honest gains supplied,
Though small, which faith has sanctified.

Udyogap. 1248. *Action with an eye to the future.*

Let all thy acts by day be right,
That thou may'st sweetly rest at night.
Let such good deeds thy youth engage
That thou may'st spend a tranquil age.
So act through life that not in vain
Thou heavenly bliss may'st hope to gain.

Udyogap. 1537. *Condition of acquiring knowledge.*

How can the man who ease pursues
The praise of knowledge ever earn?
All those the path of toil must choose,
Of ceaseless toil, who care to learn.
Who knowledge seeks must ease refuse;
Who ease prefers must knowledge lose.

Adip. 3069. "*Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye?*" &c.: Matthew, vii. 2.

Thou mark'st the faults of other men,
Although as mustard-seeds minute:
Thine own escape thy partial ken,
Though each is like a large Bel fruit.

Mahâbhârata Adiparvan, 3074 f. *Humility taught by self-knowledge.*

Until the ugly man has scanned
His form, as in a mirror shown,
He deems, in fond conceit, his own
The fairest face in all the land;
But when the faithful glass reveals
How every grace and charm it wants,
At once are silenced all his vaunts:
The galling truth he sadly feels.

Manu, iv. 170 ff. *The ultimate ruin of the wicked* (*compare Psalm* xxxvii.).

Not even here on earth are blest
Unrighteous men, who thrive by wrong,
And guileful arts, who, bold and strong,
With cruel spite the weak molest.

Though goodness only bring distress,
Let none that hallowed path forsake.
Mark what reverses overtake
The wicked after brief success.

Not all at once the earth her fruits
Produces; so unrighteousness
But slowly works; yet not the less
At length the sinner quite uproots.

At first through wrong he grows in strength;
He sees good days, and overthrows,
In strife triumphant, all his foes;
But justice strikes him down at length.

Yes, retribution comes, though slow,
For if the man himself go free,
His sons shall then the victims be;
If not,—his grandsons feel the blow.

Bhartṛihari. *Large-heartedness.*

"Inform us, pray, belongs the man
To our own caste, or class, or clan?"
So seek the narrow-souled to know,
Before they any kindness show.
But generous hearts in love embrace
As brothers all the human race.

Edinburgh, April 23, 1874.

NOTES ON CASTES IN THE DEKHAN.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

(*Continued from page* 132.)

E.—Wandering Castes.

These are the most difficult of all to obtain any account of. They hardly ever take Government service, associate little or not at all with the settled races, and are looked upon by the latter with incurious contempt.

1. The Wanjârîs* belong to the Northern Dekhan and Khândesh, and subsist chiefly by carrying grain down to the coast on pack-bullocks and returning with salt. They are, however, as already mentioned, being driven "off the line" in the Punâ Ghâts by the Marâthâs and Telis; and in the open country, railways and carts are fast supplanting them. But in the passes which connect Khándesh with Mâlwâ on the one hand, and Gujarât on the other, they still almost monopolize the carrying trade. A small but increasing number engage in cultivation and commerce: in Khândesh some are peons and policemen, and I have known them in native infantry regiments. They are also great cattle breeders and dealers, purchasing in Central India for import into this Presidency. They are physically a fine race, the men tall and handsome, the women well built but of singularly harsh features. They are, however, reputed the most chaste in the Presidency, as the men are the most jealous. The men dress like cultivators; but the women wear clothes peculiar both in colour and form,—a petticoat and scarf of a dull reddish brown and white pattern, a strange unicorn head-dress, and a profusion of brass and shell rings upon both arms and legs. For one year after marriage the bride wears, instead of the horn, a small brass *lotá* on her head. They are said to have some words peculiar to themselves; but their extreme reserve and suspicion render it impossible to learn much about that, and I am not myself inclined to credit them with non-Aryan origin. They are brave, and have the reputation of great independence of character, which I am not disposed to allow to them. The Wanjârî, indeed, is insolent on the road, and will drive his bullocks up against a *sâheb* or any one else; but at any disadvantage he is abject enough. I remember one who rather enjoyed seeing his dogs attack me, whom he supposed alone and unarmed; but the sight of a cocked pistol made him very quick in calling them off, and very humble in praying for their lives, which I spared, less for his entreaties than because they were really noble animals. The Wanjârîs are famous for their dogs, of which there are three breeds. The first is a large smooth dog, generally black, sometimes fawn-coloured, with a square heavy head, most resembling the Danish boarhound. This is the true Wanjârî dog. The second is also a large square-headed dog, but shaggy, more like a great underbred spaniel than anything else. The third is an almost hairless greyhound, of the type known all over India by the various names of "Lût," "Polygar," "Râmpûrî," &c. They all run both by sight and scent, and with their help the Wanjârîs kill a good deal of game, chiefly pigs; but I think they usually keep clear of the old fighting boars. Besides sport and their legitimate occupations, the Wanjârîs seldom stickle at supplementing their resources by theft, especially of cattle; and they are more than suspected of infanticide. They are particularly skilful in the management of their bullocks, allow only four men to a hundred, and say that they can by their shouts make the brutes charge and overrun a tiger or a small body of men. In the more dangerous parts of their journeys they still pile up their bags of grain or salt in the form of a redoubt, as described by Colonel Tod; and as the fortification is too high for a horse to jump, and quite musket-proof, it can

* "In the Dekhan the Wanjârî caste cultivate the soil and make articles of *tâg* or coarse hemp: those who are carriers and cattle-dealers appear to be of Hindustâni origin, some claim to be of Râjpût caste, and it is said others in Central India have been converted to Muhammadanism,—in these respects, it may be observed, showing an affinity to the Bhîl tribe; and there are other circumstances which would indicate an aboriginal origin of the race in question, subject to admixture with wanderers from various sources, but it is not here known that Wanjârîs possess an original dialect. * * * * Some of the traders,—for they trade as well as carry,—are well off, and occasionally men amongst them are suspected of being dacoits and robbers; one section, named Marâthâ Wanjârîs, being comparable with "Râmosîs," since they serve as village watchmen, &c., but in the daytime are often mounted highwaymen. These reside mostly in the Nizâm's territories, where they are also called "Kolîs." The caravans (*tândâs*) of Wanjârâs are conducted under a Naik or leader; and the people have been properly compared in their occupation, and some habits, to the wandering and trading Chârans of Gujarât."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. of Bombay*, No. XI., pp. 247-8.

easily be imagined that a Wanjârî "*tâṇḍâ*" (caravan) was no easy nut for the boldest Pindâris to crack.

2. The *Lambâṇîs* are a very similar, some say an identical, race, who take the same position in the South Marâṭhâ Country as the Wanjâris further north. They speak a language differing from Marâṭhî—Telugu, I fancy; and their women do not—that I have observed—wear the horned head-dress of the Wanjârins. Orme mentions their having supplied the Comte de Bussy with store cattle and grain when besieged by the Nizâm's army in the Châr-mahâl at Haidarâbâd; and his description of their roving and predatory habits would suit them well enough at this day. For some reason or other, a good many Europeans call them "Gypsies."

3. The Waḍârîs,* or wandering navvies, have two divisions—Gâḍ-Waḍârîs, or quarry-men, named from the little carts upon which they carry stones, and Maṭ-Waḍârîs, who deal only in earthwork, as their name implies. They speak a dialect of Telugu among themselves. They are great dog-fanciers, have a particular taste for English breeds, and are bad neighbours to the kennel, but otherwise an industrious, honest, peaceable set of people. The two divisions eat together, but do not intermarry.

4. The only people who will eat Waḍâris' bread are the *Kaikâḍîs*, of whom there are three divisions—(1) Gawrânî, who are basket-makers; (2) Kunchekarî, who make weavers' brushes; and a third whose distinguishing name and trade I have forgotten. None of the three eat together or intermarry. They are all great thieves, occasionally sportsmen.

5. The Beladârs† are wandering stone-cutters, in appearance and trade resembling the Gâḍ-Waḍâris, but holding themselves distinct.

6. The Mehumjogîs or Warhâḍîs trade in buffaloes. I have only once seen them in the Dekhan.

7. The Kolhâṅṭîs are the most repulsive scum in existence. They are nominally basket-makers; the women are all prostitutes, and the men all thieves; but their distinctive industry is that of kidnapping female children, who are sold to bawds in Bombay and Haidarâbâd. Some of the women are wonderfully good-looking, considering their way of life.

8. The Vaidyas or Hakîms are the caste who exhibit snakes and the like. They also profess a knowledge of simples, but their chief practice in that line is the compounding of intoxicating draughts. Two very different narcotics are called Kusûmba: one is simply opium and water; the other a decoction of a bean (*Canavalia virosa*) found in the Koṅkan. The Vaidyas are great at the preparation of both. They are also good at snaring small game and poisoning fish; and all manner of living things are pure to their palates, except a rat, which is curious, as all the other wandering tribes are very fond of field-rats, which they dig up and eat, stealing his store of corn.

9. The Phaṅsî-Pâradhîs are famous for their wonderful skill in capturing animals with horsehair nooses. I have myself known them to catch everything, from a quail to a sâmbar (*Cervus Rusa*), and they say themselves that they could catch a tiger or a bison if he was worth the risk and trouble. They have also special excellence in digging through or under the wall of a house to rob it, and are—both as thieves and poachers—looked upon with little favour by sporting sâhebs.

10. The Bhâmaṭyas have two divisions, of which the only one known to me is the Pātharwaṭ caste. These are supposed to make mill-stones; but their real trade—never concealed but when they can conceal their caste—is that of petty theft. I once asked a Bhâmaṭya prisoner "What's your trade?" "*Hench choricheṅ*" ("Just this of stealing") was the answer; and he took his fifty lashes without a sound. The Bhâmatyas do not wander in gangs, but singly or in small parties and in the disguise of Marâṭhâs. There are some wanderers who call themselves

* "In the Dekhan and South India, a widely distributed caste of very low status, whose chief occupation is to cart and sell rough stones for building purposes. In the Dekhan they are of unsettled habits, congregating where building operations are being carried on: they are also excavators or well-diggers, and mill-stone makers: some are known as thieves, and their general habits are those of a rude, ignorant, intemperate, and superstitious race. Their diet is indiscriminate, and is noted for including such vermin as the field-rat. Buchanan describes them as of Telinga origin, and as also being engaged as carriers of, and traders in, salt and grain. The old and infirm live in huts near villages, while the vigorous youth of both sexes travel about in caravans with oxen, male buffaloes, and asses, in pursuit of trade and work: their families accompany them, and all live in rude huts made of mats and sticks."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Socy. ut supra*, pp. 246-7.

† "A caste of low status in the Dekhan, occupied in digging wells, blasting rocks, and working on the roads as bricklayers, &c."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Socy. ut supra*, p. 198.

"Gosâvîs," but they have no religious character. However, they live chiefly by begging and stealing, which is pretty much the way with a good many of the religious Gosâvîs. The wandering tribes of shepherds, turners, and smiths have been mentioned along with the more settled races following the same trades. All the wandering tribes except the Bhâmaṭyas carry their habitations with them: those of the Wanjârîs are generally blanket-tents; those of the other tribes huts made of grass mats; but the name of *pâl* is applied to both. Their means of conveyance are bullocks, donkeys, and more particularly buffaloes. The Gâḍ-Waḍâris use their little carts. Except the Wanjâris, they are all much alike in being very dark and lean, generally with coarse broad faces and scrubby beards, and it is difficult to distinguish one tribe from another at first sight. Although these people wander about the country, there are none but have what they call their *vatan*, or hereditary abode, in some fixed place. Most of the Wanjârî *tâṇḍâs* have a *pied-à-terre* somewhere in Khândesh; and those of the Vaidyas, "Gosâvîs," Patharwat Bhâmaṭyas, &c., all lie about Ganesh Khind, Bhambûrda, and Dàpuli, west of Puṇâ. This bit of country, indeed, is the very head-quarters of the rascality of Western India. Here they spend the monsoon, divide the plunder, and organize their tours for the ensuing fair season. But they are like the fox, which won't prey near his own earth; it is against their thieves' honour to rob the neighbourhood of their standing-camp, and I have known the breach of this rule visited upon the offender with severer punishment than he would probably have suffered from the law.

F.—Hill and Forest Tribes.

The Râmośîs can hardly be called essentially a hill or forest tribe; in matter of residence and in appearance and language they are generally indistinguishable from the Marâṭhâs, but their tendency to the chase and to plunder assimilates them to the genuine wild races; and as they are not wanderers, seldom regular cultivators, and hardly ever professional soldiers, it is most convenient to class them in this division. Whether they are of Âryan or aboriginal descent, their names, features, and religion afford no means of determining. Although they have certainly some legends and observances peculiar to themselves,* I have never been able to extract any information upon the subject from any member of this reticent race. The Râmośî's grand characteristic, indeed, is his power of keeping his own counsel. The other predatory tribes, especially the Bhîlls and Kolîs, are, as will be seen, naïvely candid upon their family affairs and personal irregularities; but you might cut the heart out of a Râmośî and his secret would not come with it. Although they are not, strictly speaking, Parwârîs,—so unclean as to be allowed no habitation within the sacred *gâṁ kûs*, or mud rampart, the Pomœrium of a Dekhan village,—and are in point of personal cleanliness and diet a good deal superior to the Mahârs and Mâṅgs, they are yet held little better than these by the Marâṭhâs and higher castes, who despise almost as much as they dread them: for the Râmośîs are the greatest adepts in the Dekhan at robbery and arson, and abstain from cruelty and murder only when they are afraid of attracting a closer attention, or incurring a severer punishment. "Sâheb," said an old patel who was laughed at for the fear in which he held his neighbours the Râmośîs, "it's true we are three hundred men in the village, and they only a dozen; but they are a folk with *red eyes*, and no man can offend a Râmośî but he comes to grief for it somehow, sooner or later." They stick to each other like freemasons; and as they hardly ever confess, or turn Queen's evidence, the means upon which the Indian detective chiefly relies are seldom available to obtain the conviction of a Râmośî. They are as great liars as the most civilized races, differing in this from the Hill tribes proper, and from the Parwârîs, of whom I once knew a Brâhmaṇ to say: "The Kunabîs, if they have made a promise, will keep it, but a Mahâr is such a fool that he will tell the truth without any reason at all."

However, there is to be said in their favour

* "Râmośî.—This tribe has a very low status, and its members are most numerous in the adjoining Maisur State, whence they probably spread to the west and north. Râmośîs are commonly regarded as non-Âryans or aborigines (probably belonging to the ancient Telingana province), and they still retain rude, unsettled, and predacious habits; but, like the Kolîs and Pagîs on the one hand, and their cognomers the Bedars in the S. Marâṭhâ districts, they have been admitted on ordinary village establishments as servants and watchmen: they observe some restrictions in diet, not eating beef, but are very superstitious; they are intelligent, cunning, and expert thieves and robbers, often committing violence."—Dr. Vandyke Carter in *Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. of Bombay*, No. XI. N. S. (1871), p. 237.

that they are personally brave, though none have ever risen to military command, and but few enter the native army, where I do not think the other sepoys would tolerate them, or they refrain from plundering their comrades. They are good trackers and hunters (and no good *shikârî* can be classed as a thorough blackguard), and not only are they faithful to their employers, but if you retain one Râmośî watchman you have enlisted the whole caste in your favour,—at least they say so, and we like to believe it; whereas the Arab, Makrânî, Pardeśî, and Panjâbî swashbucklers, who are often entertained for protection of property, regard their honesty as purchased only by their own master, and will employ any leisure he allows them in robbing his next neighbour, without hesitating to murder their own brethren on guard at the door. The unenviable notoriety of the Râmośîs for peculiar skill in the most despicable trade that a human being can follow is chiefly due to the fact that the so-called Râmośîs, or house-watchmen, of our towns and stations do not always belong to this race at all, but are often Parwârîs or the scum of other castes; but they can't be entirely acquitted of the charge, and their own women have no great reputation for chastity; nor are the men much more jealous than the Parwârîs. The Beruḍs of the South Marâṭhâ Country* are identical with the Râmośîs (and are not to be confounded with the Burûḍs† or basket-makers). In the Karmâlâ Tâlukâ of Solâpur, which is the north-western limit of the use of the term Beruḍ, they eat together and intermarry. Their chief ostensible employment is that of village watchman; in which capacity they have usually some little *inâm* land, generally sublet to a cultivator; and they live partly upon the produce or rent of this, eked out with the produce of the chase; but their main subsistence is the *Baluta Penda*, or contribution in kind, of the cultivators; and woe to the Kunabi who refuses the Râmôśî his dues! They are skilful in the use of nets to catch hares and partridges; and, though nominally disarmed, there is generally one in a *watan* (official family) of Râmośîs who knows where to lay his hand upon a rusty matchlock, and more than one who know how to use it. They also use the sword, and sometimes the pike, but never the bow, and, being seldom horsemen, know nothing of the lance. The Kolîs‡ of the Sahyâdrî are a very different race. They are confined entirely to the Mâwâl ('sunset'), the term applied throughout the Dekhan to the highlands which form the western horizon of so much of it. As I have already said, they claim the name of Marâṭhâs, and formed, no doubt, the greater part of the force of Mâwalî swordsmen by whose means the Marâṭhâ power first gathered head in the fastnesses of the Ghâṭs; but, being averse to distant or mounted service, they had little hand in the extension of his predatory power; and I do not know that any of them ever attained to higher command in the Marâṭhâ service than that of some of the small hill-forts, called here *durgs*, as distinguished from the more important fortresses called *kilâs*, and the village citadels called *garhîs*. They are, no doubt, of non-Âryan race; they have a few words unknown to the Marâṭhâs proper; bury their dead, except in the case of cholera and some other causes of death, which they seem to regard as implying a curse, and in which they accord to the deceased no better sepulture than heaving him over the nearest cliff. They are physically a fine race, active and well formed, though seldom of great power; often rather fair, which they probably owe to the damp and cool climate of their mountains. Their features are usually flat and broad; I never saw a man among them who could be called handsome, though some of the younger women have pleasing faces, the effect of which is much enhanced by their graceful figure and action. They are freer than the women of the plains in manner, and salute a sâheb just as the men do, but have a high, and

* "Beraḍ or Bedar—a low caste found in the S. Marâṭhâ Country, &c., who now serve as watchmen, &c., like Râmośis in the Dekhan to the N. of their limits; formerly known as marauders and still sometimes addicted to robbery; present habits and customs resemble those of the lower castes of Hindus. The '*Baydaru*' of S. India were described by Buchanan as soldiers, hunters, and cultivators; often robbers: holding caste restrictions and retaining several rude customs: they had hereditary chiefs and a race of nobles, and, like Kolîs, were subdivided into a number of families which might not intermarry. They are probably an aboriginal tribe . . . their former capital was Pâdshâhpur, in the Belgâm district."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. ut sup.* p. 197.

† Vide *ante*, p. 77. "An inferior caste widely scattered in the Dekhan: they are makers of cages and baskets of wickerwork; also mats, &c. of bamboo and the rattan cane."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. ut sup.* p. 202.

‡ Vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 154.—ED.

I believe well-deserved, reputation for chastity —perhaps because the men are more jealous, and more apt to punish adultery with death, than any other Hindus that I know of except the Wanjârîs. I knew one instance in which a Kôlî woman with the choice of death or dishonour before her, deliberately chose and bravely endured the former. The manly, simple, and truthful character of the Kolîs makes them a pleasant people to converse with and live among: but, upon the other hand, they are great plunderers, and their frequent marauding expeditions are aggravated by a reckless and unrelenting cruelty, which any one accustomed to intercourse with them in their milder mood finds it difficult and painful to believe in. In one case I knew a gang to burn a wretched old man alive, because he did not pay a sum which they must have known he could not possibly have in hand; and their detection was a remarkable instance of the doctrine that "murder will out." The other villagers had fled in terror, but a little boy, the victim's grandchild, stayed by his old relation to the last, and, though half-stupefied by fear, remembered that one of the murderers had a broken toe. The man with the broken toe was discovered, apprehended, confessed his own offence and betrayed his accomplices, and they came by the punishment they deserved. The other day a party of Kolîs put an obnoxious Vâṇî upon a heap of prickly milk-bush (*Euphorbia*) and pressed him on to it with their feet till he gave up his coin; and I write with twenty Kolî prisoners under guard, who relate the tale of a dozen robberies, varied with torture, rape, and fire-raising, in a tone of cool frankness that would be amusing if it were not horrible. That they should be transported for life they seem to regard as part of the rules of the game, which it is not worth while to avoid by lying, when fairly caught. The fact is that they have in many cases been driven to madness by the extortions of the Vâṇîs, and the perverted process of the civil courts. A Kolî buys a little grain or cloth upon credit, signs he knows not what, is pressed on year after year for interest; and after throwing crop, wood, and cattle in vain into the gulf of usury, at last finds his creditor at the door with a writ of attachment for the last remains of his miserable belongings. It is little wonder that severe reprisals take place. Cut noses are almost as common among the Vâṇîs of the western districts as goitres in some Alpine valleys. The town of Ambegâm has been four times burnt to the ground. The sympathies of the rural population are entirely with the offenders, who but revenge the grievances of their class; and where they might be willing they are afraid to lend assistance to the police, which would probably be punished by the burning of houses or crops, and perhaps by personal violence. The rugged hills and dense jungles of the ghâṭs afford a safe refuge to those who are recognized and "*go out;*" and altogether our rule has perpetuated, if not produced, a state of things in the Sahyâdrî hills which finds its nearest analogue in the Tipperary of forty years ago, and which can only be altered either by removing the causes, or by simply dragooning the country into peace with an enormously increased police force, in which latter case the Kolî will probably slowly die out: the Vâṇî depriving him of his land and house; the Kunabî, hard pressed for land in the over-populated plains, ever ready to step into his place; and the Sirkâr providing him with a place of refuge in the jail or the Andaman islands. The subsistence of the Kolîs, apart from the produce of occasional dacoities, is derived from the cultivation of rice and coarse high-land grains, and oilseeds. In Puṇâ the free forests are not sufficiently extensive to make woodcutting or cattle-herding any great addition to their means of livelihood, as they are further north; but they keep a good many buffaloes, which give very good milk and butter. They go down a good deal to Bombay, when the crop has been got in, to work as coolies. Police service is very popular with them, in which they are very useful for hill service, though they sometimes get tired of it after a couple of years' service. A Kolî corps raised by Major (now Colonel) Nuttall did good service in former troublous times, the men fighting at first with their own arms of sword and matchlock. They are often expert swordsmen and good shots, seldom use the spear, and never the bow. The *koitá*, or bill-hook, is the constant companion of every Kolî, hanging at his side in a hook which is often made of sâmbar horn, very prettily carved. They are very skilful in the use of this rude tool, but do not habitually use it as a weapon. It is

their great implement for *râb*, or cutting of branches, which, being burnt, serve to manure their fields, to the great grief of the Forest officers. The axe is not so common, and is used only for felling large timber. Their dress is that of the Marâthâs, only not so good, and less of it. The Râja of the little State of Jowâr is a Kolî; and so, I think, were by rights the Râjas of Peint, though they made believe very much indeed to be Râjpûts, until their conversion to Islâm.

The Ṭhâkurs are a still wilder race than the Kolîs. I believe the term is applied further north to a breed supposed to be of mixed Kolî and Râjpût blood; * but here the Ṭhâkur stands below the Kolî, and is as distinct from him as chalk from cheese. They are very dark, with broad flat faces and wide mouths, unmistakeably non-Âryan, and having names for many plants and animals different from the Marâṭhâ words, and, even, the Kolîs say from theirs. The likest people to them that I have seen are the Gonds. They are great hunters, using often firearms, but chiefly a broad-bladed pike, nets and snares. Their idea of cultivation is confined to *dhalî* or *kûmrî*, a process which is similar to the *essartage* of parts of France and Belgium, and consists in cutting down the forest, burning trees and branches where they lie, and sowing in the ashes, with the merest preliminary scratch of a stick or *koïtá*, or often without it. They are plucky enough in pursuit of game, and, as a rule, not such great plunderers as the other hill-races. I never saw them in Government service in any capacity, but they sometimes work on roads, or for other natives as labourers and herdsmen.

The Bhîlls † are very scarce in these parts. In 1870 I took a census of all the Bhîlls in the Junnar Tâlukâ—as much as to say, of all in the Punâ District. There were 59 able-bodied males, of whom 12 were convicted offenders—a fraction over 20 per cent. Their southern limit here (and therefore I believe in the peninsula) is the Kukaḍî river. This race were the terror of the districts in old days. Men now living in Otûr and other villages near the Harîchandragaḍh or Brâhmaṇvâḍî range remember their annual incursions, and the hasty gatherings of villagers and property into the mud forts. The neck of their power, however, was broken when Mandhargîr Gosâvî threw 7,000 Bhîlls into the wells of Kopargâm, having got them into his hands by treachery. Some of them are losing their wild character, and settling down as respectable cultivators. It is remarkable that the Bhîlls of the Sahyâdrî are much superior in stature, appearance, and intelligence to those of the Sâtḥpûrâ, a fact first pointed out to me by an officer of the Khândesh Bhîll Corps. Those here don't eat beef, but some of the wilder Bhîlls of Western Khândesh do.

The Kathkarîs are not often met with above ghâṭ; and for most of the following I am indebted to observation in Khândesh and Kûlâbâ,

* "Ṭhâkur—in Gujarât, the N. Koṅkan, and in the Mâwals of Mid-Dekhan, on the connecting Ghâṭ range, the appellation of an offset of the Kolîs, who claim to be of part Râjpût descent. In Gujarât Ṭhâkur chiefs are still not uncommon; and others are cultivators: in the Koṅkan the tribe is degraded, being rude, ignorant, and often very indigent; the *Ma* and *Ka* Ṭhâkur are here recognized: in the Dekhan their condition is often the same; but it is better in the Western Mâwals, where Ṭhâkurs are rather numerous. A connection with Râjpûts is not seldom claimed by these people, who present almost all the features of an aboriginal race, who are intensely prejudiced, and sometimes reputed thieves. There is a corresponding mixed race of Bhîlls in Central India, where too are found the Gonds, whose resemblance to Ṭhâkurs has been remarked."—*Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. ut sup.* p. 242.

† *Vide ante*, vol. II. pp. 148, 201, 217, 251. "Bhîll: Bhîlla—a tribe of dark-skinned people who inhabit the Vindhyâ and Sâthpûrâ ranges, branching inland from the N. termination of the Western Ghâts. In their fastnesses the Bhîlls are still almost savages, and by intuition robbers; but those much or long in contact with civilized races have acquired improved habits. Their physique varies according to locality, and so customs: towards the sea-coast, which the tribe reaches about the mouths of the Tâptî and Narmadâ, whose course is parallel to the above-named ranges, their physical characters are said to deteriorate, and there the people, known comprehensively as the Kâlaprajâ, with, most probably it would seem, the Waḍâlîs and Kathkarîs extending southward in the Koṅkan Dhang, are to be regarded as of Bhîll or Kolî origin. In this locality the Bhîlls displace the Kolîs; but they have not, like them, an aptitude for maritime service. From the Vindhya hills the tribe has extended some way into Gujarât, the Dekhan, and Central India, and there has shown some disposition to settled habits, though inferior in this respect to the Kolîs. In former ages Bhîlls probably owned the whole country, having been displaced and driven back to their fastnesses, whence they made raids on all sides, and they still retain some marks of authority even amongst the Râjpûts, who were formerly often their guests and allies. Some Bhîlls have become Musalmâns, but most preserve a primitive worship; and as to occupation the settled families are petty farmers, sellers of jungle produce, *kath*-preparers, fishermen, &c., while a turbulent section remains who still are given to steal and plunder. The tribe is subdivided into numerous families or classes: it has no peculiar language. Bhîlls and Kolîs are not the same people, though in general character alike: the two do not intermarry: and the former have shown less aptitude and ability, and greater tenacity for primitive and rude habits: their physique, too, is inferior: in consequence the Bhîlls have not yet made much progress towards a settled or civilized state, but exceptional instances are known, and occasionally in village establishments in N. Dekhan the Bhîll is found occupying the same position as servant as the Kolî and Râmosî further south."—Dr. Carter *ut sup.* p. 198.

and to Mr. Hearn's valuable statistical account of the latter district. These people are certainly aboriginal, and for the look of them might well be descended from the monkey legions of Sugrîva and Mârûtî. They have two castes, the Northern or Ḍhor Kathkarîs, and the Southern or Marâṭhâ Kathkarîs, which latter assume airs of superiority and do not eat beef. They are the most numerous in Ṭhâṇâ and Kûlâbâ, and occasionally ascend the Ghâṭs. Their profession nominally is the extraction of *kath* or catechu from the *kher* tree (*Acacia Catechu*). This is done by cutting the tree into chips, which are boiled down in earthen pipkins to a broth, and the broth to a paste which is made into little cakes. They are said to be very jealous of intrusion into their boiling-camps, but I have not found them so. They are brave and skilful hunters, and I once knew a brace of them to repel in the most gallant manner, with no arms but their axes, a band of Bhîll dacoits. Both, I am sorry to say, returned from the pursuit mortally wounded by arrows. They are themselves good archers, and some have matchlocks. I am obliged to add that they are great thieves and drunkards, and very violent of temper. The Kâthoḍîs are by some said to be identical with the Kâthkarîs, and if different I have never met with them.

G.—Musalmâns.

Those native to the districts are chiefly descended from the old northern invaders, and classed as Sheikhs, Sayyids, Mughuls, and Paṭhâns. The Sheikhs are the most numerous—indeed every Musalmân who has no other title to claim seems to call himself Sheikh. The Mughuls are Irânî, or of Persian extraction, and Turânî, or descended from the Tatâr races. Of the latter is the Nizâm at Haidarâbâd. There are very few Irânî Mughuls resident in these districts. What there are are all Shîâs; the other three divisions are Sunnîs except some Sayyids. The head-quarters of Islâm in these parts is at Junnar, where both the Shîâs and Sunnîs are rich and numerous, and at perpetual feud with each other. The Puṇâ Bhistîs all call themselves Sayyids, with doubtful title. The various trades and congregations behave very much like Hindu castes, put men out of caste, &c. The Momins or silk-weavers, and Pinjârîs or cotton-cleaners, have so little intercourse with other Musalmâns as almost to be separate castes in the Hindu sense. The latter are very low, generally wear the Hindu *dhotar* instead of the *paijâmas* which are the proper costume of the Indian Moslem. Isolated Musalmân families living among Hindus are very apt to adopt the Hindu dress for both sexes, and sometimes even to clip their mustachios in the Marâṭhâ fashion. One curious thing is that no Hindu of good caste in these districts will eat meat (barring game) which has not been properly "*halâl kar*'d" by a Musalmân; and in Hindu villages you will often find one Musalmân family, that of the Mulâna, who is a recognized village officer, and receives dues from his Hindu neighbours for no other service than that of cutting the throats of their sheep and goats. In the towns there are a good many so-called Bohorâs, who are whitesmiths and ironmongers; and in the cities of Puṇâ and Solâpur some Mehmons, descended from Hindu converts; but both these classes are immigrants of recent date. I once saw in Puṇâ some people from the Nizâm's territory who called themselves Musalmân Kolîs. There are great numbers of Dekhanî Musalmâns in the native army, and serving as peons and police, and some in the revenue and other departments as clerks, but they seldom hold their own against the Hindus, for want of industry, intelligence, and education. There are few English officers but would like to employ them more; only they cannot be induced, as a rule, to fit themselves for employment. One exception to their laziness is the paper trade of Junnar, chiefly in the hands of Sunnî Musalmâns; but, take them all round, they are a hopeless people.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 162.*)

IV.—*Kâshis of Parasurâma, &c.*

The small spangle-like gold coins so frequently found throughout the South of India are called by the natives *shânâr kash:* I have twice known chatties containing some hundreds to have been ploughed up in the district of Koimbatur. In the Travankor country they are called *râshîs*, and along all the western coast the approaches to fords over large rivers which have been used for centuries are especially prolific of them. After heavy bursts of the monsoon, people often regularly resort to and minutely scrutinize the tracts leading to the fords. In Travankor the Hindus say that Paraśurâma, when he had created Kerala, sowed it all over with gold *râshîs*, and buried the surplus in the cairns which occur sparingly on the Travankor mountains. On the higher ranges there are three of "Parâsurâma's Cairns," where the mountain-tribe, the Malla Arriyans,* still keep lamps burning. Stone circles are very rare; one, much dilapidated, was called "a *râshî* hill of Paraśurâma." Holed kistvaens abound along the western slopes and spurs of the Travankor Hills from Quilon to the Tinnevelli district. Most of them have the round opening to the south, with a round stone put in it as a stopper, and another stone placed leaning against that, to keep it in its place. I have never heard of this arrangement in the eastern and southern districts, or in Central India.

V.—*Privileges of Servile Castes.*

It is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brahmanical races. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Mêlkotta, the chief seat of the followers of Râmanuja Achârya, and at the Brâhman temple at Bailur, the Holêyars or Parêyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year, specially set apart for them. At the "bull-games" at Dindigal, in the Madurâ district, which have some resemblance to Spanish bull-fights, and are very solemn celebrations, the Kâllar, or robber caste, can alone officiate as priests and consult the presiding deity. On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brâhmans. In the great festival of Śiva at Trivalûr, in Tanjor, the head man of the Parêyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chauri*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a *tâli* is tied round the neck of the idol *in the name of the entire community*, a Parêyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste, and in Vijagapatam the Brâhmans, had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriages, though the custom has now died out.

In connection with this subject it may be worth while to rescue the following paragraph, which appeared in a Madras newspaper of 1871. The heading indicates how little the able Editor, like most Englishmen in India, wotted of the real importance and interest involved in such questions:—

"*A very important question indeed!*

"The following printed notification has been forwarded to us:—'It is hereby made known to the Hindu Paṇḍits, and all friends of the Hindu Śâstras throughout India, that an important question has been raised as to whether the sheep-offering in the Yâgana should be made by a Pot-maker or a Brâhman. The Nellur Hindu community declared that a Brâhman should preside at the sacrifice; but Gurram Venkanna Sâstriar, C.K.A.S.B., contended that a Pot-maker is the competent person, according to the Śâstras, to deprive the sacred sheep of its life, and has written a valuable work entitled *Vipra Samitra Khandanam*, overturning the arguments and authorities adduced in support of the doctrine that a Brâh-

* Are the "Malla Arriyans" the same as the "Malaiârâsârs," or "forest kings," commonly called "Muisers"?—ED.

man should kill the sacred sheep, and maintaining the opposite doctrine that a Potter is the eligible party for performing the sacrifice. The Venerable Śrîmat Śankarâchârya, S. A., A., S., N. S., A., S. A., S. M. S. S.,* the Chief Pontiff, held a Pandit Court at Kumbakonam, and carefully analysed and examined the work written by Venkanna Śâstri, and declared it to be a perfect success, and has upheld the doctrine that a Potter is eligible for performing the sacrifice; and in token of his approval granted a certificate named Siddhânta Śrîmukam to Venkanna Śâstri on the 17th March 1871. The Dharma Sabha at Tanjor received Venkanna Śâstri with great regard and veneration, and honoured the *Jayapatrika* issued by Śrîmat Śankarâchârya by carrying it in procession along the main streets of the Tanjor Fort, in great pomp with all honours, and read the work *Vipra Samitra Khandanam*, written by Venkanna Śâstri, with great rejoicings, on the 24th March 1871.' "

The earnest gravity of this notification, as well as the events it records, testify to the importance the native community attached to the issue; and it is remarkable to find a court of Pandits and Brâhmans upholding a popular privilege and deciding against their own order.†

VI.—*Analogies.*

Similarities of thought and expression in widely-separated literatures and languages are not unfrequently curious and interesting. A couplet given in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. p. 341, runs thus:—

"The mould in which Mâru was formed is such that none other in the whole world has been framed in it.

"Either that mould has been broken, or the artificer thereof hath forgotten how to so fashion another."

We may be sure Byron had never heard of this when he ended his *Monody on the Death of R. B. Sheridan* with the lines

"Sighing that Nature formed but one such man,
And broke the die—in moulding Sheridan."

The expression "None but himself can be his parallel" has been censured as an illogical conceit; but Mr. Brown has pointed out in the old Telugu *Sumati Śatakam*, "He is comparable to himself alone," and the *Râmâyana* uses the idea considerably exaggerated:—

"The Heavens can only be likened unto the Heavens,
And to Râma and Râvana can Râma and Râvana only be compared."

THE NARSIPUR STONE.

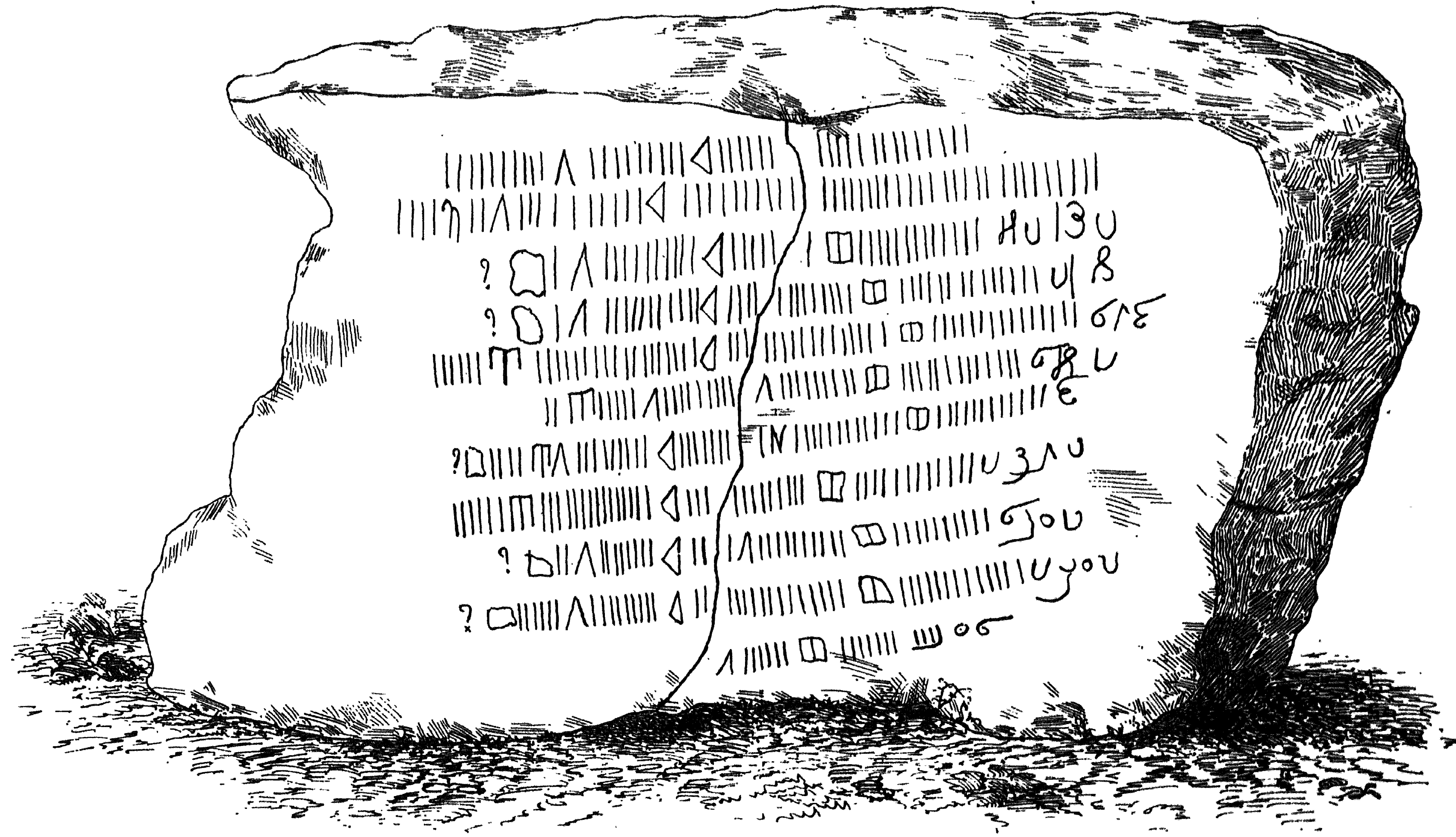
The accompanying illustration is from a sketch by Capt. J. S. F. Mackenzie, who found the stone which it represents in the jungles 5 miles from Narsipur, and 110 from Bangalur. When he found it, he says "the stone, or rather rock, just cropped out of the ground," and he got some stone-masons to cut off the inscribed portion; "unfortunately they partially damaged the original," as he 'could not superintend the cutting, and his instructions were disobeyed.' He adds: "The letters or lines are very indistinct. I have tried to take impressions, but failed. It is only by getting a particular light on the stone you can see distinctly the lines. The figures at the end of lines—for I have taken them from left to right—are Kanarese numerals turned upside down. There is no building near where this rock was. Close by on two different boulders, similar, but only a few, characters were found."

"I see similar scratchings on a rock close to a temple here at Bangalur, and have an idea that the rock at Belgola is also covered with similar markings. The story with regard to those at Belgola is that the masons used them as a tally. I doubt this. The present copy is far too regular to be taken for 'waddârs' (stone-masons') accounts."

Possibly some of our readers may be able to give information that may help towards understanding the intent of these symbols.

* I confess being baffled by the letters appended to the names of this and the preceding reverend personage; perhaps they are of private interpretation, like the S. S. which the old Puritan Praise-God Barebones wrote after his name, and which none could tell the meaning of, till he explained they denoted 'Sinner Saved.'

† All the Mahârs of four tâlukas in Poona sent representatives to a diet held this year at Junnar to settle a point of precedence among themselves.—ED.



W. Griggs, Lith.

STONE FROM NEAR NARSIPUR, NOW AT BANGALUR.

THE GOHELS AND DÂBHIS.

In his *Notes on the Dâbhi Clan of Râjpûts*, Major Watson remarks (*ante*, p. 71) that 'he is unable to say whether the Gohels acquired the share they held in Kheḍagaḍh from the Dâbhis, or whether the Dâbhis conquered it in concert with the Gohels.' The following legend, told in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, seems to bear on this point, and may be given here :—

When Tuktodar, which is near Ratlam, on the north-east of Gujarât, was ruled by a Chahuvân prince, the Gohels and Dâbhis were his retainers; but the latter were favourites, and the former disliked. Therefore the Gohels schemed to destroy the Râja and elevate his brother to the throne. This, however, became known to the Râja, who, dissembling, invited both the Gohels and the Dâbhis to a pretended marriage-feast, at which they were to dine in separate places—

"Dâbhis left, and Gohels right."*

Where the Gohels were to dine, the king caused a pit to be dug filled with lighted firewood, and as the Gohels came in they were cast into the fire. The Dâbhis who went to the feast came back, but the Gohels did not. Two Gohel brothers named Sejo and Vejo were at their lodging, and they asked their *hajâm* what could be going on. He mounted a *limb* tree to look round, and saw that the Gohels were being cast into the fire, and informed his chiefs.† Terrified at this, they fled with their followers, and were pursued by the Chahuvân to Khera, where, finding he could not lay hands on them, he turned back.‡ The brothers went to Wadhwân to the Wâghela Râja, who gave them possessions in Panchâl Deśa—the country about Saylâ, and Sejo Gohel founded Sejakpur. In those days there was much *jangal* there, and the Gohels were charged to watch the Kânt Bhîlls. At that time the Kâṭhis had not come out of Pâwar.

Dhândalpur is four *kos* to the west of Sejakpur, and there Dhundali Mal Gosai lived. 'Siddharâja's mother, Mainal Devî, was unable to procure delivery, and was on her way to perish at some *tîrtha*. She halted at Adâlu tank, which is a *kos* to the west of Dhândalpur, and hearing of the fame of Dhundali Mal she went to touch his feet, and he instructed her as to the means of attaining delivery. Thus Siddharâja Jaysiñha was born there, and was called Siddharâja because he was born by the aid of the *Siddha*. When Siddharâja grew up, he built a well there in respect for the place of his birth. Hanumân was the Bhâwo's *Isht Deva*, and therefore Dhundali Mal Hanumân was installed there. The Bhâwo's *paglaṅ* were placed in a separate shrine, and Siddharâja founded Dhundalpur, now Dhândalpur, in honour of the Bhâwo, and built a fort there. He also formed the Adâlu Talâo at his birthplace. Up to this tank was the country of the Wâghelas, and beyond it westward was the Junâgaḍh Râ's country. The Râ's Kuṅwar went out on a tour with his retinue and came to the Adâlu Talâo, where he pitched. It was told to the Sejakpur Gohel that some chief with his followers had come to fight with him. He accordingly went out to meet his enemy, and in a combat, after killing several, the Gohel seized the *Kuṅwar* and some of his officers. On afterwards finding who the *Kuṅwar* was, he repented of what he had done, saying that he had fought with him in ignorance of who he was. And it was at last arranged that Vejo Gohel's daughter should be given to the Râ's *Kuṅwar*, and the Gohels, giving large presents as *pherâmani*, took them to Junâgaḍh. To

* In the *Râs Mâlâ* this proverb is thus accounted for :— The Râthods excited feud between the Dâbhis and Gohels, and when they were weakened by losses they stepped in, seized the booty for themselves, and expelled the belligerent clans. Hence the proverb.

The legend here given, however, was also collected by the author of the *Râs Mâlâ*.

† This *hajâm's* descendants are still called *Limbâwa* hajâms.

‡ The *Bhaunagar Dasarâ Banâv* contains the following passage:—"Sejakji, the lord of Kher and destroyer of his enemies, destroyed many houses of the Dâbhis. In his time they were very powerful, possessors of *wântas*, and dwellers in Kher. Treacherously they sought to kill Sejak. It fell on a day they agreed to invite the Mâru to dine, intending to cut him to pieces. But the Dâbhi's daughter was clever: she was Sejak's queen. Aware of the intentions of her family, the virtuous wife, yoking her chariot, went forth; to Sejak's house she came; she told him all the story. Next day came the Dâbhis and invited the Râja. When he set forth he called his *Subhats* and told them of the design: arming themselves, they all attended; when he arrived he perceived their stratagem. The Gohel, drawing his sword, advanced: to meet him also advanced the Dâbhis. The Gohel struck the Dâbhi and defeated him, humbling his pride. The Dâbhis sought aid from the Pâdishâh, whose army came. Then the Gohel race left Maru-dhar and went away into foreign lands. With them they took warriors, horses, and goods, and in the year 1102 (A.D. 1045) Sejak arrived in Sorath.—Conf. *Ras Mâlâ*, vol. II. p. 308.

the Gohel the Râ gave Lâti with 125 villages. Sejo lived at Sejakpur, and Vejo abode at Lâtí, and his descendants are still to be found there and at Pâlitâṇâ.

Sejo's son was Râṇ Gohel, who founded Râṇpur, S. 1201 (A.D. 1144), and made it a royal seat. At that time there were Mer Kolîs at Dhandhuka, who were powerful. Râṇ Gohel, in order to preserve friendship with them, married the daughter of their chief, Dhan Mer. Her son obtained the village of Khas and became the ancestor of the Khaśia Kolis. At that time Ebhal Wâlo reigned at Walâ and Talâjâ. He oppressed the Brâhmaṇs in his provinces and committed *Brahmahatyâ*. The Brâhmaṇs retired to Dhandhukâ, where Dhan Mer received them and presented them with *âjivkâ*. Then Dhan Mer with 5000 men, aided by Râṇji with 2000, went against Ebhal Wâlo and slew him. Ebhal worshipped the sun, and seated himself every morning for four hours after sunrise in devotion to Suraj and telling his beads. While so engaged he was attacked, and, refusing to leave his devotions, was slain. The Mer gave Râṇji his son-in-law Walâ and Talâjâ, and Râṇji removed his capital to Wallâ and ruled there.

Of his race, several generations later, was Râṇji the younger, who ruled at Râṇpur. Having slain a Musalmân the Pâdíshâh's army came and put him to death.

NOTES ON THE SHRINE OF ŚRI SAPTA-KOṬIŚVARA.

BY J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., &c., BOMBAY.

The shrine of Sapta-Koṭiśvara is situated in the village of New Narvem or Naroa, in the Portuguese territory of Goa.

According to the *Sahyâdri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa*, this shrine was founded in time immemorial by the Sapta-Ṛishis, or seven sages. It is said that while the Sapta-Ṛishis were engaged in their devotions in the Rasâtaḷa, a subterranean region, they were suddenly interrupted by a great serpent, which compelled them to come to the banks of the Pancha-Gaṅgâ, or five rivers, to praise Maheśvara. This took place in the month of Śrâvaṇa (Aug.—Sept.). Here they produced a *Linga*, of seven metals, viz. gold, silver, tin, lead, copper, iron, and bell-metal, and established it at Narvem, in the island of Divar, called by the Hindu geographers Dipavati (*i. e.* a row of lamps), which lies to the north of Goa Island proper. In this place the Sapta-Ṛishis worshipped the *Linga* for seven *karors* of years, when the deity, highly flattered by their continual worship, appeared to them in person as Śiva, and inquired what it would please them to ask from him. The sages replied that they would only like him to remain always with them, that whenever any misfortune should befall them and they should have recourse to him he would condescend to appear. Śiva then retired to the fane of Narvem, and disappeared. Since that time they named it Saptakoṭiśvara, or Saptanâtha, "the lord of the seven sages."

Both the Sanskrit and Kanarese inscriptions found in Goa and Belgâm, relating to the Kadamba kings of Goa, make mention of their being the favoured devotees of this Sapta-Koṭiśvara.

Some old coins were lately found in the old city of Goa, bearing the name of Jayakeśi as, by the favour of Śrî Saptakoṭiśa, being the antagonist of Malavarma.*

This temple has been unfortunately the victim of the proselytizing ardour of both the Muhammadan and Christian rulers in Goa.

The first Muhammadan invader of the Dekhan was Ala-ud-din; the second, Khilji Sulṭân. Firishtah states that Ala-ud-din's general, by name Malik Kâfur, after having executed the Râja of Deogaḍh, now called Daulatâbâd, laid waste the countries of Mahârâshṭra and Kanârâ in the year 1312 A.D.

It was about this time that the Muhammadans, settled in Goa under one Malik Tubliga, pulled down the temple of Sapta-Koṭiśvara. Soon after, however, it was restored by Vidyâraṇya Mâdhava, a very distinguished scholar and statesman, and prime minister to Harihâra, Râja of Vidyânagar or Vijayanagar, who reigned from 1367 to 1391. It was he, also, who conquered Goa from the Muhammadans.

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 320.—ED.

Scarcely half a century had passed after the Portuguese obtained dominion in Goa when, in their indomitable zeal for christianizing the country, even the poor temple of Sapta-Koṭiśvara suffered in the general destruction of the Hindu temples. The first Bishop from Portugal, by name D. Joaõ Nunes de Barreto, of the order of the Jesuits, went himself to the island of Divar and pulled down, stone by stone, the unfortunate building of the seven sages.

While the Christian missionaries were engaged in demolishing the walls of the temple, the Sarasvata Brâhmaṇs, who were the guardians of the temple, left it to the care of the missionaries and fled away to the neighbouring village on the mainland with the Linga, and established themselves there in the place called New Narva. It is a popular tradition that the great Śivâji, founder of the Marâṭhâ empire, finding that the new temple was unworthy of the great deity, enlarged and embellished it at his own expense, though it cannot lay any claim to greatness, nor has it any pretensions to architectural beauty.

Of the old temple there scarcely remains a vestige now, though the place is still known by the name of Old Narvem.

In the new temple itself there is only a polished stone Linga about two feet high and sixteen inches in circumference. The temple is opposite to Old Narvem, on the banks of the Pancha-Gaṅgâ, which takes its rise from the Sahyâdri mountains, and joining in its course with the river Gomati, now called Mândovi, falls into the Bay of Agoada.

The shrine of Sapta-Koṭiśvara is considered Brahmanical, for, from the first, the owners connected with its management belonged to the class of Sarasvata Brâhmaṇs, commonly known as Shenvîs in this city, who have held the hereditary post down to our times.

At present it is one of the principal places of popular worship. A great fair, or *tîrtha*, is held annually, on Gokul Aśṭami, the eighth day of the full moon of the lunar month of Śrâvana, in honour of Śrî Kṛishṇa, when pilgrims from very distant parts of the country assemble to bathe in the sacred waters of the Pancha-Gaṅgâ, which is supposed on that day to wash away their sins.

The Brâhmaṇs of Goa believe that, on that day, the Bilva or Bêl (*Ægle marmelos*), a plant consecrated to Śiva, suddenly rises in abundance from the bottom of the river, above the level of the water, mingled with rice and many fragrant substances.

THE KORAGARS.

BY ULLAL RAGHAVENDRA RAO.

From a Lecture delivered to the Mangalur Literary Society.

The illegitimate children of a high-caste woman and a Śûdra were denied admittance into the caste to which their mother belonged. To make their fate more awful, they were subsequently excluded from the country, and ordered to take their abode in remote corners, or places never visited by men of high order. They were then called Chândâlas, and now go by the name of Koragars. Another reason for their being thus banished is that they live upon flesh, which is repugnant to Brâhmaṇs, unless hallowed by some form or ceremony, such as Yajnas or the like. Their feeding upon the flesh of cows, the object of veneration and worship among the Brâhmaṇs, made their case still worse. But this plausible hypothesis falls to the ground when we consider that the Brâhmaṇs do not pursue the same policy with regard to the other beef-eaters, whom they respect almost with idolatry. The real reason for the Koragars' banishment, we may fairly conclude, is that in the old days of Brahmanical despotism "might was right," and hence the poor Koragars were driven away to become denizens of jungles or hills.

The mania of caste supremacy is not confined to a few, but is found among all classes of Hindus, and the Koragar is not exempt from it. Within his own circle he has three divisions. A Koragar of one division claims precedence over the others. Some of these, called Ande Koragars, are described as having a pot suspended from their neck. This class, which is the lowest, is rarely seen since the establishment of the British rule in Kanaḍa. They were considered so unholy that they were not allowed to spit on the public way, and consequently the pot was worn for this purpose. Koragars of the second description are called Vastra Koragars, and the appellation has reference to their wearing clothes such as were used to shroud a dead body, and given to them in the shape of

charity, the use of a new cloth being, however, prohibited them. The Koragars of the last class are such as we generally see, wearing leaves for clothes; they are called Sappu Koragars.

That great code of Manu, held by the Hindus as a sacred book, prohibits them from coming down to towns or villages except in the daytime, and then, too, having obtained a license from the state; it enjoins them to wear only iron jewels as ornaments, and use but broken earthen vessels; they cannot live in a house of mud, but in a hut of leaves, which is in their language called *koppu*.

They were divided, it is said, into five tribes; of these, two do not now exist even in name. The highest of the tribe is Bangaranna, a Koragar of which tribe is looked upon as superior in the social scale, and is consulted by the other classes on every occasion, either of marriage or other rites. Kumaranna and Mungaranna are the two other tribes. The Koragar of the higher class is, however, in no wise prevented from marrying a girl of the lower tribe.

A Koragar generally selects a woman younger than himself as his wife. Sunday is held an auspicious day for marriages. The ceremony is performed at the bridegroom's house, and he bears the expenses. An elderly man usually presides on this occasion. The bridegroom and the bride are to take a cold-water bath; and on a mat spread by the president, both are seated with a handful of rice placed before them. The blessings of the sun are invoked, and the president of the ceremony takes in his hand a few grains and sprinkles them over the head of the bridal couple. This is followed by the others present, first by the men and then by the women. When it is gone through, the bridgroom is required to make wedding presents to the bride, which consist of two silver pieces. Six dinners are to be given by the bridegroom, when every Koragar rivals his neighbour in eating and drinking.

It is an undecided question as to the law that governs them, *i.e.*, either the Aliya Santanam law or Makkala Santanam law, simply because the deceased leaves behind him no goods or chattels so as to agitate this important question, and his heir, either the nephew or the son, has to succeed to a bare *koppu*. But it may be rightly surmised that the majority of them are governed by the Aliya Santanam law, whereby the higher grades of Śûdras are ruled.

The following are the ceremonies observed at funerals. When a Koragar dies, as a matter of simple duty, reference is made to his landlord, and with his permission the deceased is buried in a place consecrated for the purpose, and in his honour four balls of rice are made and placed on the grave, which must be done within twelve months from the date of his death.

Koragars were, it is said, originally worshippers of the sun, and they are still called after the names of the days of the week—as Aita, Toma, Angara, Gurva, Tanya, and Tukra.

They have no separate temple for their god; but a place beneath a *kásarkana* tree is consecrated for the worship of their deity, which is exclusively their own, and is called *kata*. Worship in honour of this deity is usually performed in the months of May, July, or October. Two plantain leaves are placed on the spot with a heap of boiled rice mixed with turmeric. As is usual in every ceremony observed by a Koragar, the senior in age takes the lead and prays to the deity to accept the offering and be satisfied. But now they have, by following the example of Bants and Śûdras, since changed their original object of worship for Bhuts.

Though now despised by the higher classes and excluded from every society, the Koragars had their own day. The following tradition gives us a very faint idea of their rule :—

About 900 years or more B.C. (but we must not be too particular about dates) the Habashi brought an army from Anantapur, consisting of the Birar, Mundal, Karmara, Maila, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom the learned Dr. Buchanan calls savages, the Habashi marched against Angara Varma, the son of Vira Varma. They first came to Barkur, and from thence proceeded to Mangalur, where they were attacked by small-pox and greatly troubled by ants. They went to the southward of Manjeśvar. There the Habashi established his capital, and put his nephew Śidda Bairu on the throne in lieu of Vira Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and the Habashi died, owing to the enchantments used by Vira Varma, who went to Banawasi in Sonda for that very purpose. After their death Vira Varma returned, and drove the aforesaid army into the jungles, where they were pursued to such extremities that they consented to become slaves and serve under the former landlords. The Karmara was sent to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. The headmen who had been appointed by the Habashi to the most responsible posts under his nephew's government were taken naked to the seashore in order to be hanged, but, being ashamed of their naked state, they gathered the leaves of the *Nekki gida* and made a small covering for themselves. Thereupon their conductors took pity on them, and let them go, since which they have, it is said, continued to wear no

other covering than the leaves of the said tree. Here the tradition ends. Very likely it is that the Habashi and his successors ruled cruelly, and ever since, the Hindus, destitute of mercy towards, and eager to revenge themselves upon, a fallen victim, have kept the Koragars under very rigid surveillance.

The dress of the Koragar does not greatly differ from that which the lower classes, such as the Billawars, make use of during their daily labour. The only point of difference is that the poverty of the Koragar does not allow him to replace the narrow piece of threadbare cloth, little better than a rag, by a more decent suit of clothes on festive occasions even; while the other classes invariably reserve some sort of finery for gala-days. The dress of the females, however, is very peculiar. While the males gird a piece of cloth round their loins, the females cover their waist with leaves of the forest interwoven together. The custom of this nudity is attributed to different reasons; and another tradition among the upper classes is hardly worthy of belief. Whatever the merit of the story be, it is sufficient to show us the extent of the despotism of the upper class. At the time when the Koragars reigned, one of these "black-legged" (this is usually the expression by which they are referred to during the night) demanded a girl of high birth in marriage. Being enraged at this, the upper class of people withheld, after the overthrow of the Koragar empire, every kind of dress from Koragar women, who, to protect themselves from disgrace, have had recourse since to the leaves of the forest, conceiving in the mean time that God has decreed them this kind of covering. It is no wonder that this is the dress of Koragars, for we see that the other aboriginal tribes, as savage as the Koragars, are content with similar dress. On the east of the Chanda District the men wear no covering for their head or for the upper part of their bodies, and constantly go about with a battle-axe in their hands. The women deck themselves with 30 or 40 strings of beads, to which some add a necklace of pendant bells. Bangles of zinc adorn their wrists; and a chain of the same metal is suspended from the hair and attached to a large boss stuck in the ear. But the greatest peculiarity connected with their costume is the practice, which prevails in the remote districts, of the women wearing no clothes at all; instead of which they fasten, with a string passing round their waists, a bunch of leafy twigs to cover them before and behind. They are known by the name of Madians and are perfectly savage. In Bustar they are called Jhorias. This custom was observed by Mr. Samuells to exist also in Orissa. In his notes on them in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* (Vol. XXV. page 295), Mr. Samuells states the somewhat interesting fact that the practice is traced up to the command of one of their deities when reproving the women for their pride. A similar custom is said to obtain among the Chenchawas, that inhabit the jungles between the Madians and Masulipatam.

No proof is wanting to show how slavery prevailed ere the British took possession of Hindustan and spread education. Now, while liberty shines throughout the world, slavery still lurks in those dark corners where the rays of education have yet to penetrate; the Koragars and Holeyas are victims to this vestige of past despotism. The ceremony of buying a slave needs a little explanation. The destined slave is washed and anointed with oil, and new clothes are given him. The master takes a *batlu* or plate, pours some water into it, and drops in a piece of gold. The slave drinks the water, and takes some earth from his future master's estate and throws it on such a spot as he chooses for his use, which is then given over to him, with the trees thereon.

Although these slaves are in a degraded condition, yet they by no means appear to be dejected or unhappy. A male slave gets three *hanis* of paddy or a *hani* and a half (*pakkā ser*) of rice daily, besides a small quantity of salt. The female slave gets two *hanis* of paddy or one *hani* of rice, and if they be man and wife they may easily sell a portion of their rice and procure other necessaries. They are also allowed one cloth each every year, and besides, when transferred from one master to another, they get a cocoanut, a jack-tree, and a spot in which they can sow ¼ or ½ *mura* of paddy. The greater number of slaves belong to the Aliya Santanam castes, and among these people a male slave is sold for three Bhaudri pagodas, and a female slave for five pagodas; whereas the few slaves who follow the Makkala Santanam custom fetch five Bhaudri pagodas for the man, and only three pagodas for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the Aliya Santanam slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services. He has, however, to pay the expenses of their marriage, which amount to a pagoda and a half; and in like manner the master of the Makkala Santanam slave pays two pagodas for his marriage, and gets possession of the female slave and her children. The master has the power of hiring out his slaves, for whose services he receives annually one *mura* of rice. They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas.

The Koragars have no fixed feasts exclusively of their own, but for a long time they have generally been observing those of the Hindus. Of them,

two are important. One is Gokalâshṭami, or the birthday of Krishṇa, and the other is Chauti; the latter is of greater moment than the former. The one carries with it mere signs of fasting, and looks more a gala-day than one set apart for any religious performance, while the other seems to be a holy-day of abstinence and temperance. On the "Áshṭami" some cakes of *urid* (black gram) are made in addition to the usual dainties. The services of Bacchus are called in aid. The master of the *koppu* invites his relatives and friends. A regular feast commences, when the master takes the lead and enjoys the company of his guests by seating himself in their midst. They are made to sit on the floor cross-legged, with a little space intervening between every guest, who pays strict regard to all the rules of rank and decency. To keep up the distinction of sexes, the females are seated in an opposite row. The host calls upon some of his inmates or friends to serve on the occasion. Now come curries, followed by rice and cakes as the means of the master permit. The butler Koragar serves out to the company the food meant for the banquet, while the guests eat it heartily. If one of them let rice fall on his neighbour's plate, the whole company cease eating. The offender is at once brought to the bar charged with having spoiled the dinner. He is tried and sentenced to pay a fine that may cover the expense of another banquet. In case of resistance to the authorities of this tribunal, he is excommunicated, and abandoned by his wife, children, and all his relatives. No one dare touch or speak to him. A plea of poverty of course receives a kind consideration. The offender is made to pay a small sum of money in the shape of a fine, which is usually paid for him by a well-to-do Koragar as his humanity and compassion dictate. To crown the feast, a great quantity of toddy finds its way into the midst of the company. A small piece of dry areca-leaf sewed together covers the head of the Koragar and forms for him a hat. This hat he uses for a cup, which will contain a large quantity of liquor. A sufficient quantity of toddy is poured in it, and if, in the pouring, a drop finds its way to the ground, the butler is sure to undergo the same penalty that attaches itself to any irregularity in the dinner as described above. After the banquet, some male members of the society join in a dance to the pipe, while others are stimulated by intoxicating drink into frisking and jumping about. The supper over, the guests, pleased and contented, wish their host a hearty good-bye and retreat to their *koppus*. Thus ends the Áshṭami. To turn to the other festival. The inmates of the house are invariably required to fast the previous night, and on the day previous, flesh or drink is not allowed. The next morning before sunrise a *virgin* washes and smears with cowdung a part of the house. The place having been thus hallowed, a fresh basket, specially meant for the occasion, is placed on the spot. It contains a handful of beaten rice, two plantains, and two pieces of sugarcane. The basket is then said to contain the god of the day, whom the sugarcane represents. The spot is very holy, and cannot be approached by men or women. A common belief that the prayers made by a virgin are duly responded to on account of her virgin purity does not admit of the worship being conducted by any one else. The girl adorns the basket with the flowers collected from the forest, and prays the god to pour his choicest blessings on the inmates of the house all the year round. The prayer concludes the worship, and the worship concludes the feast, and the Koragar abstains the whole day from work.

A few words on the ceremonies observed on the birth of a child by the Koragars. After a child is born, the mother is unclean, and cannot be touched or approached. The inmates take leave of their *koppu* for five nights, and depend on the hospitality of their friends—placing the confined woman under the sole charge of a nurse or midwife. On the sixth night the master of the *koppu* calls his neighbours, who will hardly refuse to oblige him with their presence. The confined woman and the child are given a tepid bath, which makes them pure. Members of each house bring with them a *ser* of rice, half a *ser* of cocoanut-oil, and a cocoanut. The woman, with the baby on her lap, is seated on a mat—her neighbours' presents before her in a flat basket. The senior man present consults with his comrades as to what name will best suit the child, which is called T o m a, T u k r a, or T a n y a, as fancy dictates. A black string is then tied round the waist of the baby. The rice, which comes in heaps from the neighbours, is used for dinner on the occasion, and the cocoanuts are split into two pieces, the under-part of each being given to the mother of the child, and the other part to the owner. This custom is followed if the child be a boy. In case it be a girl, the owner receives the under-part, leaving the remainder for the mother. The neighbours eat the part of the nut thus received on the spot.

A custom generally obtains among the Hindus of the higher order, of putting their children into the hands of a Koraga woman, who may for brevity's sake be called a K o r a t i. A Hindu woman, as is generally the case with mothers, is greatly mortified, and eventually turns extremely morose, at the repeated loss of her children. She does not like or allow them to go through the ceremony

of *nâmakarma* with little hopes that they will survive her. But in case where one outlives the age of its predecessors, she summons a K o r a t i, to whom a quantity of oil and rice and a few copper pieces are given. The mother brings the child, and transfers it to the care and the protection of the K o r a t i for a while. The latter receives it into her hands, becomes its foster-mother, and adorns it with some iron bracelets which she brings with her. She names the child as K o r a p u l u if female, or K o r a g a if male—these names being changeable at the marriage of the girl or at the *upanayanam* of the boy. She returns it to the parents, prophesying that the child will live long. This is the last and most ignoble ceremony resorted to by the credulous mother, who believes that the child has received a fresh lease of life, and that she has little to fear—although in many cases it turns out that the cold hand of death never hesitates to carry it away. There are, however, some cases, but they are very few, where the wishes of a mother have been fully realized, as they imagine, by this process.

Another ceremony of equal importance has been in vogue in this part of the country—a ceremony usually observed when a man is dangerously ill, or his fortunes are at a low ebb. He gets a large quantity of *jinjili* oil in an earthen vessel, which receives a similar kind of worship as that of his family idol. He sees his likeness reflected in the oil, and puts in it a hair of his tuft and a nail from his toe. The oil is then charitably doled out to the Koragars, when the Hindu thinks that the offended deities have been propitiated, or the evil constellations averted. Thus the Koragar feasts through the superstition of his brother of the upper class.

Though it would be bold presumption in one with little philological attainments to speak on a dialect, the subject is too important to be passed over altogether. It is a common belief that the Koragars have a peculiar dialect generally spoken by them at their *koppus*. But the omnipotent Mammon himself, as the Brahmans would have it, cannot tempt a Koragar to tell anything on this important subject. He may be induced to give an account of his feasts, his god, and his family, but a word about his dialect will frighten him out of his wits. At that moment alone he will become impolite and unmannerly. He thinks his dialect is a shield in his hand, and cannot be parted with, and therefore keeps it as a sacred secret. But good words and kind treatment can do something. A few of the words,* that have been gathered with great difficulty, resemble those of the K e i k a d i and Naikunde Gondi tribes in Nâgpur.

With a black face, forehead of moderate size, and strong body, all bespeaking contentment, the K o r a g a r is separated from the rest of mankind —alien in dress, in manners, customs, and dialect. Uneducated and illiterate as he is, in his circle virtue thrives as in her proper soil. Lying, stealing, adultery, and other social evils he knows not. He has never appeared in a court of justice as a defendant in a suit. He drinks toddy, it is true, and the practice, I believe, he must have acquired from his intercourse with the higher class of Śûdras. He eats flesh; on what else shall he live while we have denied him every means of subsistence? While every nation, every society, nay, every individual, is striving for honours and improvement, the Koragar, born as a slave, is richly content with his ignorance, with his *koppu*, and with his squalid poverty. Ambition finds in him no place; he eats but the rotten flesh of the dead cattle; he clothes himself but with rags, which are to him what the most costly raiment is to us. Persuade him to change his clothing; lecture him on his nakedness; and he will run away or say "I am well off with my poverty."

ON THE REGISTRATION OF DEEDS IN BENGAL BY KÂZIS.

(*From Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal for* 1872-73.)

In Bengal, as elsewhere under Muhammadan rule, the Kâzis exercised very considerable powers. The place which they held in the administration is pretty clearly shown in the following extract from a letter addressed to the Council at Fort William by the Committee of Circuit, dated Kasimbazâr, August 15th, 1772:—

"The general principle of all despotic governments, that every degree of power shall be simple and undivided, seems necessarily to have introduced itself into the courts of justice; this will appear from a review of the different officers of justice instituted in these provinces; which, however unwilling we are to engross your time with such details, we deem necessary on this occasion, in proof of the above assertions, and in justification of the regulations which we have recommended:—

"1*st*.—The Nâzim, as Supreme Magistrate, presides personally in the trials of capital offenders, and holds a court every Sunday, called the Roz Adâlat.

* Curry = ಕ್ಯೆರ. Rice = ಅರಿ. Boy = ಕೊರಯು. Bring = ಉದರಲಾ ಬಾ. Buy = ಕಲೆಸಾಲ. Come here = ಉಬ್ಬ ಬಾ. Did you take your rice? = ಇಜ್ಜ ಜೊರಪಕಿ.

"*2nd.*—The Diwân is the supposed Magistrate for the decision of such causes as relate to real estates or property in land, but seldom exercises this authority in person.

"*3rd.*—The Darogâh Adâlat-al Aalea is properly the deputy of the Nâzim; he is the judge of all matters of property, excepting claims of land and inheritance. He also takes cognizance of quarrels, frays, and abusive names.

"*4th.*—The Dârogâh Adâlat Diwâni, or deputy of the Divân, is the judge of the property in land.

"*5th.*—The Fauzdâr is the officer of the police, the judge of all crimes not capital; the proofs of these last are taken before him, and reported to the Nâzim for his judgment and sentence upon them.

"*6th.*—The Qâzi is the judge of all claims of inheritance or succession; he also performs the ceremonies of weddings, circumcision, and funerals.

"*7th.*—The Mohtesib has cognizance of drunkenness, and of the vending of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, and the examination of false weights and measures.

"*8th.*—The Mafti is the expounder of the law. The Qâzi is assisted by the Mafti and Mohtesib in his court: after hearing the parties and evidences, the Mafti writes the *fatwa*, or the law applicable to the case in question, and the Qâzi pronounces judgment accordingly. If either the Qâzi or Mohtesib disapprove of the *fatwa*, the cause is referred to the Nazim, who summons the *Ejlas*, or general assembly, consisting of the Qâzi, Mafti, Mohtesib, the Dârogâhs of the Adâlat, the Maulvis, and all the learned in the law, to meet and decide upon it. Their decision is final.

"*9th.*—The Kanungos are the Registrars of the lands. They have no authority, but causes of lands are often referred to them for decision by the Nâzim, or Divân, or Dârogâh of the Diwâni.

"*10th.*—The Kotvâl is the peace officer of the night, dependent on the Faujdâri.

"From this list it will appear that there are properly three courts for the decision of civil causes (the Kanungos being only made arbitrators by reference from the other courts), and one for the police and criminal matters, the authority of the Mohtesib in the latter being too confined to be considered as an exception. Yet, as all defective institutions soon degenerate by use into that form to which they are inclined by the unequal prevalence of their component parts, so these courts are never known to adhere to their prescribed bounds, but when restrained by the vigilance of a wiser ruler than commonly falls to the lot of despotic states. At all other times not only the civil courts encroach on each other's authority, but both civil and criminal often take cognizance of the same subjects, or their power gradually becomes weak and obsolete, through their own abuses and the usurpations of influence. For many years past the Dârogâhs of the Adâlat-al Aalea and of the Diwâni have been considered as judges of the same causes, whether of real or personal property, and the parties have made their application as chance, caprice, interest, or the superior weight and authority of either directed their choice. At present, from obvious causes, the Diwâni Adâlat is in effect the only tribunal, the Adâlat-al Aalea, or the Court of the Nâzim, existing only in name.

"It must, however, be remarked, in exception to the above assertions, that the Faujdâri being a single judicature, and the objects of it clearly defined, it is seldom known, but in time of anarchy, to encroach on the civil power, or lose much of its own authority;.this, however, is much the case at present.

"The court in which the Qâzi presides seems to be formed on wiser maxims, and even on more enlarged ideas of justice and civil liberty, than are common to the despotic notions of Indian Governments.

"They must be unanimous in their judgment, or the case is referred in course to the general assembly; but the intention of this reference is defeated by the importance which is given to it, and the insurmountable difficulties attending the use of it: few cases of disputed inheritance will happen in which the opinions of three independent judges shall be found to concur. There is therefore a necessity either that one shall overrule the other two, which destroys the purpose of their appointment, or that daily appeals must be made to the Nâzim, and his warrant issued to summon all learned in the law, from their homes, their studies, and necessary occupations, to form a tumultuous assembly to hear and give judgment upon them. The consequence is that the general assembly is rarely held, and only on occasions which acquire their importance from that of the parties, rather than from the nicety of the case itself. The Qâzi therefore either advises with his colleagues in his own particular court, and gives judgment according to his own opinion, or, more frequently, decides without their assistance or presence.

"Another great and capital defect in these courts is the want of a substitute or subordinate jurisdiction for the distribution of justice in such parts of the province as lie out of their reach, which in effect confines their operations to a circle extending but a very small distance beyond the bounds of the city of Murshidâbâd. This indeed is not universally the case; but perhaps it will not be difficult to prove the exceptions to be an accumulation of the grievance, since it is true that the Courts of Adâ-

lat are open to the complaints of all men; yet it is only the rich or the vagabond part of the people who can afford to travel so far for justice; and if the industrious labourers are called from the furthest part of the province to answer their complaints, and await the tedious process of the courts to which they are thus made amenable, the consequences in many cases will be more ruinous and oppressive than an arbitrary decision could be, if passed against them without any law or process whatever.

"This defect is not, however, left absolutely without a remedy, the zamindârs, farmers, shikdârs, and other officers of the revenue assuming that power for which no provision is made by the laws of the land, but which, in whatever manner it is exercised, is preferable to a total anarchy. It will, however, be obvious that the judicial authority lodged in the hands of men who gain their livelihood by the profits on the collections of the revenue must unavoidably be converted to sources of private emolument; and in effect the greatest oppressions of the inhabitants owe their origin to this necessary evil. The Qâzi has also his substitutes in the districts; but their legal powers are too limited to be of general use, and the powers which they assume being warranted by no lawful commission, but depending on their own pleasure or the ability of the people to contest them, is also an oppression."

"The Qâzis seem to have been also empowered to decree alimony or maintenance and to supervise the administration of trust property. Moreover, they prepared and attested deeds of all kinds,* and had apparently some jurisdiction in what we should call criminal cases. The books prescribed for use in their offices were six in number. The first five had no connection with the subject of this report. In the sixth, copies were kept of all deeds prepared or attested by them.

2. How far up to 1772 the Mufassal Qâzis had retained their proper place in the administration it is difficult to say. The state of the case probably differed very much in various parts of the country. Writing in November 3rd of that year to the Court of Directors, the President and Council of Fort William say that "the regular course of justice was everywhere suspended; but every man exercised it who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decision." † There is little hope, therefore, at the present day, of throwing much light on whatever position and influence may still have been retained in the midst of this administrative chaos by obscure subordinate officials in the villages of Bengal.

3. But whatever judicial authority the Mufassal Qâzis may have retained up to 1772 was finally extinguished by the "regulations for the administration of justice" passed on August 21st of that year, in which Warren Hastings laid the foundation of the present Anglo-Indian judicial system. Under the arrangements then made, the head farmers of the revenue in each pargana were allowed to decide, without appeal, disputes about property not exceeding ten rupees in value; but all other judicial authority was concentrated in the Courts of Faujdâri Adâlat and Diwâni Adâlat ‡ then established in each zillâ. The Qâzi-l-kazat or chief Qâzi of each district ceased to be an independent judicial officer, and became, with the Mufti and two learned Maulvis, a member of the Court of Faujdâri Adâlat, while the Mufassal Qâzis were entirely stripped of all judicial power, though they continued to register deeds and to celebrate Muhammadan marriages. Before 1772 both the head Qâzis and their subordinates had been authorized to receive fees, which had long been complained of as a severe grievance. These were then abolished. The Qâzi-l-kazat henceforward received a regular salary, and the Mufassal Kâzis were only allowed to receive such presents and gratuities as might be voluntarily offered to them by those who required their services as registrars of deeds or celebrants of marriages. It is almost needless to add, however, that marriage fees continued to be levied with great regularity at rates apparently differing in various parts of the country, each Kâzi receiving from subordinate Mullâs a certain sum of money yearly for the right of collecting marriage fees in a certain village or villages.

4. In 1790 the Faujdâri Adâlat was abolished, and the head Qâzis of districts became "law officers" of the Courts of Circuit then established. This did not, however, affect their duties, or those of their subordinates in the Mufassal, as registrars of deeds. Henceforward their position remained in the main unchanged till Act XI. of 1864 was passed, and Muhammadan law officers ceased to be employed.

5. Sections VII. and VIII. of Regulation XXXIX. of 1793 run as follows:—

"Section VII.—The head Qâzi, and the Qâzis stationed in the cities, parganâs, and towns, are to keep copies of all deeds, the law or other papers which they may draw up or attest, and are to affix

* 1. Sakuk. 2. Mahazir. 3. Nusb-ul Anlia. 4. Nusb-ul Kuwwam Filanfak. 5. Takdirs-ul Nafakat. 6. Hibah, Ijarah, Bai.

† Quoted in the *Fifth Report* from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company.

‡ The right of succession to zamindâris and tâlukdâris was reserved for the decision of the President and Council.

thereto their seals and signatures. They are likewise to keep a list of all such papers; and in the event of their death, resignation, or removal the list and papers are to be delivered completed to their successors."

"VIII.—The Qâzis stationed in the cities, towns, and parganâs are not to exact any fees for drawing up or attesting papers, or for the celebration of marriages, or for the performance of any religious duties or ceremonies which it has been customary for them to perform; excepting such as the parties concerned may voluntarily agree to pay, or has hitherto been the practice."

6. Nor was any very active executive control exercised by the late Sadr Court. In 1838* the Court having found that Qâzis' records were not always deposited in the office of the Judge, and that consequently they were exposed to loss and damage, directed that the copies should be made in books supplied by the Judges, paged throughout and attested with their initials; that a monthly list of deeds attested and registered should be submitted in a prescribed form, and that the register books themselves, when filled, should be sent to the Judge and kept with his records.

In the following year it was found necessary to issue orders † that "no Qâzi should be permitted to delegate any of his essential functions, such as the power of affixing the seal of office to documents, to an irresponsible agent not recognized by law: as the residence of a Qâzi at a distance from his nominal jurisdiction. and his appointment of a naib to act under his sanad by proxy, are opposed to the obvious use and purpose of the office, and irreconcileable with a due discharge of its duties.

In 1851 ‡ the Court issued a circular to explain that the attestation of deeds by Qâzis had not the legal effect of registration.

7. The above seem to have been the only attempts ever made to control Qâzis in their capacity as registrars of deeds. Nor does it appear that any arrangements were made for securing obedience to the rules laid down in the circulars above quoted. Whether monthly lists of registered deeds were always submitted, I have no means of saying; but it seems to me improbable, since paged books attested by the Judge's initials were certainly not everywhere used, nor were completed registers always sent in to the Judge's record-room. My impression is that in most districts Qâzis submitted their monthly lists and sent in their completed registers, or refrained from doing so, very much as they pleased, and that at all events neither lists nor registers were ever opened or examined except when it became necessary to produce them in court.

8. When Act XI. of 1864 was passed, there were in Bengal about 450 town and parganâ Qâzis. I hoped to have been able to give some idea of the amount of work which they did, by means of a statement showing the annual number of registrations in their books. This has, however, been found to be quite impossible, because in many districts the books are very incomplete. For years together, there are sometimes no records whatever from particular offices, and in some cases it is difficult to say to what year the existing registers belong.

9. On the whole, it must, I fear, be admitted that the Qâzis' records which we possess are of no very great practical value. In those cases where the books were kept with care and submitted regularly when completed, some degree of reliance may perhaps be placed upon them. And the seals of particular Qâzis known to be men of probity undoubtedly carried, and perhaps still carry, weight among the people. But Government has, of course, no means of separating the wheat from the chaff. Such books as we possess have, under the Lieutenant-Governor's orders of last year, been examined and repaired, and we shall soon, I trust, everywhere have such record-rooms as will preserve them from the risk of unnecessary exposure to weather and the attacks of insects. But the whole system had fallen completely into decay long before it was abolished, if not before we undertook the administration of the country, and its mouldering remains have little real value.

10. But while, as I have shown above, no serious attempt was made at improving the machinery of registration bequeathed to us by our Mughul predecessors, Regulation XXXVI. of 1793 provided for the establishment of a new registry office at the head-quarters of each zillâ, and in the cities of Patna, Dakha, and Murshidâbâd, its supervision being entrusted to the register of the Court of Diwâni Adâlat, under the general control of the Judge. Under this law, only deeds affecting real property, wills, and authorities to adopt, could be registered. Registration was, of course, in all cases, voluntary, but it was provided that registered deeds should henceforward take precedence of unregistered deeds affecting the same property, even though the date of such unregistered deeds should be earlier; provided, however, that if the purchaser or mortgagor under a registered deed had been aware of a previous unregistered sale or mortgage, the precedence of his registered deed should be forfeited. Under Regu-

* *Circular Order* No. 3005, dated 28th September.

† *Circular Order* No. 61, dated 25th December 1839.

‡ *Circular Order* No. 15, dated 25th July 1851.

lation XXXVI. of 1793, when a deed was presented for registration, it remained in the office till it had been copied in the register book. This led to great delay, and accordingly Regulation XX. of 1812 provided that deeds presented for registration should be accompanied by a properly certified copy. The original was then at once endorsed and returned, the register copy being made from the copy which accompanied the original. Provision was also made in Regulation XX. of 1812 for the registration of engagements to cultivate indigo, as well as of bonds, promissory notes, and other obligations for the payment of money. Act XXX. of 1838 empowered Government to place registration offices under the superintendence of any officer residing at the station where they were established, and henceforth the Civil Surgeon was generally the registrar. By Act I. of 1843, and in a clearer form by Act XIX. of 1843, it was enacted that registered deeds affecting land should take precedence of previously executed unregistered deeds affecting the same property, even when the latest registered instrument had been executed with a knowledge of the existence of the older unregistered one. Under the provision of Regulation XXXVI. of 1793, Section 7, deeds could only be registered in the registry office of the zillâ or city which contained the property affected by them. But Act IV. of 1845 made it lawful to register deeds in any registry office within the Presidency of Fort William, providing at the same time that whenever a deed was registered in the office of a district not containing the whole of the property affected, a copy should be sent to the office of every district which contained any part thereof. No other important change was made in the law till the whole was repealed by Act XVI. of 1864.

11. Enough now has been said to show very sufficient causes for the failure of the Qâzi system of registration. The men who had to work it were doubtless from the first tainted with the venality and corruption which everywhere prevailed amidst the ruins of the Mughul administration. They were stripped of the power and authority which might have stimulated their self-respect and attracted capable men into their ranks. They worked absolutely without supervision, and their attestation of a deed had no legal validity whatever; and at the same time a rival legally valid system of registration was at work in every district. The wonder is, not that the system failed, but rather that any one should have taken the trouble of registering before them at all.

REVIEW.

LA LANGUE ET LA LITTÉRATURE HINDOUSTANIES EN 1873. REVUE ANNUELLE. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, Prof. à l'Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, &c. Paris, 1874.

It is now the twenty-second time the venerable M. Garcin de Tassy has published his Annual Review of Hindustani Literature, which, being the only regular and systematic compilation of the kind in existence, is always expected with eagerness and hailed with applause. All the materials constituting this Review come from India, and are so carefully examined from the beginning of every year, as they gradually make their appearance, till its end, when this summary of the entire Hindustani literature of India appears, and are so scrupulously embodied in it, with all the sources whence they are taken, such as books, newspapers, or speeches, that not even such a small production as the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell's "Lady and the Dove" has escaped the lynx-eye of this venerable Orientalist, although, being in Bengali and English, it did not strictly fall within the sphere of Urdu literature. Educational progress, however, and the emancipation of both the male and female mind from the captivity of superstition and ignorance, are a favourite theme with M. Garcin de Tassy, and therefore he has now and then cast a glance at literary productions not composed in Urdu. The state of vernacular colleges, literary and political associations, is noted; all the newspapers are enumerated and described, and the titles of nearly all the Hindustani books, printed chiefly in the North-Western Provinces, are given,—even the present religious revival among the Muhammadans has attracted the attention of the venerable Orientalist, and he gives the titles of the controversial works published by them against Christianity in various parts of the country, such as Dihli, Lahor, and Bangalur.

Doubtless M. Garcin de Tassy gives a true account of the works he had the opportunity of personally examining, but we observe that he sometimes dignifies the merest pamphlets with the name of books, and insignificant men with that of great poets, and we must conclude that he has culled his notices from the eulogistic mention made of them in Urdu newspapers sent to him. In this way he has also caught hold of the idea that, in consequence of the sympathy between the English and the Parsis, intermarriages among the two races are not rare:—"Ainsi, l'an passé, six Anglaises, dont deux filles d'un colonel, ont épousé des Parsis." From another passage we learn that, besides the Englishman who was Deputy Commissioner at Sirsah, three Europeans had also

become Musalmâns in Bombay. We hope we shall be pardoned for pointing out these inaccuracies in a work perfect in every other respect. Although the author was obliged to take a great deal on trust, his own wise discrimination has proved a very good guide in sifting the wheat from the chaff. We in India have of course seen the Report by Mr. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction for the North-West Provinces, about the publications issued, and also noticed by M. Garcin de Tassy; and although we consider the literary activity manifested by the authors as very creditable to them, we cannot help remarking that most of the books are insignificant and not original. The classic age of the Urdu language, however, is past: let us hope that it is not gone for ever. As matters go, good school-books translated from the English are more useful than the best poetry could be; they are more needed than any other kind of literature: the want is accordingly encouraged by Government prizes, and is being supplied fast enough.

M. Garcin de Tassy concludes his Review with a kind of necrology of several of his Orientalist friends who died during the past year. It is as follows:—

"Count Eusèbe de Salles (cousin of the late General Count de Salles), a distinguished Orientalist, died on January 1, 1873, in Montpellier, his birthplace, at the age of sixty-three. He had during several years assiduously attended my Hindustani class, in the (at that time) Royal School of Living Oriental Languages, of which he was one of the first students in 1828, with Baron Caruel de Saint-Martin, de Toustain du Manoir, &c. He was the more interested in attending this class, as he was about to marry a very literary lady of Indian origin, whose mother-tongue was Hindustani, the excellent Sarah Cruttenden, widow of Count Even de la Tremblaye. This noble woman constituted for nearly forty years the happiness of Eusèbe de Salles, whom she faithfully accompanied in all his journeys; and her death, which took place a short time before that of her husband, on account of the deep attachment he had for her, must in a great measure have contributed to his own.

"Eusèbe de Salles attended also the Arabic class of my master, Sylvestre de Sacy, and of Caussin de Perceval, for which reason it became possible to appoint him First Interpreter to the conquering Algerian army, and afterwards to the post of Arabic Professor at Marseille, where he succeeded Don Gabriel Taouil, and where in his turn he was engaged during thirty years in educating pupils. This post was conferred on him in consequence of his service in Algeria, in preference to the distinguished Egyptian Sakakini, who had acted for Don Gabriel, and who was disappointed in the hope of succeeding also to the appointment, on which he had believed he could count.

"Eusèbe de Salles was essentially a polygrapher; he wrote works of Oriental erudition, of philosophy, of medical science, as well as novels, several of which were successful. His *Pérégrinations en Orient* are not merely interesting,—they are very instructive. In his *Histoire générale des races humaines* he upheld, from conviction and by arguments drawn from the experience acquired by him in his journeys, and which has not yet been given to the public, the Biblical doctrine concerning the unity of the human species. He was also a poet, and his friend Baron Gaston de Flotte, himself a brilliant poet, who appreciated his real worth and loved his paradoxical mind, devoted, in the *Gazette du Midi,* an article to his memory, which is as well conceived as it is written.

"Henri Kurtz, a distinguished Orientalist, died on the 25th February last. He had also attended my class at a later period, from 1854 to 1855. Since that time he had never ceased to take an interest in the study of Hindustani, and I continued in correspondence with him several years after he had left Paris. The persecution suffered by him in Bavaria on account of his liberal opinions, and his opposition to what is called the clerical party in Switzerland, where he had taken refuge, have made him better known to the European public than his works and his professorship; for he was professor at the school of the canton of Argau, and librarian in the town of Aarau, where he terminated his life.

"Captain Henry Blosse Lynch, Commodore in the English Navy, and skilled in Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic, which he had learnt in Calcutta, and spoke fluently, died on the 14th April, at the age of sixty-three years, in Paris, where he had lately the misfortune to lose his only son. His linguistic knowledge had been improved by repeatedly sojourning in Asiatic cities, and was the reason of his being appointed interpreter by the British Government on various important occasions. He had, moreover, several times been entrusted to carry out important operations in the Persian Gulf, in Sindh, in Syria, and in Burmah, where he co-operated in the taking of Rangun in 1851, &c., as well as in Paris itself, where he carried on the negotiations with the Persian ambassador which terminated in the treaty of the 4th March 1857.

"Being a scholar without pretensions, he was often present at my Hindustani lectures. This honest man, who was extremely obliging, was beloved by all who visited him, and I have person-

ally lost in him one of my best friends from the United Kingdom.

"I have also lost in Paris, at the somewhat unusual age of eighty-eight years, on the 1st of May last, another of my earliest pupils, Augustine Christophe Lamare-Picquot, an indefatigable traveller and learned naturalist. From his habit of speaking Hindustani, he had often accompanied me in my visits to Indians who had come to Paris, and I remained on terms of friendship with him.

"Lastly, on the 18th October Mr. W. Fox died suddenly in London. He had been private secretary to the Nawâb of Bengal, who was much attached to him, and was present at the funeral with his sons and suite, and manifested visible emotion. I had occasion to meet the deceased at Paris during my visits to the Nawâb, and was able to convince myself of the great fluency with which he spoke Hindustani. Being an excellent man, and exquisitely polite, he was deeply regretted by all who knew him.

"Let us terminate this funerary enumeration with the words of an English hymn, which is the paraphrase of a text from the Apocalypse:—

"'Happy are the faithful dead
In the Lord who sweetly die;
They from all their toils are freed,
In God's keeping safely lie:
These the Spirit has declared
Blest, unalterably blest.'"

E. R.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

ROCK INSCRIPTION BELOW NICHOLSON'S MONUMENT IN MÂRGALÂ PASS, RÂWALPINDI ZILLÂ, PANJÂB.

نقل کتبہ موجودہ بارگلہ ضلع راولپنڈي

ہو القادر

خان قوي پنجہ مہابت شکوہ
شیر ز سر پنجۂ او ناتوان
در کتل بارگلہ آنکہ بود
باکرۂ چرخ برین تو امان
ساحت جنان را روي شرف
یومیہ دید چرخ زدر زمان
گفت مثل ازپي تاریخ سال
نامیہ مہوش شدہ داستان
با یام مرزا محمد دارو و داستان
حمد معمار و جوکداس و شرف و دیالداس
تحویلدار سنہ ۱۰۸۱ مرمت شد

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

He is the Almighty!

The strong-fisted Khân of great power,
Under whose grasp a lion is helpless,
Has, on the *Ketel* of Mârgalah, which is
A twin with the ball of the uppermost sphere,
Made a paradise of noble aspect,
And daily beheld the rotation of the times.
He uttered a parable to fix the date of the year:—
"The moonlike forehead became the general talk."*

During the time of Mirza Muhammad Dâru and Dâstân Ahmad the architect, and Sherf and Diâldâs Tahuvildar. Repaired in the year 1081 [A.D. 1767].

* On calculating this line, which purports to give the date, the whole of it will be found to be the number 1331, which is of course too much; the two first words together give 507; the three first words together give 816; and the fourth, *i.e.* last word alone gives 515.—E. R.

RAMA MARGAVEYA.

Sir,—In a note to Dr. Muir's translation of Lassen's remarks on Weber's *Râmâyaṇa* which appears in the *Indian Antiquary* (*ante*, p. 103) the Râma of the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* is called "Margaveya or the son of Mṛigu." Allow me to observe that he is so called because the son of a woman named Mṛigava or Mṛiganiyu (see Sayâna's Commentary on the *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa*, Panchikâ VII. ch. 5, 27).

L. Y. Askhedkar.

Miraj.

ON SOME DRÂVIḌIAN WORDS.

In Part XXIX. of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 93 *seq.* the name of a well-known small tribe on the Nîlagiri is given as "Toḍa." The lingual *ḍ* in the word is not in the mouth of the Nîlagiri people, these pronouncing it "Tŏda." The same remark is to be applied to the word "Kôṭa" in p. 96; the true spelling of this name is "Kôta."

The word "Tŏda" may mean "man of the top," scil. of the hills. "Kôta" can be derived from various Drâviḍa roots; it is difficult to say what its true meaning is. Certainly it does not mean "cow-killer," as some have thought.

Mercara. F. Kittel.

CAPT. WEST ON "WHETHER THE MARÂṬHÂS ARE KSHATRIYAS OR ŚÛDRAS."

SIR,—I have read with interest Captain West's paper as above headed (*ante*, p. 108) and agree with the conclusion he arrives at, though his point of view has nothing in common with the stand I take. His argument rests on an assumption which is hardly reconcileable with the social aptitudes of the inhabitants of the Dekhan. With the origin assigned to them, the Marâṭhâs could form a caste, but could not give it the *status* which it at present enjoys. The offspring of a Śûdra or Kshatriya, or even a degraded Brâhmaṇ woman, and a Brâhmaṇ father, form a small section; but neither do the Marâṭhâs, nor Kshatriyas, nor Śûdras solicit marriage in such a family. It is the great ambition of Śûdras to give their daughters in marriage to Marâṭhâs. This very *locus standi* of the intermediate caste is a guarantee against the degraded origin assigned to it.

When the great northern Kshatriya conquerors overran the Dekhan and established their kingdoms on the ruins of former monarchies, they could not find themselves secure, unaided by the coöperation of the great leaders who acted important part during their predecessors' times. Thus political necessity stood absolute in the employment of the Śûdra leaders, who, to distinguish them from the generality of the Śûdras, were styled Marâṭhâs or the great leaders of Mahârâshṭra—a distinction which lent the Marâṭhâs an importance which their future achievements tended greatly to strengthen. A new chapter came to be added to the system of castes, without the least taint of degradation. In process of time the Marâṭhâs, in their turn, began to assume the surnames of their employers; a system preserved up to the present date. For example, the Brâhmaṇ chief of Ichalkaranji, though a Joshi, is surnamed Ghorapaḍe from service under the Ghorapaḍes. The Brâhmaṇ Divân of the pirate chief Âṅgriâ is a Bivalkar, yet he passes under the surname of Âṅgriâ. Thus even if Brâhmaṇs, who have special surnames, did not scruple to adopt those of their employers, the Marâṭhâs, who have no such speciality, could not fail to improve a similar occasion, which contributed not only to lend them importance, but to assimilate them to their very employers in this particular.

Miraj. L. Y. ASKHEDKAR.

QUERY—NAKSHATRÂS.

SIR,—Can you or any of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* give me the European names for the 27 stars or constellations composing the Hindu lunar Nakshatrâs?

Bombay. A. R.

Reply.

SIR,—Your correspondent A. R. wishes to know what are the European names for the 27 stars or constellations composing the Hindu lunar nakshatrâs.

The twelve signs of the Zodiac, Mesha (मेष), Vṛishabha (वृषभ), Mithuna (मिथुन), &c., correspond to Aries, Taurus, Gemini, &c., but the Western astronomers never having recognized at any time the division of the Zodiac into parts, there are no corresponding names for these divisions. But each division, or *lunar mansion* as it is called, has a leading star or two, or more, the positions of which are given in Hindu astronomical tables. By comparing their positions with those of the stars given in European catalogues, we are enabled to find out the names of these yoga, or leading stars (योगतारा). Bentley, Colebrooke,* and others who have studied Hindu astronomy, have given tables of these stars in their works, which may be referred to. I beg to append here a table.

	Stars (योगतारा) of Hindu Zodiac *Nakshatrâs.*	Corresponding Stars in the European Catalogues.
1	Aśvinî	β Arietis.
2	Bharaṇî	35 Arietis.
3	Kṛittikâ	η Tauri (Pleiades).
4	Rohiṇî	Aldebaran.
5	Mṛiga	116 Tauri.
6	Ârdrâ	133 Tauri.
7	Punarvasu	Pollux.
8	Pushya	δ Cancri.
9	Âśleshâ	49 Cancri.
10	Maghâ	Regulus.
11	Pûrvâ Phâlgunî	β Leonis.
12	Uttarâ „	Denib.
13	Hasta	δ Corvi.
14	Chitrâ	Spica.
15	Svâti	Arcturus.
16	Viśâkhâ	24 Libri.
17	Anurâdhâ	β Scorpii.
18	Jyeshṭhâ	Antares.
19	Mûḷa	34 Scorpii.
20	Pûrva Âshâḍhâ	δ Sagittarii.
21	Uttara Âshâḍhâ	φ Sagittarii.
22	Śravaṇa	Altair.
23	Dhanishṭhâ	α Delphini.
24	Śatatârakâ	λ Aquarii.
25	Pûrva Bhâdrapadâ	Markab.
26	Uttara Bhâdrapadâ	Alpherâb.
27	Revatî	ζ Piscium.

KERU L. CHATRE.

Puṇâ.

* See *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. pp. 323-376, or Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. II. pp. 321-373.

THE ARAB AND HIS TWO BAGS.

Translated from the Mesnavi of Jellál-aldyn-Rûmi, by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

یک عرابي بار کرده اشتري
در جوال زفت از کندم پري
و آن جوال دیکرش از ریک پر
هر دو را او بار کرد بر شتر
او نشسته . بر سر هردو جوال
یک حدیث انداز کرد اورا سوال
از وطن پرسید و آوردش بگفت
و اندر آن پرسش بسي درها بسفت
بعد از آن گفتش که ان هردو جوال
چیست آکنده بکو مصدق حال
کفت اندر یک جوالم کندم است
در دکر ریکي نه قوت مردم است
گفت تو چون بارکردي این رحال
گفت تا تنها نماند آن جوال
کفت نیم کندم آن تنک را
در دکر ریز از پي فرهنک را
تا سبک کردد جوال و هم شتر
کفت شاباش اي حکیم اهل حر
اینچنین فکر دقیق و رای خوب
تو چنین عریان پیاده در لغوب
رحمش آمد بر حکیم و عزم کرد
که بر اشتر نشاند نیک مرد
باز کفتش اي حکیم خوش سخن
شمهٔ از حال خود هم شرح کن
اینچنین عقل و کفایت که تراست
تو وزیري یا شهي بر گوي راست
کفت این هر دو نیم از عامه ام
بنکر اندر حال و اندر جامه ام
کفت اشتر چند داري چند کاو
کفت ني این و نه آن مارا مکاو
کفت رختت چیست باري در دکان
کفت مارا کودکان و کو مکان
ني زقوت وني زخوت و ني قماش
ني‌ها متاع و نیست مطبخ و نیست آش
کفت پس از تقدیر پرسم نقد چند
که توي تنها رو و محبوب پند

کیمیاي زر عالم با تو است
عقل و دانش را کوهر نوبر تو است
کنجها بنهاده باشي در مکان
نیست عاقلتر ز تو کس در جهان
کفت و الله نیست یا وجه العرب
در همه ملکم و جوه قوت شب
پا برهنه تن برهنه میدوم
هرکه نانی میدهد آنجا روم
مرمرا زین حکمت و فضل و هنر
نیست حاصل جز خیال و درد سر
پس عرب کفتش رو زود از برم
تا نیاید شومي . تو بر سرم
دور بر آنحکمت شومت زمن
نطق تو شوم است بر اهل زمن
یا تو آنسو و من اینسو میروم
ور ترا ره پیش من واپس شوم
یک جوالم کندم و دیکر زریک
به بود زین حیلهاي مرده ریک
احمقي ام بس مبارک احمقي است
که دلم با برک و جانم متقي است
کر تو خواهي کت شقاوت کم شود
جهد کن تا از تو حکمت کم شود
حکمتي کز طبع زاید و زخیال
حکمتي ني فیض نور ذوالجلال
حکمت دنیا فزاید ظن و شک
حکمت دیني برد فوق فلک
روبهان زیرک اخر زمان
بر فزوده خویش بر پیشینیان
حیله آموزان جکرها سوخته
فعلها و مکرها آموخته
صبر و ایثا روسخاي نفس و جود
باز داده کان بود اکسیر سود
فکر آن باشد که بکشاید رهي
راه آن باشد که پیش . آید شهي
شاه آن . باشد که از خود شاه بود
ني بمخزنها و کوهر شه بود

An Arab on his camel put a load:
One bag he stuffed full of wheat;
The other desert-sand contained:
These both he on his camel hung,
And on the top himself his station took.

A story-teller met him on the road,
Who asked him questions of his place,
And pearls he strung of eloquence.
Then said he :—" Tell me of those sacks,
Speak truly; what are their contents ?"
He said :—" One bag with wheat is filled;
No food for man, but sand, one sack contains."
He asked :—" Why have you put this sand ?"
The Arab said :—" To equipoise the wheat !"
The man advised :—" Pour out half of the wheat
Into the other sack to better suit;
To ease both sacks, the camel too."
The Arab said :—" O sage, how wise you are!
But how, with so much intellect and sense,
Can you be naked, helpless, and on foot ?"
He pitied the poor sage; invited him
To ride upon the camel. Then he asked :—
" O philosopher of speech so sweet,
Do tell me also something of yourself:
With all the understanding you possess
You surely king or vazir are—speak true."
The answer was :—" I neither am, but plebeian.
Just see my state, my garments contemplate !"
Again he asked :—" How many camels, cows, have you ?"
He said :—" I neither these nor those possess."
" At least tell me," quoth he, " what property you have ?"
The sage replied :—" I have no family,
No property, no goods, no furniture,
No food, no kitchen, no provisions."
He further asked :—" Then, please, what is your ready cash ?
Because you are alone and fond of sense,
O alchemist, the gold of this world is all yours,
Knowledge and sense new gems bestow on you;
Treasures you surely must concealed have,
No wiser man than you the world has seen."
He said :—" By God ! I do not have, O Arab man,
Of daily food to keep me through a night;
With naked feet and body I travel;
Who gives me bread, to him I visits pay;
I reap from all this intellect and sense
Only imaginations and headaches."
The Arab said :—" Quickly depart from me,
Lest your ill-luck may fall upon my head;
Unhallowed is your wisdom; take it far from me.
Your utterance brings bad luck upon the world.
You this side go, the other I shall keep,
And if you forward go, the rear I take;
A sack of mine with wheat, and one with sand,
To me than useless tricks much better was.
A fool I am, but that is bliss to me,
Because my heart has food, and piety my soul.
If you from misery would separate,
Get rid of your philosophy."
The wisdom which from nature and from fancy comes
Is not a light and blessing from on high.
The wisdom of the world increases doubts and whims,
Religion's wisdom lifts above the spheres.
The cunning foxes of these latter days
Exalt themselves above their ancestors.
They stratagems pursue, their livers burn,
And study acts with cunning tricks;
Patience they have left off, and liberality,
Which are the scope and elixir of life.
True meditation must reveal the path,
The way is that which leads to royalty,
A king is he who made himself a king,
Not he whom gems and treasures sovereign made.*

CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(*Continued from page 274.*)

Bândi.—A caste in Kanara (called also 'Gaude' or 'Tattu': "Gaudes" are named by Jervis as resembling Kolis, and being easily recognized by the enormous masses of beads with which they decorate their women): they live by prostituting their women, and are indiscriminative in diet: they are pretty numerous in Kanara, and are of rather low rank.

Nâkarâ; Nâyak; Nayko.—A section of the Bhîll race found in Rewa Kâṛṭhâ and the adjoining parts of Gujarât: they are yet but imperfectly civilized, and do not readily intermingle with the more settled population; they are included in the so-called Kâlâ prajâ, or the black race, with the Dhuriâs, Chawadrias, &c.; they are described as aborigines; as a miserable race, almost savages, and in habits as migratory: they work the carnelian and mica mines, and prepare *kâth* in the jungles. The term "Naik" is widely found among the aboriginal races, and denotes leader, or chief.

Bhilâlâ.—A term denoting the union of Rajpût with Bhîll, and hence comparable in character to Ṭhâkur; the chief of the Bhil tribes on the Vindhya mountains are almost all Bhilâlâs, but others bearing this name are in no way elevated above the common. The word occurs in the Khândesh leper-return.

Kotil: Khotil.—In Khândesh: a division of the Bhîll tribes: the term is generally applied to all the wild inhabitants of the Sâtpura range, who barter gum and wax for the produce of the plains; their numbers are not large.

Pagî, Paggî.—In Gujarat a reputed branch of the Bhîlls: they are clever thief-trackers by foot-prints, and also serve as village watchmen, &c.; several are lepers in the Kheḍâ zillâ.

* It may be seen that this is a religious parable of deep meaning, but capable of a lucid interpretation.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF IBN BATUTA'S INDIAN TRAVELS.

BY COL. H. YULE, C.B., PALERMO.

II.—*Continued from p.* 117.

WE left the traveller at an island shown to have been ANJEDIVA. Thence the party went on to Hinâwar (*Honore* of our maps), the inhabitants of which were Musalmâns, brave, pious, and famous for their naval wars with the infidels, *i.e.* we may conclude they were great pirates. The women were beautiful and virtuous, and all knew the *Korân* by heart. There were in the city 13 schools for girls, and 23 for boys; the traveller had seen the like nowhere else. The Sultân of Hinâwar, Jamâluddin, received black mail from Malabar, but himself acknowledged the supremacy of a pagan prince called Haryâb.

Having passed three days with the hospitable pirate, they went on to Mulaibar (Malabâr) the Pepper-country, which was considered to extend from Sindâbûr to Kaulam, a distance of two months' march. Hence at Hinâwar they were already within its limits, properly speaking.

Rashîduddîn gives the limits of Malabar as from the boundary of Karoha (probably Gheriah) to Kaulam, but says the first city on the coast met with was Sindâbûr: hence the practical agreement is exact.

The first town in Malabar touched at was Abu-Sarûr, a small place upon a great gulf or basin (*khor*, which seems to be applied by the traveller to the backwaters of Malabar); two days later they reach Fâkanûr, another piratical port, but under a Hindu prince. Three days later they arrived at Manjarûr, the great resort of the merchants of Fârs and Yemen, under a pagan prince called Râmadao (Râm Deo). Here, as at Fâkanûr, they would not land till the king had sent his own son on board as a hostage.*

Abu Sarûr appears in Abulfeda as Basarûr, in the Portuguese Summary of Eastern Kingdoms, in Ramusio, as *Bacelor*, and was known to our old traders as BARCELORE. There are the ruins of an ancient city at Sarûr, about 7 miles S.E. of Batkal; these are marked in the Indian Atlas; and in the Admiralty chart a high summit in the Ghâts above is called Barsilûr Peak. Fâkanûr is the BACCANORE of our old traders; it appears as Faknûr in Rashiduddîn, Jai-Faknûr in Firishtah, Maganûr (perhaps) in Abdurrazzâk, and Pacamuria (for Pacanuria) in Nicolo Conti; it is also probably the Bangore of Rowlandson's *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen* (p. 54). I find no means of determining whether Bakanûr was Kundapûr or Barkûr, but it must, I think, have been one or other.† Manjarûr is of course Mangalur, and, being probably the Mangaruth of Cosmas, it has kept its name, and some trade, longer than any other port of Malabar.

The next place visited was Hîlî, on a great backwater which large ships could enter; this was one of the ports frequented by Chinese junks, a fact confirmed by Marco Polo. From this they proceeded three *farsakhs* to Jurfattan, which belonged to a prince called Koil, to whom the two following places also were subject: viz. (1) Dehfattan, a great town on a basin, where there was a magnificent tank five hundred paces long and three hundred broad, all revetted with red stone, and having on its banks twenty stone cupolas, with a great three-storied pavilion in the middle of the water; (2) Bodfattan, a place with one of the best of harbours. From this they went to Fandaraina, another great port where the Chinese junks used to pass the winter; then to Kâlikûth.

Hîlî exists no longer, but its name survives in Mount Dely, *i.e.* MONTE D'ILI. The city probably stood at the head of the bay on the east side of the mountain. It was often coupled (Hîlî-Mârâvi) with another town called Maravi or Madavi, which exists as Mâdâi.

Jorfattan, 12 miles from Hili, must have been either Baliapatan or Kananur. It appears as Zaraftun and Juruftun in Rowlandson's book, perhaps as Jarabattan in Edrisi. I have suggested formerly that Zor fattan may have been a kind of translation of Balia pattan. The Koil prince must be the

* The custom of obtaining hostages before landing we find also in force when Da Gama landed at Calicut.

† Probably the former, as Barcelore and Baccanor are always coupled, as if very near. Yet De Barros says "the St. Mary's Isles lay between Bacanor and Baticala;" and those islands are south even of Barkûr.

Kola-tîri or Cherakal Râja, whose kingdom was called Kola-nâda.

Bodfattan, though it has not continued to our day, was as ancient in name and fame as Mangalur; for it was probably the PUDOPATANA (New City) of Cosmas, as well as the Peudefitanîa of Nicolo Conti. It was well known at the time of the Portuguese discoveries, but has now disappeared from our maps. It must have been at or near the present Waddakarê.

As Dehfattan was between the two last, it must have been either Kananur, DHARMAPATAN, or Telichedi, probably the second. One would expect to find some trace of the great tank, &c., but I have no account of the place.

Fandaraina also retained that name and some reputation as a port when the Portuguese arrived. Friar Odoric calls it Flandrina; Rowlandson has misread it Fundreeah. The Chinese resort to it is confirmed by one of M. Pauthier's interesting quotations from the annals of the Yuen (see his *Marco Polo*, p. 532). The Portuguese writers generally give it the vernacular form Pandarani, and the name, I believe, though not in the Indian Atlas, still attaches to a village on the site. Its position is clear from Varthema's statement that an uninhabited island stood opposite at three leagues' distance, viz. the Sacrifice Rock. At Pandarani, according to some accounts, Vasco da Gama first landed.

Kâlikûth requires no comment. Ibn Batuta says it was the seat of Al-Samari, of the Zamorin. The same prince is called in the *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, Samuri. We often see it alleged that Zamorin, Ceylon, and what not, were corruptions made by the Portuguese. But the fact is that in general the Portuguese adopted the terms that were already current among the Arabs and other foreign traders frequenting the coast. It is also often said that Zamorin was a corruption of Samudri Râja; perhaps some Tamil scholar will say what is the true origin of it. Barbosa certainly calls him Zomodri.*

At Calicut the mission stopped three months, waiting for the proper season to sail for China. We need not repeat here how Ibn Batuta by missing his passage saved his life, and how the junk on which his associates and the presents were embarked foundered before his eyes. He was left on the beach of Calicut with a piece of carpet and ten pieces of gold. Hoping to overtake the vessel with his own goods, he starts for Kaulam "by the river," *i.e.* by the backwater. Either so, or by land, it was a ten days' journey. Half-way he arrived at Kunjikari, a place on a hill inhabited by Jews. This was probably near Cochin, but I cannot suggest any identification.

* * * *

I fear that to follow the Moor in all his wanderings with equal minuteness would only tire the readers of the *Indian Antiquary;* and I pass at a leap to Bengal, where the traveller arrives from the Maldive Islands, A. D. 1346, as well as can be made out, and lands (apparently) at a city called Sudkâwân, a large place "on the shore of the great sea." The river Ganges, to which the Hindus make pilgrimages, and the river Jûn (or Jamunâ), near this place, united and flowed into the sea.

Sudkâwân, as a name, must stand for either Satgâon or Chatgâon (Chittagong), and I was formerly disposed to identify it with the latter, which has much the better claim to be described as standing on the shore of the sea, and was, at the time when the Portuguese first visited Bengal, the most important mart and port of that country.† I cannot bring myself to Mr. Fergusson's belief that Satgâon, nearly thirty miles above Calcutta, was on a bay of the sea in the 7th century even,‡ much less in the 14th, in spite of the countenance which Ibn Batuta's expression seems to afford it; but, nevertheless, I now think Satgâon probably the place which he describes, under the name of Sudkâwân, as not only a port, but the residence of Fakhruddîn, then Sultân of Lower Bengal. The mention of the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunâ can hardly be other than a reference to the mysterious Tribeni near Satgâon, where Ganges, Jamunâ, and Sarasvati are believed to *part*, having united at the upper Tribeni of Prâg.

The Moor's unquenchable love of rambling now impelled him to go to the hill-country of Kâmrû to see a famous saint called the Sheikh Jalâl-

* I see that F. Buchanan gives both Tamuri Râja and Samudri Râja as titles of the Zamorin (II. 394).

† See *De Barros*, Dec. IV. Liv. ix., Cap. I. Chittagong was apparently the *City of Bengala* which has so much puzzled commentators.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VI. p. 245.

uddîn Tabrîzî. These Kâmrû highlands were towards the borders of China and Tibet, and a month's journey from Sudkâwân. The Sheikh was a very old man indeed, for he told Ibn Batuta that he had seen the Khâlîf Mosta'sim Billah (who had been put to death by Hulâkû the Mongol 88 years before). He had fasted for forty years, breaking his fast only once in ten days with a little milk of a cow that he kept.* The inhabitants of the hill-country were like Turks (*i.e.* Tartars), and made excellent slaves, for they were strong to labour. The Sheikh had converted many of them, and for this object lived among them. His residence was in a cave. After a very curious interview with this remarkable person, Ibn Batuta went to the city of H a b a n k, a large and fine place, by which a great river flowed, descending from the mountains of Kâmrû and called A l N a h r - a l Â z r a ḳ (the Blue River). This stream maintained a great traffic of boats, and its banks were crowded with villages, gardens, and water-wheels, reminding the traveller of the Nile. Descending this river, in fifteen days Ibn Batuta reached the city of S u n u r K â w a n.

K â m r û is of course K â m r û p, a term of somewhat wide application, but which anciently included Silhet, which can be shown to have been the scene of the Moor's excursion.

The wonder-working ascetic, Sheikh Jalâluddîn, was, I doubt not (as I pointed out in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866, pp. 515 *seqq.*) the patron saint of Silhet, now known as Shâh Jalâl, the subject of many legends, to whom is ascribed the conversion of the people of that country to Islâm, and whose shrine at Silhet, flanked by four mosques, is still famous.

Some account of the legendary history of Shâh Jalâl, as now accepted, is given by Dr. J. Wise of Dhaka (in the *Jour. As. S. Ben.* for 1873, Part I. p. 278), and Dr. Wise is stated to have drawn Mr. Blochmann's attention to Ibn Batuta and his visit to the saint, both being apparently unaware of what had been said on the subject in the work just referred to, and both doubtful, because of certain discrepancies, of the identity of Ibn Batuta's saint with Shâh Jalâl. The discrepancies referred to by Dr. Wise and Mr. Blochmann are: (1) that the local legend puts the death of Shâh Jalâl in A.H. 591, *i.e.* A.D. 1194; (2) that it brings him, not from Tabrîz, but from Arabia; (3) that the real Jalâluddîn Tabrîzî was a famous saint whose life is in the biographical collections (which Shâh Jalâl's is not), who is known to have died A.H. 642 (A.D. 1244), and whose shrine is at Gaur.

The last difficulty is certainly puzzling. But on examining Ibn Batuta's book† by the help of the excellent index, I find that an agnomen is given to the Sheikh in only two places, and that though in one of these indeed he is called *Al-Tabrîzî*, in the other he is called *Al-Shîrâzî*. If there had been only the former, occurring as it does but once, and that at the end of a broken line, we might have supposed it to be an interpolation by some one who had heard of the real Jalâluddîn Tabrîzî. But the occurrence of two different names, each once, suggests as the most probable explanation that Ibn Batuta himself had forgotten the real affix.‡ And it is an odd fact that in another place (II. 72) he speaks of another Jalâluddîn Al-T a b r î z i (there written T a v r î z i) who was one of the grandees of S h i r â z. If this be so, Ibn Batuta's saint may have come from Arabia or anywhere else; and the discrepancy as to date is of little moment, for the date, in one form of the local legend, unsupported by monumental or other contemporary evidence, and contradicted by other items in the legend itself,§ can have little weight.

The city of H a b a n k is, I doubt not, S i l h e t or its mediæval representative. The name still survives, attached to one of the numerous *mamelons*, or *tîlas* as they are locally called, to the north of that city,—H a b a n g T î l a, ‖ a spot still associated with the traditions of Shâh Jalâl and the *Pîrs* who were his companions.¶ Ibn Batuta's description of the people as of

* Like the holy Gelasius of Armagh, who never tasted anything but milk, and always took about with him a white cow to supply him! So Giraldus Cambrensis, quoted in *Saturday Review*.

† *i.e.* of course, the complete work as published and translated by MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti.

‡ That of Shâh Jalâl is given as *Al-Kanyâyi* in an inscription which Mr. Blochmann gives in the *Jour. As. S. Ben.*, as above, p. 293.

§ As. for instance, his visit to a saint at Dehli known to have died in A.D. 1324.

‖ I believe that these T î l a s, which are such a singular feature in Silhet scenery, and cover so extensive an area, probably gave their name to the *Tiladæ* of this region, the Mongoloid people ("dwarfish, stumpy, and platter-faced") whom Ptolemy locates here to the north of *M. Mæandrus*.

¶ I see by the new Indian Atlas quarter-sheet 125 S.E. that the spot in question appears thereon, under the name of A b a n g h i T î l a, as a trigonometrical station. The map is dated 1870. My information was derived in 1864 or 1865 from the late Mr. Pryse, a missionary at Silhet, through my friend Mr. F. Skipwith, B.C.S. Mr. Pryse's communi-

Turk (*i.e.* Tartar or Mongoloid) physiognomy is remarkable. The Silhet peasantry now, if I can trust a thirty years old recollection, are quite *Caucasianized*. But the remarkable predominance of Muhammadanism among them is probably due to the zeal of Jalâluddîn.

The Ázrak River is no doubt the Surma, by descending which the traveller would come direct upon Sunargâṅw, the once famous capital of Eastern Bengal. His description of the river attributes far more life to the population on its banks, and a more definite aspect of *terra firma* to the soil, than they showed about 1841-43; and this is curious in connexion with Mr. Fergusson's suggestion of the possible connexion of the great depression of the Silhet *Jhîls* through which the Surma passes, with the elevation of the Mâdhûpûr Jangal, that singular tract of red hillocks (*tîlas* in fact) which covers an area of probably more than 1,000 square miles, immediately to the north of Dhaka.*

In Bengal we sometimes used to speak of certain brethren as "the Benighted." But of Bengal proper how little have we known! We have not had much light to boast of in that quarter till Mr. Blochmann began to shed a little.

Palermo, April 7th, 1874.

MEDIÆVAL PORTS OF WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA, &c., NAMED IN THE TOHFAT-AL-MAJÂHIDÎN.

BY COL. H. YULE, C.B., PALERMO.

The Arabic work on the History of the Muhammadans in Malabar, called *Tohfat-al-Majâhidîn*, translated by Rowlandson,† has been quoted several times in the geographical commentary on Ibn Batuta's Travels in India which has appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* (pp. 114-117, 182-186). As many of the names that occur in it are of interest, and many of them also have been sorely mangled by the negligence of transcriber, translator, or printer, it may be worth while to print this list of them, which was made for my own use.

The names are given alphabetically, as they occur in Rowlandson's book. Identifications are in *italics*.

Accanee Island, p. 152. One of the Lakhadives. *Akhâte* of Wood (*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* VI. 30), *Aucutta* of Admiralty Chart.

Adilâbâd, 174. Mentioned as a harbour, apparently of the 'Adil-shâhi Kings. I cannot identify it. Their coast extended from near Dâbhol to Chintakola, near Kârwâr.‡

Âkdat, 59; Adkhat, 71; Azgar 120. Spoken of, apparently, as a small State, in connexion with Kanaur, Fandarainâ, Dharmapatan, &c. I can only suggest *Eddakad* of the Atlas Map, a few miles north of Calicut, but this name occurs in no list of the ports or principalities of Malabar that I know of.

Ameni Island, 151, 152. One of the Lakhadives.

Anderoo Island, 152, &c. &c. *Anderot* of Wood, *Underoo* or *Underut* of Admiralty Chart.

Baleenkot, 70; Baleenkat, 88; Baleenghat, "in the collectorate of Shaleeat," 118. *Balliangot* of Rennell's Map, *Veleankode* of Atlas, a few miles below Ponani.

Baleerum, 71. Spoken of as a seaport south of Cochin (?).

Bangore, 54. Probably *Bakanûr.*

Basilore. 154. *Basarûr*, *Bârsîlûr*, or *Barcelore* of old navigators.

Beit, 71. Coupled with Baleerum (*supra*) (?).

Bentalah, 141. By comparison with the facts in De Barros, Dec. IV. liv. viii. cap. 13, this is his *Beadalā*, near Ramêśvaram, apparently *Vadaulay* of the Atlas of India.

Buduftun, 71, 157. *Bodfattan*, i. e. *Pudupattan*, north of Calicut, one of the most

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cations pointed to four places where, according to local tradition, ShâhJalâl had established his *Pîrs*. These were—(1) Silhet; (2) Habang Tila, about 6 miles north of Silhet, near the banks of Chingri Khâl; (3) Chor Goola Tila to the S.E. of Latoo: this is, I presume, the *Chargola* of the map just quoted in lat. 24° 37′, long. 92° 28′; and (4) another Habangia Tila stated in one letter to be in Toroff, and in another letter to be in Dinârpûr Parganah to the south of Habbiganj. Habbiganj is in Southern Silhet on the left bank of the Bârak River, in long. 91° 29′. Toroff appears in Rennell's map among the hills south of this. I have no map that shows Dinârpûr or this Habangia. An old Musalmân, an eremite, in 1864 still resided at Chargola, "on the banks of the beautiful Svind Bheel" (the *Son Beel* of Indian Atlas). "The illiterate Moslems around have a tradition that the *Pîrs* there make the tigers their playmates and protectors, and that boats ready manned start up from the lake for their use whenever they wish" (*Pryse*).

* Fergusson on *Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges*. *Q. J. of Geological Soc.* August 1863, p. 330.

† Published by the Oriental Translation Fund, 1833.

‡ *De Barros*, Dec. IV. liv. VII. cap. 1.

ancient ports of Malabar, now disappeared from the maps. It stood near *Wadakarrê*. See Commentary on Ibn Batuta (*ante*, p. 183).

Calicut, 57, 70, 178, &c.

Cannanore, 59, 71, 83, 150, 161, 168, &c. *Kânanur*.

Chunpa, 71; Chumpana, 117, 120. *Chomba*, near Mahi, *Chombalah* in Atlas of India.

Dabool, 174. *Dâbhol*.

Diu Mahal. Though the form of the name suggests the Maldives (*Dhîbat-al-Mahal*), the fortress of *Diu* seems, from the context, to be meant.

Doot, 174. Coupled with Wasee (or Bassaim) and places in Gujarât, 175 (?).

Durmuftun, 52-54, 59, 71, 120, 123, 150, 174. *Dharmapaṭṭan*, below Kananur.

Funan, 125, 128, 149: Timan, 70; Tunan, 118. *Ponâni*.

Fundreeah, 51, 54, 71, 75, 87, 88, 117, 118, 120, 148, 157, &c. *Fandaraina*, *Pandarâni*, once a famous port north of Calicut: see Geog. of *Ibn Batuta* (*ante*, p. 183).

Goa, 162, 164, 165, &c.

Honnore, 154. *Honâwar*.

Hubaee Murawee, 54; Hubbee Marawee, 59, 151. Misreading for *Hilî Marâwi*: see *Geog. of Ibn Batuta* (*ante*, p. 183), and *Marco Polo* (vol. II. p. 322).

Kabkat, Kabkad, 70, 118, 157, 158. *Capocad*, *Capogatto*, &c. of the old Portuguese, a few miles north of Calicut, where the Zamorin had a palace. Perhaps *Kapotangaddy* of the Atlas?

Kaeel, 141, 149, 160. The famous port of *Kâyal*, in Tinneveli (see *Marco Polo*, II. 307).

Kaluftee Island, 152. One of the Lakhadives. Probably a misreading for *Kalfanî*. *Kâlpani* of Wood; *Kalpeni* of the Chart.

Kanjercote, 51, 54. This place was between Mt. D'Eli and Mangalur. Perhaps the *Causergode* of the Indian Atlas, which is *Cassercotta* of Rennell. The latter indeed calls the Nileśvaram river *Canjacora;* and the river of Cangerecora is according to De Barros the boundary between Kanara and Malabar. But as De Barros places Nileśvaram in Malabar, the river of Cangerecora will be more probably the river of *Causergode*, whatever be the proper form of that name. See 'Kotokulum.'

Karaftan, 174. *Karapattan*, the same, I believe, as *Gheriah* or *Viziadurg*.

Kotokulum, 175. *Cota Coulam* of De Barros comes in his list as the first place in Malabar between the frontier at Cangerecora and Nilichilão, *i.e. Nileśvaram*. It must have been about *Baikal*, the *Baicull* of the Atlas.

Kordeeb Island. Spoken of as one of the Lakhadives. The Chart shows only a shoal so called now. Perhaps *Coorutî* Island of the Chart?

Kumharee, Kamhara, 51, 58; *Kumâri* or *Comorin*. In the first passage it seems to stand for Cape Comorin; in the second for a State, the *Comari* of Marco Polo, and of the early Portuguese (see *Ramusio*, I. 333). And this was probably identical with *Travancore*. See *Travankad* below.

Kurkur, 149. "In the month of Jumadee II. in the year 960 (May 1553) news arrived of the death of the chieftain Alee of Room, who had fallen a martyr when fighting against the Franks before Kurkur." I cannot trace name nor fact.

Kushee, 12, 71, &c. *Cochin*.

Kuzangaloor, Cadungaloor, 12, 47, 50, 53, 71, 118. *Cranganore*.

Malacca, 154.

Mangalore, 54. *Mangalur*.

Meelapoor, 153. *Mailâpûr*, or *San Thomé*, near Madras.

Meilee, 71, 120. Coupled with Chunpa or Chumpana, Cannanore, &c. *Mahi?* unless it be a misreading for *Hilî*.

Milaeed, 153. Probably a careless printer's reading of *Malacca*.

Moluccas, 153.

Mulkee Island, 152. Spoken of as one of the Lakhadives (?).

Munjiloor, 154, 161. *Mangalur*.

Nagapatam, 153.

Nazoourum, 71. By the context is to the south of Dharmapaṭṭam; a peak of the ghâts behind Mahi is called in the chart *Nanduwaram* Peak.

Nillaneez, 141. Said to be about halfway between Bentalah (*supra*) and Malabar (?).

Parpoorangore, Parpoorengore, Poorangar, &c. 70, 117, 134, 167, 171. *Purpurangari*, *Perepen Angarry*, *Purpenangady* of Indian Atlas below Bêpûr.

Pumoor, 167. Coupled with the preceding and with Tanûr. Perhaps for *Purinoor*, *q. v.*

Punkaeel, 149. *Punnei-Kâyâl*, near Kâyal.

Pinnacoil of Indian Atlas; and see *Marco Polo*, II. 305.

Purinoor, 70, 118, 139. *Paravanor* of Barbosa coupled with Tanûr, perhaps *Perony* of the Indian Atlas, *Parwunny* of Scott's Map.

Quilon, 53 and *passim*, only given in this form by the translator.

Resha, 154. Coupled with Malacca and Tenasserim (?).

Shalleat, 13, 54, 70, 118, 129, 155, 159, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171. *Chalia* of the Portuguese, near Bêpûr, *Chalium* of Indian Atlas.

Shatelakum, 151, 152. One of the Lakhadives *Shait-tu lacum* of Wood; *Chitlac* of the charts.

Sheiool, 92, 162, 163, 164. The famous port of *Chaul*.

Shumturah, 155. *Sumatra*.

Solmondul, 153, 154. *Cholamandel*, *Choromandel*, or *Coromandel*. A name the occurrence of which in this form, and in a Muhammadan writer, upsets a variety of theories as to the origin of that name; of which perhaps more hereafter.

Tamoor, 70, Tanoor, 118, 124, 128, 145, 167, 169. *Tanûr*.

Thinasuree, 154. *Tenasserim*.

Tojaree, 126, coupled with Ṣurat. *Nausâri?*

Travankad, Travinkar, Travancore, 70, 71, 117. I doubt if this means our modern *Travancore*; rather *Tiruvankadu*, near Telicheḍi, the *Terivagante* of Barbosa.

Turkoree, Turkoz, Turkoy, 70, 118, 157, 176, 178. *Tircori* of Barbosa, *Tikodi* of Scott's Map.

Wasee, 175. *Wasai*, commonly called *Bassain* or *Bassaim*, near Bombay.

Zaraftan, 54; Jaraftan, 59. *Jorfattan Baliapatan*. See commentary on Ibn Batuta (*ante*, p. 183).

KAṆI IN MAISUR.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGÂR.

It is not very widely known that the lower orders of the Kânarese people freely resort to a primitive oracle, called Kaṇi. The belief in its infallibility is strongest among the Hindu womankind, not excepting the superior classes. To consult the Kaṇi has become so deeply ingrained in the customs of the people that the proverb "Kaṇi kêḷu" ("ask Kaṇi") is very common among them. If a person gets sick, if an absent relative does not return within the expected time, if the crops are threatened with a blight, and, in short, on the thousand and one occasions of everyday life when the human mental equilibrium is disturbed, the ignorant and superstitious Hindu of the lower order implicitly consults oracles, among which the Kaṇi holds no insignificant place.

The *modus operandi* may be briefly described thus:—A middle-aged woman belonging to the Korachar tribe among the Indian gypsies is generally the selected "medium." Her profession is mendicancy, varied by tattooing and hawking *rangolé*, or pulverized white sandstone, with which the washed floors of Hindu houses are decorated. The person (almost invariably a woman) who wishes to divine her own future provides half a local ser (*paḍi*) of râgi, betel-nut, and a little incense, and crosses the palm of the fortune-teller with a small copper, varying from one pie to half an anna. The proceedings commence with the burning of the incense, and the consulter taking a handful of râgi touches her eyes with it, and mentally utters a prayer for the realization of her wishes. The Korachar woman, making her dupe sit before her, shakes an iron ring (*gilikê*) about six inches in diameter, to which small bells of the same metal are attached, and which emits a dull low sound. She then puts her right hand in the râgi, sounding the *gilikê* all the time with her left hand, and chants in a droning tone the names of all the gods and goddesses, promiscuously strung together, from the omnipotent and fierce Śiva to the blood-thirsty Mâri. At the end of this incantation, she raises with her thumb and forefinger a pinch of the râgi, and asks her invisible patron or patroness whether good or evil will befal the anxious inquirer. The râgi grains thus raised are placed in the palm of the consulter, and if they are of an odd number, such as 5, 7, 9, &c., they betoken a favourable omen.

The person consulting the Kaṇi then states in general terms what her grievance is, and asks what steps should be taken to redress it. The *gilikê* is again brought into requisition, and

the chanting is repeated, when the soothsayer takes the right hand of the inquirer, and touches with it either the chin or the ear of the latter, the former indicating a man and the latter a female as the source of her trouble. She then advises the offering of sacrifices and other rites, to propitiate the family god. When the oracle is not satisfactory, or the matter in the inquirer's mind is not rightly divined, the process is repeated *ad nauseam*, and either her chin or her ear is always touched, the former signifying sickness, and the latter health, and so on. At the end of the Kani the K o r a c h a r woman walks away with the offerings to attack fresh victims, whilst her late dupe returns to her daily avocations with her perturbed spirit much allayed, and with the firm belief that she has secured her future prosperity.

In the attempt to rise above ourselves, we seek, though in vain, to dive into the dark future; and the *uneducated* Hindu, with his mind impressed with the ignorance and superstition of countless ages, is easily deceived by the plausible tricks of the wicked and artful.

ON MUHAMMADAN CHRONOGRAMS.

BY H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

The Muhammadans have a convenient way of expressing the date of an event by means of words the letters of which have a numerical value. These letters when added up give the date of the event; and a date thus expressed is called a تاریخ *târîkh.*

It is almost useless to remark that *târîkhs* are of great importance to the historian. Copyists of MSS. make frequent mistakes when dates are merely expressed in numerals; but no confusion is possible when dates are expressed in chronograms.

The Hindûs, too, have chronograms. I may refer to a Bihâr inscription, deciphered by Râjendralâla Mitra,* of Saṁvat 913 (A.D. 856), in which the date is expressed by the words *agni* (3), *râgha* (1), and *dvâra* (9); and to the numerous examples given in Brown's *Sanskrit Prosody*, p. 49.

The Muhammadans pay much attention to chronograms. No work is now-a-days issued without one or several *târîkhs*, composed by the author or his acquaintances, and in many cases the very title of the book conceals in its letters the date of composition. The death of a saintly friend or a rich patron is lamented in chronograms, and on the birth of a son the happy father is overwhelmed with *târîkhs* of congratulation. Many Muhammadans have even a *târîkhî* name or a chronogrammatic *alias*, and an 'Abdullah is also called Mazhar 'Alî or Muhammad 'Abdul Ghanî, because he was born in 1255 or 1259 A.H.

But, like every branch of literature, the history of the composition of chronograms exhibits a gradual development under the hands of writers of genius, and the subjection to certain rules fixed by the taste of art-critics.

First of all, we observe that the collected works of the pre-classical poets, *i.e.* poets who lived before the time of Nizâmî, contain no chronograms; and, further, we look in vain for them in the writings of most of the poets of the classical period, which ends with Jâmî. But the poets after the time of Jâmî have left numerous târîkhs. It is, therefore, only from the end of the 9th century of the Hijrah that the composition of chronograms has engaged the skill of poets. The development of the art was sudden; but as it was diligently cultivated, its rules and usage became fixed, and no further change has since taken place.

What I have said regarding the historical origin of the art of composing chronograms may also be verified from Muhammadan inscriptions. Before the tenth century of the Hijrah, we find, in inscriptions, no verses the hemistichs or distichs of which, either wholly or partially, yield târîkhs. Hence, reversely, if we find in an inscription a verse with a chronogram, should it even refer to an event that happened before the tenth century, we may be

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* *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, Pt. I. p. 310. [It would be interesting to learn when the Hindus really began to use chronograms. Some of the older supposed ones have turned out to be nothing of the kind. Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I pp. 128, 195, 227.—Ed.]

sure that its composition belongs to the time after that period and is more or less modern.

On coins târîkhs are very rare; in fact, the only instance which I can at this moment remember is the large gold coin, or rather medal, struck by Jahângîr, with a chronogram by Âsaf Khân (metre *short ramal*) :—*

شد چو خورزين سكه نوراني جهان
آفتاب مملكت تاريخ آن

The world is illuminated by this sunlike coin; hence 'the sun of the kingdom' is its chronogram.

This gives 1014 A.H., the year of Jahângîr's accession.

But although the composition of chronograms first became a distinct branch of poetry, and a subject deserving the care of genius, towards the end of the 9th century of the Hijrah, we must not think that târîkhs were entirely unknown to earlier ages. We have chronograms written long before the time of Jâmî, but their manner is quite different from what we now understand by a târîkh. Instead of words or sentences, we merely find unmeaning combinations of Arabic letters, mere mnemo-technical vocables, arbitrarily strung together with insipid rhymes. A few examples will suffice. The oldest inscription with a chronogram that is known to me is the Arabic inscription of Zafar Khân's Mosque at Tribenî, Hûglî District,† which ends with the following line (metre *ṭawîl*) :—

بتاريخ حاء من سنين و صاد ها
وخاء حروف الوقف حسبان قائس .

Its date is expressed by the waqf letters ص, ح, *and* خ, *according to the reckoning of him who counts.*

This gives 90 + 8 + 600, or 698 A.H., or A.D. 1298.

To the seventh century of the Hijrah also belongs the following chronogram given by Minhâj-i-Sirâj‡ (*Rubâ'î* metre) :—

آدينه و سلخ ماه شوال لقب
خا بود و ميم و دال تاريخ عرب
شد كوچ تمر خان و طغا نخان زجهان
او اول شب گذشت واين آخر شب

Friday, the last of the month of Shawwâl, خ *and* م *and* د, *was the Arabic târîkh,—When Timur Khân and Ṭughân Khân left the world, the former in the beginning, the latter in the end, of the night.*

This gives Friday, 29th Shawwâl 644, or 9th March 1247 A.D.

To a much earlier period belongs the following chronogram, which embodies the principal facts of Avicenna's life (metre *khafîf*) :—

حجت الحق ابو علي سينا
در شجع آمد از عدم بوجود
در شصا كل علم حاصل كرد
در تكز كرد اين جهان پدرود

Abû 'Alî Sînâ, the evidence of truth, was born in ش + ج + ع (373 A.H.); *he had learnt all sciences in* ش + ص + ا (394 A.H.); *he left this world in* ت + ک + ز (427 A.H. or 1036 A.D.)

Abul Fazl gives this târîkh in the *Âin-i-Akbarî* (my text edition, p. 280), and adds that *the ancients but rarely cultivated the art of composing chronograms.*

People would smile now-a-days if a modern poet were to imitate the ancients in this sort of composition.

The above examples sufficiently show the nature of ancient târîkhs; and it is easy to see why classical writers looked upon the composition of such mnemo-technical rhymes as below the dignity of poetry. It seems, however, that in the 8th century of the Hijrah mnemo-technical combinations were cleverly expressed so as to deserve at least the name of happy hits. Thus Timur's invasion of Rûm in 805 (1402-3 A.D.) was expressed by the târîkh ضاه, 800+1+4; but, instead of entering the three letters as a mere mnemo-technical vocable, the chronicler hit upon the ingenious sentence

غلبت الروم في ادني الارض

Rûm, in the end of the earth, was conquered, or rather, *Rûm was conquered in the year given in the end of the word* ارض (earth), *i.e.* in ضاه 805 A.H. Chronograms of this nature show the transition from ancient to modern târîkhs. After the middle of the 9th century of the Hijrah we look in vain in histories or Tazkirahs for chronograms composed according to the old method.

In 885 (A.D. 1480), when the poet Jâmî in

* Âin translation, pp. 413, 572.
† See *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* 1870, Pt. I. p. 286.
‡ *Tab. Nâsirî*, edit. *Bibl. Indica*, p. 246. The name of the historian is generally written Minhâj us Sirâj, which has no sense. The *Izâfat* between Minhâj and Sirâj means 'son of.' See also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, Pt. I. p. 246, note.

advanced age issued his third Dîwân of stray poems, he told the reader in the preface that he completed the collection in the year تممته *tamamtuhu*, 'I have finished it,' which gives 885. From his time chronograms, such as are usual now-a-days, came into fashion. Thus we have the clever târîkh on Bâbar's birth by Mullá Munîr of Bukhârâ (metre *muzári'*) :—

چون در شش محرم آمد شه مکرم
تاریخ سال آنهم آمد شش محرم

As the honoured king was born on the 6th Muharram, the chronogram also is Shash i Muharram.

This gives 6th Muharram 888, or 14th February 1483.

The literary circle presided over by Jâmî's patron, the renowned Mîr 'Alî Sher, minister of Sulṭân Husain Mirzâ of Harât, was often engaged in composing chronograms. Thus when Mîr 'Alî Sher built his Madrasah, and appointed Mîr 'Aṭâ-ullah, a well-known writer on prosody, to the post of superintendent, Mîr 'Aṭâ presented him with the following târîkh (*Rubá'í* metre) :—

چون مدرسه ساخت میر با علم و ادب
فرمود مرا افادهٔ اهل طلب
چون در ششم ماه رجب کرد اجلاس
تاریخ طلب از ششم ماه رجب

When the learned and polite Mir had built the Madrasah and ordered me to instruct the students, he opened the session on the 6th Rajab. Search, therefore, for the chronogram in 'the 6th of the month of Rajab.'

This gives 6th Rajab 891, or 8th July 1486.

Mîr 'Alî Sher himself, who is known as an excellent Turkish and Persian poet,* did not disdain chronograms, and wrote the following târîkh on Jâmî's death (metre *long ramal*) :—

کاشف سرّالهي بود بیشک زان سبب
گشت تاریخ وفاتش کاشف سرّ الاه

He was no doubt a revealer of divine secrets; hence the chronogram of his death lies in the words 'Káshif i sirr i iláh.'

This gives 898 A.H. or A.D. 1492.†

From these examples it is clear that the art of composing chronograms was fully developed in the end of the 9th century of the Hijrah. Histories, Tazkirahs, and inscriptions on buildings and tombs from this time abound in chronograms, and kings and grandees paid handsomely for good specimens. Thus Khwâjah Husain of Marw presented Akbar on the birth of Prince Salîm [Jahângîr] with an ode of no less than 31 lines, every hemistich of which was a chronogram of Akbar's accession and Salîm's birth, in alternate order.‡ The emperor made him a present of two lâkhs of tankahs, or 10,000 rupees. Another remarkable set of chronograms was presented by Mullâ Muhtashim to Shâh Ismâ'îl II. of Persia on his accession, in 984 A.H. The set consisted of six Rubâ'îs, or quatrains, *i.e.* 24 hemistichs. The letters of each hemistich when added give 984; but the dotted letters of each hemistich and also the undotted ones amount each to $\frac{984}{2}$, or 492; hence there are 24 dotted portions and 24 undotted portions of hemistichs, *i.e.* 48 portions. But the permutations of 48 things taken two and two together

$$= \frac{48 \times 47}{1 \times 2} = 1128.$$

The six quatrains contained, therefore, as Mullâ Muhtashim correctly represented, 1128 chronograms. I give the first quatrain—the curious will find the whole set in the *Tazkirah* by Ṭâhir of Naśrâbâd :—

میشد چو ز صنع رازق پاك جلیل
ملك و فلك و ملك بدارا تحویل
هر ملك و تجمل كه ادم بود ز لطف
دهر آن همه افكند بشاه اسمعیل

When by the will of the holy and glorious Dispenser of life the kingdom, fate, and possessions were made over to the sovereign, Fortune kindly threw to Sháh Ismá'íl every realm and dignity that was with her.

A trial will easily convince the reader that the sum of the dotted letters of each hemistich, as also that of the undotted letters, amount each to 492; hence any two give 984, the year when Ismâ'îl ascended the throne. Notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulty of the conditions which Muhtashim imposed on himself in constructing this chronogram, its poet-

* His *nom-de-plume* is Nawâî.

† Jâmî died on Friday, 18th Muharram 898, or 9th November 1492. Mîr 'Alî Sher's chronogram removes all doubt regarding the year Jâmî died. Many works on literature give 899.

‡ This remarkable ode will be found in Badâonî's *Muntakhab*, II. p. 120.

ical value, it must be confessed, has but little suffered.*

The fertile genius of Târîkhgos, or writers of chronograms, soon led them not only to make collections of striking târîkhs, but also to compose chronograms for all important events of the Prophet's life, and of the history and the great men of Islâm. Among the richest mines I may mention Badâonî's *Muntakhab* (written in 1004 A.H. or 1595 A.D.); the *Mir-ât ul 'Âlam* by Bakhtâwar Khân (written in 1668 A.D.); and the fine chapter on chronograms and riddles in *Tâhir's Tazkirah* (written in 1672 A.D.). The last work also proves strikingly the fact mentioned above, that the composition of târîkhs according to the present fashion dates from the 9th century; for Ṭâhir cites the chronograms of Bâbar's birth and of Mîr 'Alî Sher's Madrasah as the oldest apparently known to him. There are also several collections of chronograms belonging to our times, as the *Mukhbir ul Wâsilîn*, which was printed about forty years ago at Calcutta, and is a chronological register of Muhammadan saints; the excellent *Miftâh uttawârîkh*, by Mr. T. W. Beale, of Partâbpura, Âgrah; and the *Khazînat ul Asfiâ* and the *Ganj i Târîkh*, by Muftî Ghulâm Sarwar, of Lâhor.

It is not my intention to select chronograms as examples—there is a perfect *embarras de richesse;* but it may be more acceptable to note the classification and the rules of composition of târîkhs.

The following kinds of târîkhs are mentioned:—

(1.) The *Târîkh i Mutlaq*, 'the absolute chronogram,' when the year is obtained from the simple addition of all the letters of a sentence, distich, or parts of a sentence or distich. Thus the building of Shâhjahânâbâd, or modern Dihlî, by Shâhjahân in 1058, or A.D. 1648, is referred to in the following chronogram by Mîr Yahyâ of Qum:—

شد شاهجهاناباد از شاهجهان آباد

Shâhjahânâbâd was made âbâd by Shâhjahân.

(2.) The *Târîkh i Ta'miyah*, 'the enigmatical chronogram,' when hints are given to add or subtract certain quantities to or from the total sum of the letters of the târîkh. Thus when Abul Fazl was murdered by Bir Singh Deo Bundelâ in 1011 (12th August 1602), who cut off his head and sent it as a present to Prince Salîm, one of Akbar's courtiers made the following chronogram (metre *short ramal*):—

تیغ اعجاز نبي الله سر باغي برید

The wonderful sword of God's Prophet cut off the head of the rebel.

Here the chronogram lies in the word باغي, *i.e.* 1013; but *the head is cut off*, *i.e.* the first letter of the word or ب, 2; hence we get 1013—2, or 1011.

(3.) *Taushîh*, when the chronogram is in form of an acrostic, the first letters or the last letters of each line, or both together, forming the târîkh.

(4.) The *Târîkh i sûrî o ma'nawî*, when the poet clearly expresses the year in metrical language, and the letters on addition give the same year. Thus the death of the emperor Bâbar in 937 A.H. (A.D. 1530) led to the following chronogram (metre *khafîf*):—

تاریخ وفات شاه بابر در نهصد وسي و هفت بوده

The date of Bâbar's death lies in the words, 'It was in 937.'

Here the date is clearly expressed, and yet on adding up the letters of the hemistich we get 937.

The following are the principal rules followed in the composition of chronograms:—

(1). The value of the letters is the same as in the Arabic alphabet, arranged in the well-known form of *abjad*, *huwaz*, &c. Letters peculiar to the Persians, Indians, or Malays have the same value as the corresponding letters in Arabic; thus *p*, *g*, *zh*, and *ch* are counted as *b*, *k*, *z*, *j*. In the same manner the Hindûstânî ڈ would count as د, 4.

(2.) In every târîkh we count the letters that are written (*maktûb*), not those that are pronounced (*malfûz*). Hence *tashdîds*, *madds*, and the small raised Alif, as in رحمن, are not counted. But exceptions occur. For example, the Arabic *sirr*, a secret, is generally counted 460, to distinguish it from the Persian *sar* and the Hindûstânî *sir*, a head. When *madds*

* If brevity is the soul of wit, we must however award the palm to Mîr Haidar (*Âîn* translation, p. 593, No. 31), who found a chronogram of Shâh Ismâ'îl's accession in the words '*pâdishâh i rûi zamîn*' (984); and when the Shâh died in the following year, he said, '*pâdishâh zer i zamîn*' (985)—'the king of the face of the earth,' and the king below the earth.'

count, two Alifs are generally written, instead of one Alif with the *madd*. When the small raised Alif, as in رحمٰن is counted, the word must be spelt رحمان

(3). In Persian and Hindûstânî the use of the *hamzah* is rare. It is either omitted or changed to *yá;* thus the Arabic جزاء, قائل become in Persian and Hindûstânî قایل and جزا But I have seen the Arabic ماء water, in a Persian târîkh, where the *hamzah* counted as Alif or 1, to distinguish it from the Persian ما we.

(4). Târîkhs are not restricted to the era of the Hijrah. Any era may be used, provided it is indicated. In many chronograms the târîkh is often attributed to a *hâtif*, or 'voice from heaven.' Metrical târîkhs rarely extend over a whole distich, and they are never longer than a whole distich.

In conclusion I wish to apply these notes on Chronograms to the short article that appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 372, headed "Inscription at Viśâlgaḍh." Mr. Nairne had pointed out (p. 318) the impossibility of a statement made by Graham regarding the capture by the Muhammadans of the fort in A.D. 1234 and 1247. Mr. Rehatsek then supplies a transcript and a translation of an inscription, but has overlooked the metre and the *Rubá'í* rhyme of it. I have not seen Malik Rahîm's tablet; but, from a mere knowledge of metres and familiarity with Muhammadan inscriptions in general, I will give what I believe the legend is. In the first line an adjective or participle of two syllables is left out. The metre is *short hazaj*, mafâ'îlun, mafâ'îlun, fa'ûlun.

بود کار جهان..........بهمت
بخوبي شد تمام این برج دولت
اگر خواهي که تاریخش بداني
کنون تاریخ گویش برج دولت

The work of the world is......by energy. This tower of fortune is completed in beauty. If thou wishest to know its date, then say its târîkh is 'Burj i Daulat.'

Mr. Rehatsek's *mí* in the second line is, I am sure, a *yá;* and his *ranj ta* in the fourth hemistich is a mistake for *târîkh*. His third line is correct in metre. The tower is not called 'Daulat Burj,' but 'Burj i Daulat.' Hence the tablet says distinctly that a certain tower, called the 'Tower of Fortune,' was built in A. H. 645, or A. D. 1247. But I have shown above that chronograms such as this were not in use at that time; hence it follows that the inscription is a *modern* composition,* and that the date only refers to the age in which the warrior saint Malik Rahîm is popularly believed to have existed.

THE PARVATÎPARIṆAYA OF BÂṆA.

BY KÂŚINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

The Pârvatîpariṇaya is a short drama in five acts, based, as the name signifies, upon the well-known story of the marriage of Śiva and Pârvatî. An edition of this drama with a translation into Marâṭhi by the celebrated Parashurâmpant Goḍbole was published in Bombay about two years ago. In the Prastâvanâ, with which the drama opens, occurs the following stanza concerning its authorship:—

अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसंभवो † बाण: ॥
नृत्यति यद्रसनायां वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥

The learned translator of the play points out that the description of Bâṇa here given agrees with the description of the author of the *Kâdambarî* given in the introductory stanzas prefixed to that work. Bâṇa is there described as descended from one who was—
वात्स्यायनवंशसंभवो द्विजो जगद्गीतगुणोऽग्रणीः सताम्
And hence it is argued that the two Bâṇas must really have been one and the same person. This, to say the least of it, is certainly plausible. Professor Wilson does not mention this work in his *Theatre of the Hindus*, nor is it alluded to by Dr. FitzEdward Hall in his learned Prefaces to the *Vâsavadattâ* and *Daśarûpaka*. We can obtain no information, therefore, from these sources on the point in question.

There is, however, one most noteworthy circumstance connected with this drama to which

* In fact, from its Indian style and manner of composition, I believe it cannot be older than Aurangzib's reign. If a *rubbing* (not a tracing) of the inscription could be procured for me, I might tell from the very form of the letters in what time the inscription was cut.

† कौस्तुभो in a MS.

its learned translator has not drawn attention. In numerous places we find a most remarkable coincidence between the thoughts and even the expressions contained in it and the thoughts and expressions found in corresponding places in Kâlidâsa's *Kumârasambhava.* The first seven cantos of this last-named work deal with the same subject-matter as the Pârvatîpariṇaya drama, and the coincidences between the two in several points appear to me to be so close, that the only way to explain them is either to suppose an identity of authorship, or a conscious borrowing by one of the two authors from the other of them. I give below a few of the more important coincidences, so that the reader may judge for himself:—

Pârvatîpariṇaya.	*Kumârasambhava.*
स कामो रत्या वसन्तेन चान्वीयमानो महति देवदारुखण्डमण्डपे तरक्षुचर्मनिर्मितायामहिमशिलावेदिकायामासीनमन्तर्मुखनिहितचित्तवृत्तिमभ्यन्तरपवननिरोधनिश्चलाननं नासाग्रनिहितपक्ष्माण्यक्षीणि धारयन्तमपरमिव निस्तरङ्गमम्बुधिं तमिन्दुशेखरमपश्यत्*	सदेवदारुद्रुमवेदिकायां शार्दूलचर्मव्यवधानवत्याम् आसीनम् नेत्रैरविस्पन्दितपक्ष्ममालैर्लक्ष्यीकृतघ्राणम् अपामिवाधारमनुत्तरङ्गम्॥ अन्तश्चराणां मरुतां निरोधान्निवातनिष्कंपमिव प्रदीपम्॥
क्षणे तस्मिन्नयमेवावसर इति सकामः कार्मुके समधत्त संमोहनं बाणम्†	संमोहनं नाम च पुष्पधन्वा धनुष्यमोघं समधत्त बाणम्॥
स्त्रीसंनिकर्षपरिजिहीर्षया सह भूतगणेन भूतपतिरन्तर्धानमकरोत्‡	स्त्रीसंनिकर्षं परिहर्तुमिच्छन्नन्तर्दधे भूतपतिः सभूतः
सखि पार्वति गृहीततनुरिव प्रथमाश्रमो युवा कोपि महापुरुष इतोमुख आगच्छति॥§	शरीरबद्धः प्रथमाश्रमो यथा·

These are some of the notable coincidences which strike one reading the two works together. Passages are exceedingly numerous in which the words differ, but the ideas are so much alike and so expressed that the thought of some near connexion between the two is strongly suggested. जन्मान्ववाये प्रथमस्य धातुः,‖ for instance, unmistakeably reminds one of कुले प्रसूतिः प्रथमस्य वेधसः¶ It is further remarkable that the action of the play is carried on by very much the same machinery as that used in the poem. The suggestion of the future marriage by Nârada; the direction by Himâlaya to his daughter to attempt to propitiate Śiva; the deputation of Cupid by Indra; the burning of Cupid; the consolation and reassurance of Rati by the 'word from Heaven;' the austerities of Pârvatî; the appearance of Śiva in disguise, and his conversation first with the two attendants of Pârvatî, and then with Pârvatî herself: all this is common to this drama and the *Kumârasambhava* of Kâlidâsa. Of course it need scarcely be said that there are differences. The preliminary reconnoitering, so to speak, performed by Nandin in the drama has no place in the poem—no more has the narration of Cupid's misfortune by Nârada to Indra. Nevertheless, what with the verbal coincidences pointed out, and the other coincidences as to the main points in the action of the two pieces, the impression left on one's mind by a perusal of them is that some very close connexion subsists between them.

What is that connexion? "Hindu poets," Dr. FitzEdward Hall has said in his learned Preface to the *Vâsavadattâ*, "Hindu poets not unfrequently repeat themselves; but downright plagiarism among them of one respectable author from another is unknown."* And upon the strength of this principle, mainly, it is well known that Dr. Hall has ascribed the *Ratnâvalî Nâṭaka* to Bâṇa Bhaṭṭa. And although this conclusion of Dr. Hall's has been questioned,† I think it is one which is well supported. Are we then entitled to act on the principle of Dr. Hall in the case before us? In the face of the passage cited above from the Introduction to the play, in the face of the total absence of any tradition connecting the play with the poet Kâlidâsa, and further in the dearth of collateral circumstances to justify the application of the principle in this case, such as were available in the case of the *Ratnâvalî*, I will not venture on so bold a proceeding. I think the question must, for the present at least, be left an open

* P. 66. † P. 70. ‡ P. 76. § P. 100.
‖ P. 104. ¶ *Kumâra* V. 141. * P. 15.

† See Pandit Maheśachandra Nyâyaratna's Introduction to the *Kâvya Prakâśa*, p. 19. It is not, I think, strictly accurate to speak, as Dr. Bühler speaks, of Maheśachandra's position on this subject as the result of mere 'conservatism' (*Ind. Ant.* II. 127). The Pandit gives reasons for not concurring with Dr. Hall entirely, and even he says that Dr. Hall's arguments are enough to "raise a suspicion, though not enough for a final decision." I must confess that I fail to see how the passage adduced by Dr. Bühler adds strength to Dr. Hall's arguments. If that passage weakens the story about Dhâvaka, it weakens the story about Bâṇa in an equal degree. In point of fact, it appears to me to have little importance on the question *between Bâṇa and Dhâvaka.*

one, until we are in possession of other materials for forming a final judgment upon it. Lacking such materials, I do not think it advisable to hazard any mere guess at an explanation of the facts.

There are one or two other remarks which may be added here. As Dr. Kern has correctly remarked in the Preface to his edition of the *Brihatsanhitá*, Kâlidâsa uses the Âryâ metre with considerable freqnency in his dramas. This characteristic may be noted also in the play before us, and the fifth act is really monopolized, or nearly so, by the Âryâ or the Gîtî. Again, in the first act, N â r a d a is represented as descending from heaven to see the King of Mountains, and the description of the scenery which N â ṛ a d a sees puts one strongly in mind of the similar passages occurring in the sixth act of Kâlidâsa's *Śákuntala.*—Thus after saying

परिवहनाम्नः पवनस्य पत्यनं प्राप्तवानस्मि,

Nârada proceeds :—

तन्त्रीमण्डलमार्द्रयन्ति कणिका मन्दाकिनीपाथसा
मप्यन्तःकरणं च मे सुमहती मालम्बते निर्वृतिम्॥

Thus the passage in the *Pârvatîparinaya:* compare that in the *Sâkuntala.* Mâtali says :—

त्रिस्रोतसं वहति यो गगनप्रतिष्ठां (तस्य)
वायोरिमं परिवहस्य वदन्ति मार्गम्॥

And then says Dushyanta—

मातले! अतः खलु मे सबाह्यान्तःकरणोन्तरात्मा प्रसीदति॥

Furthermore, there is a considerable resemblance between the description by Nârada of the appearance of the earth to him as he descends from Heaven, and the description by king Dushyanta of the earth under similar circumstances. I give below the verses in the play, as it is not in everybody's hands :—

उर्व्यद्भिः शिखरैरमी कतिचन व्यज्यन्त एवाचलाः॥
वैमल्यादनुमीयते च सरितां स्रोतस्विनीसंततिः॥
सूच्यन्ते परिमण्डलेन तरवो नीलाम्बुदश्रीमुषो॥
मन्दं मन्दमुपैति लोचनपथग्राह्यां दशां मेदिनी॥
गिरिवरतटिनीगुल्मैर्दर्शनपदवीं क्रमादुपारूढैः॥
अवरोहति मयि रभसाद्भूरियमारोहतीव गगनतलम्॥

It may, perhaps, be worth adding also that Nârada describes himself as having made use of the *tiraskáriṇí vidyá* so often alluded to in the dramas of Kâlidâsa on the occasion when he went to observe the proceedings of Cupid and their result. On the other hand, however, it should be noted, too, that whereas the three generally recognized dramas of Kâlidâsa have but one stanza for the Nândî, this drama has two. And it is further to be remarked that whereas in those three dramas, as well as in the *Raghuvanśa*, the introductions do not speak of the author in magniloquent language, the introduction to this drama is not remarkable for any such feeling of modesty.

To sum up. It appears to me that the facts adduced in this paper require some explanation. It is possible that the author of the *Párvatíparinaya* took the work of Kâlidasâ as the basis for his own work; and this appears to me the safest hypothesis on the facts as they stand at present. It is not, however, a thoroughly satisfactory hypothesis, and additional light upon the subject must be awaited.

TRIBES AND LANGUAGES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

BY THE REV. JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S., &c.

(*From the Bombay Administration Report for* 1872-73.

The name of the M a r â ṭ h â country is in Sanskrit M a h â r â s h ṭ r a. Two meanings have been assigned to this designation. The first of these, which is etymologically unobjectionable, is the 'Great Country.' Of the origin of this name, supposing it to be correct, sufficient historical or geographical reasons do not seem to be yet forthcoming. The second meaning proposed is the 'Country of the M a h â r s', the representatives of whom are to be found, now generally in a depressed condition, in every village of the country, and that to such an observable extent that the following proverb is everywhere current among the Marâṭhâs, जेथें गांव तेथें महारवाडा, 'Wherever there is a village, there is the Mahâr ward.' It has been objected to this theory that we should have to read M a h â r a r â s h ṭ r a, and not M a h â r â s h ṭ r a, for the name of the country, if it meant the 'Country of the Mahârs.' The disappearance in a compound word of the short vowel *a*, however, does not constitute a great difficulty, especially when popular usage in pronunciation is remembered. It is to be kept in mind, in connexion with this matter, that most of the provinces of India get their names from the people to whom they belong or by whom they have been subdued, as exemplified in G u r j a r â s h ṭ r a, the country of the G u r j a r a s (abbreviated as in the case of Mahârâshṭra if we suppose the word to have been originally Mahârarâshṭra);

Saurâshṭra or Saurarâshṭra, 'the country of the Sûras'; Râjpûtânâ, 'the seat of the Râjputs'; Rohilakhaṇḍa, 'the division of the Rohilas'; Bundelakhaṇḍa, 'the division of the Bundelas'; Banga, 'the country of the Bangas,' or ancient Bengal; Oḍradeśa (or Orissa), 'the country of the Oḍras,' mentioned by Manu.

It is rather difficult clearly to state the exact boundaries of the Marâṭhâ Country. But an approximation to them may be found by tracing the boundaries of the Marâthî language, the nearest to the Sanskrit (as remarked by Sir George Campbell) of all the vernacular languages of India. The boundary line on the west extends along the coast, from the Portuguese territories of Daman on the north to the Portuguese territories of Goa on the south, where the Konkaṇî, an allied Âryan tongue, commences. The river near Daman, called the Daman-Ganga (the 'Dunga' of Ptolemy of the second century) till its emergence from the Ghaṭs, forms its northern limit, as far as the low country is concerned. On the line of the Ghâṭs, however, along their *pânlot*, or watershed, and among the Kulîs, Bhîlls, and other jungle tribes, extends to the river Narmadâ, or Narbadâ, which separates it from the Gujarâtî and Nemâḍî or Newâḍi, till the Sâtpuḍâ Range (which in continuation forms the boundary) touches it on the Narmadâ to the west and east. From the neighbourhood of Gâwilgaḍh, where an offset from the Sâtpuḍâ Range commences, it runs eastward in the direction of Betul and Śioni, or Śivanî, terminating to the east at the top of the Ghâṭs between Nágpur and Śivanî, where, in a somewhat semicircular form, with Nâgpur as the centre, it turns southward, eastward, and westward, touching on Lanjî and Wairagaḍh, where it meets the Gonḍî and Telugu. It then goes on to the neighbourhood of Chândâ, from which it begins to run to the west, to the town of Mâhur, along the Pâyin-Gangâ River, separating it from the Telugu. From Mâhur it runs south to the Godâvarî, where, in a very irregular line, it begins to go to the south-west, touching on Deglur, Nâldurg, Solâpur, and Bijâpur, from which it gets to the Krishṇâ, which separates it from the Kânarese, till the course of the Krishṇâ makes a bend to the north, nearly opposite Kolâpur. The line then runs to the south-west.

At the northern extremity of the Sâhyâdri Range the slopes declining to the Narmadâ are principally inhabited by Bhîlls and other wild tribes. These tribes too, occupy the forest portions of the Northern Konkan and of the Ghâṭs and Dâng to the east.

The island of Bombay, and of Salsette in its neighbourhood, early became fields of labour both to Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, who, aided as they were by the direct interference of the Portuguese authorities, experienced so much success that about the half of their population entered the Roman Church. The converts were to a certain extent from all classes of the Native community, but particularly from the Kulî fishermen, the Parvârîs, Mahârs, and the Kuṇbîs or agriculturists.

The largest tribe of the Marâṭhâ people is that of the Kuṇbîs, corresponding with the Gujarâtî Kulambîs or cultivators. The derivation of the name is as follows: Krîshmî (S.) a ploughman, Kurmî (Hindî), Kulambî (Gujarâtî), and Kunabî or Kunbî (Marâthî). They are called 'Marâṭhâs' by way of distinction. Some of their oldest and highest families (as that of Śivâji, the founder of the Marâṭhâ Empire) hold themselves to be descended of Kshatriyas or Râjpûts; and though they eat with the cultivating Marâṭhâs they do not intermarry with them. All the Marâṭhâs, however, are viewed by the Brâhmaṇs as Śûdras,* though of old cultivation was one of the duties of the Âryan Vaiśyas, the other being that of merchandise.

The Marâṭhâ Country is first mentioned by name in connexion with the propagation of Buddhism. In the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Aśoka (before Christ 246) "he deputed," according to the *Mahâvaṅśo*, the great genealogical chronicle of Ceylon, "the *thero* (patriarch) Mahâdhammarakkito to the Mahratta." This missionary of Buddhism is declared, in the same work, to have experienced remarkable success. He had "48,000 disciples, 13,000 of whom are said to have been ordained priests by him in the Mahratta." The Buddhist remains of Western India, so numerous and magnificent, seem substantially to corroborate this statement. Though these remains represent the wilder tribes of India as doing obeisance to Buddha, a general conversion to such a speculative form of faith as that of Buddhism could have occurred only, in the first instance at least, among such an intelligent people as the Âryas and the more enlightened classes of their subjects. These Âryas soon became so established and predominant in the country, that Âryar (an Âryan) is the name given to a Marâṭhâ by his neighbour of the Kânarese country. Âryar, too, is the name given to the Marâṭhâs by the degraded tribe of Mângs located in their own

* *Vide ante*, pp. 108 and 126, and conf. vol. I. p. 205.—ED.

territory. Ariakê, moreover, is the name given to a great portion of the Marâṭhâ country by the merchant Arrian, the navigator, thought to be the contemporary of Ptolemy the geographer. The Âryas, consisting—except in the times of the Buddhists and before the origination of the legend of the extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, afterwards taken up perhaps to cover the shame of their secession to Buddhism,—of Brâhmaṇs, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas (originally the common people), were the governing and co-operative portion of the population, keeping the darker-coloured races exterior to their circle, and avoiding contact with them as the cause of defilement. *Varṅa*, often rendered caste, meant originally 'colour'; and the *pâṇḍar*, or the true 'white,' still professes to be the municipality of the Marâṭhâ villages. The denomination of Śúdra, as shown by Lassen, was originally that of a people found by the Âryas on the banks of the Indus, whom they devoted to servile labour. As they advanced to the southward, the Âryas gave the same name to analogous classes of people, using it, however, in a wider sense. The Marâṭhâs in physiognomy certainly considerably resemble the Drâviḍians to the south. But it is difficult to suppose that the original tongue of both these peoples belonged to the same class of the Skythian languages. The Sanskṛit, the language of the Âryas, is certainly the principal base of the Marâṭhí as it now exists, though a faint Skythian or Turanian element (having a slight resemblance to that of the Kolas and Santhals) is yet to be found in it. The predominance of Sanskṛit in Marâṭhî has doubtless been maintained by the circumstance that the governments of the provinces in which Marâṭhî has been spoken from time immemorial have in the main been favourable to the Sanskṛit literature, or rather to the opinions formed upon that literature, both Brâhmanical and Buddhist. Only in the forest and wilder mountain districts have there been Nâyaks, or Chiefs, following the Turanian worship of ghosts and demons, and with their people standing aloof from the Hindu systems of faith and practice. Aśoka, in the middle of the third century before Christ, had doubtless imperial power over the Marâṭhâ country, as well as the adjoining and remote provinces of India; but this may have been quite consistent with the existence of local princes doing obeisance to him as their liege lord. The Sâh or Sinha kings of Gujarât, whose capital was Sinhâpur, the modern Sihor, near Ghoghâ, about the Christian era, ruled over large portions of the Marâṭhâ country, as evinced by the large number of their coins which have been found at Junnar, Elichapur, Nâgpur, and other places. Their Valabhî successors may to a certain extent have done the same. Indeed the Chinese traveller Hiwen Thsang, of the seventh century after Christ, speaks of *Chi-lo-a-ti-to* of *Fa-la-pi* (Śîlâditya of Walabhî) as having reigned in the Marâṭhâ country about sixty years before his own visit to it. The Gupta, Ujjayinî. Chola, Châlukya, Kalyânî, Tagar. Chandrakutî, Panhâlâ, Konkaṇî, and Devagiri kings following them, were all Hindus, showing a varying favour to Brâhmaṇs, Buddhists, and Jainas, as their numerous charters on stone and copper, which have been of late years deciphered, clearly show. It was in A.D. 1293 that the last king of Devagiri (or Devagaḍh, *hodie* Daulatâbâd) fell before the Muhammadan arms; and it is from this date that the principal infusion into Marâṭhî of the new and spare elements of Persian and Arabic words—afterwards facilitated by the Bijâpur, Ahmadnagar, and Golkonda sovereignties and the Mughul conquests in the Dekhan—took place.

The Marâṭhâs are but of a middle stature as Indians, and somewhat of a copper colour, varying in shade in different districts of the country. They use animal food to a considerable extent, according to their means, abstaining, however, from the cow, like other Indian tribes. They use wheat, barley, milliary, and pulses; but this they do more abundantly in the Dekhan than in the Konkan, where large quantities of rice are raised. They are rather sparing in their dress, though under the British Government visible improvement in this matter is rapidly proceeding. Though they are not skilled in agriculture, as the Gujarât cultivators, and are educated but to a limited extent, they are a shrewd and intelligent, and, especially among the Mâwals, the western face of the Ghâṭs and the Konkan hills, a hardy and active people. They have their own popular gods and demons, in addition to the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon, and are generally enthusiastic in their worship, being at the same time fond of religious pilgrimages, in connection with which they frequently suffer from cholera and other epidemics. They are noted for the observance of the most public of the festivals, as of the *Dasarâ* and *Holî*. Their peculiar religious feelings have been much excited and sustained by the poets of their own provinces, especially by Tukarâma, whose language is frequently that of marked excitement and specially intelligible to them. They seem for some centuries at least to have indulged and cultivated an irregular military spirit, and to have been more addicted (except in the case of some of their chiefs) to crimes of violence and rapine than to sins of luxury and debauchery. Even in the times of Ptolemy the geographer, their

seaboard, so broken by numerous creeks into which only small vessels can enter, is spoken of as the 'pirate coast.' The Mughul Government was never firmly established among them, either under its imperial or provincial dynasties; and, bringing them no signal benefits, it was never relished by them. It is not to be wondered at that, led by such a bold spirit as Śivâjî, and favoured by their mountain ranges and recesses and isolated heights, and natural forts (unimpregnable to the appliances of Eastern warfare), they rose up against it, though Śivâjî's treachery and cruelty (so well brought out by Grant Duff) are ever to be condemned and execrated. Their own subsequent invasions of Gujarât and the Râjpût and other provinces are considered to this day quite unjustifiable by the natives of those districts. They were seldom the strong coming forth to assist the weak and oppressed, but the strong coming forth to devour the weak. Their treatment even of the wild and degraded tribes of their own neighbourhood, as the Bhîlls, Kolîs, Wâḍalîs, Kâtkarîs, Râmośis, or Bedars, Mahârs, Mângs, &c., was commonly inconsiderate and unphilanthropic. Under the peaceful government of the British, with their educational and instructional appliances, their character and pursuits are becoming greatly improved; and they are now among the most loyal and considerate of the subjects of our Eastern Empire.

With the Marâṭhâs are associated various artizan, working, and pastoral classes, whom they reckon below themselves, but closely contiguous to them as belonging to their own race. Some of these classes, however, as the Parbhus,* goldsmiths, etc., have the Âryan physiognomy pretty distinctly marked in them.

The Marâṭhâs acknowledge altogether considerably upwards of two hundred castes (sometimes with various sub-divisions, neither eating nor intermarrying with one another). Of these at least 34 claim to belong to the Brâhmaṇhood,† though of some of them it is alleged that they are not of pure birth. The Brâhmaṇ classes who have had most to do with Marâṭhâ history are the Dêśasths, Konkaṇasthas, Karhâḍas, Kânvas, Mâdhyândinas, and the Shenavis or Sârasvatas. By these Brâhmaṇs the existence at present of pure Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas is denied; while of the Râjpûts it is alleged by them that they are synonymous with Ugras, the descendants of Kshatriyas and Śûdras. The Parâshavas, the highest class of Sonârs or goldsmiths, they hold to be sprung from Brâhmaṇs and Śûdras. The Vâṇis or merchants are not so much regarded by them as in other parts of India, as, for example, in Gujarât, where they have a position similar to that of the Vaiśyas of old, while some of them are allowed to be called Kshatriyas. To most of the classes of workers in metal, except the fabricators of the coarsest sort of articles, they give a high position in caste. The Devalakas, or dressers of idols, they place but little above the cultivators; and the Guravas, who have the same occupation, they place considerably below them. The status of the cultivators is given to certain classes of *herdsmen, minstrels, barbers, rajgurus, wrestlers, chatra-holders, cooks,* middle-class *coppersmiths,* and *braziers* and *carpenters.* Upwards of 60 castes of *artizans, cattle-keepers,* and *labourers* are placed below the *cultivators.* Among these, absurdly enough, are ranked the Kâyasthas and Parbhus (both writers), who have manifestly Âryan blood flowing in their veins, and who could not have obtained their olden designation of 'those of the presence' (*kâya* meaning 'body') had they not been of Âryan descent. The Wild Tribes and the Antyaja, those 'born at the extremity,' they put on the level of Chânḍâlas —nay, often below them—in the caste lists.

The Wild Tribes or Aborigines (so called) of the Marâṭhâ Country, and of the Bombay Presidency in general, are the Bhîlls, the Nayakaḍas, or Naikrâs, and the Goṇḍas. The Intermingled and Isolated Tribes are the Kulîs or Kolîs, of many divisions, the Dhuḍias, the Chaudharîs, the Wâḍalîs, the Kâtkarîs or Kâtoḍîs (makers of catechu), the Dubalâs, and the Râmuśîs or Bedârs, who are principally found on the eastern spurs of the Ghâṭs south of Puṇâ. The Depressed Tribes, fast rising under the British Government in social importance, are the Mahârs, already alluded to, and the Mângs, the Mâtangas of the Sanskṛit books. The Wandering Tribes and Classes are numerous, comprehending not merely Religious Devotees and Pilgrims recognized in the other provinces of India, but some who are peculiar to this Presidency, as the Mânabhâvas and the devotees of local gods and temples, to which frequently they have been devoted at their birth by their parents; mendicants, who solicit alms in the names of particular gods, assuming various disguises and practising numerous tricks, quackeries, and deceptions; showmen and actors of great variety; wandering artizans and labourers of olden tribes, now nearly extinct, as the Vaḍarâs (Oḍras), Beldârs, Kaikaḍîs (Kaikatyas), etc.

* *Vide ante*, p. 73.—Ed.

† *Vide ante*, p. 45.—Ed.

Among the classes now mentioned are many gangs and consociations habitually addicted to fraud, robbery, burglary, and other atrocities. In the suppression of their crimes much has been done by the Government, with the aid of such acute, skilled, and withal benevolent detectives as Colonel Hervey, C.B., Colonel Taylor, F. Souter, C.S.I., Forjett, and others who are following in their footsteps in the Marâṭhâ Country and adjoining provinces. Many of the Brâhmaṇs, too, even of respectable character, wander about the country as religious mendicants, Bhikshukas, soliciting alms both from prince and peasant. The secularized Brâhmaṇs are now considerably on the increase, many of them devoting themselves to the teaching of schools, to the practice of medicine, to mercantile transactions, to lending of money, to legal pursuits, etc.

The Pastoral Tribes in the Marâṭhâ Country, though very considerable in their flocks and herds, are not so important as those in Central India and other parts of the country. Their occupation is not much approved by the Brâhmaṇs, even though the Marâṭhâs use all kinds of edible animal food but the flesh of the cow. The tribes and castes dealing in cattle and sheep are the Gavalîs, (from 'the cow'), who are doubtless the remains of Great Skythian tribes entering India in remote times; the Dhangars (Sansk. Dhénukaras), 'dealers in cows,' to whom, as shepherds and weavers of coarse woollen cloth, the famous family of Holkar belongs; the Sangaras (from San, *Crotalaria Juncea*) and thus weavers of cloth, at present carrying on nearly the same employment as the Dhangars; the Banjâras, who both rear cattle and transport grain, salt, cotton, and other merchandise on pack-bullocks throughout the country.*

The Konkaṇî.

In connexion with the Marâṭhî language it is proper to notice the kindred Konkaṇî, above alluded to. By this designation is not meant the very slight dialectic difference which exists between the language of the British Dekhan and the corresponding country running between the slopes of the Ghâṭs and the Indian Ocean, forming the British Konkan, but the language of the country commencing with the Goa territories and extending considerably to the south of Kârwâr and even Hoṇâwar. The speech of this district differs from Marâṭhî as much as the Gujarâtî differs from Marâṭhî. It is manifestly in the main formed, however, on the basis of the Sanskṛit, and compared with other vernacular dialects throws some light on their formation from the Sanskṛit, and on some of their peculiar grammatical forms. In proof of the remark now made, an example of the declension of a noun and of the present tense of the substantive verb is here inserted as illustrative of a subject which has excited but little attention.

Ramu in the singular.

Nom. *Râmu.*	Abl. *Râmâsun.*
Acc. *Râmîka.*	Gen. *Râmagêlên* or *Râmâshên.*
Ins. *Râmâna.*	Loc. *Râmântun.*
Dat. *Râmâka.*	Voc. *Arê ! O Râma.*
Singular.	Plural.
Nom. *Ghoḍo,* horse.	*Ghoḍê.*
Acc. *Ghoḍyâka.*	*Ghoḍyânka.*
Ins. *Ghoḍyanimitti.*	*Ghoḍyanimitium.*
Dat. *Ghoḍyâka.* †	*Ghoḍyânkâ.*
Abl. *Ghoḍyânimitti.*	*Ghoḍyârithavun.* ‡
Gen. *Ghoḍyâgelê.*	*Ghoḍyâgelê.*
Loc. *Ghoḍyantu.*	*Ghoḍyântu.*
Voc. *Ghoḍya.*	*Ghoḍyânon.*
Hâva asa, I am.	*Amma asâva,* We are.
Tu assa, Thou art.	*Tummi asata,* You are.
To assa, He is.	*Tê asat* or *asati,* They are.

Little has been known to be published in the Konkaṇî; but a few religious narratives called '*Purâṇas,*' &c. were set forth in it by the Portuguese about two centuries ago. A translation of the *New Testament* by the Serampur Missionaries, and one or two tracts by the German Missionaries, have also been published for the benefit of the Konkanese.

The Castes which are found in the districts in which the Konkaṇî appears do not much differ from those of the Kânarese country, under which they should be noticed, except, perhaps, in the case of the Brâhmaṇs. The Konkaṇî Brâhmaṇs are to be distinguished from the Konkaṇasthas of the Marâṭhâ Country. They have to a great extent secularized themselves and are Sârasvatas, of kin to the Shenavis, already mentioned. With them are associated the Huba Brâhmaṇs, holding land near Kârwâr originally received from Jainas, who have not yet abandoned agriculture either in that part of the country or the Karnâṭaka, giving themselves, however, principally to trade, and using the Kerala Grantha character for their accounts and books.

The Gujarâtî.

The Gujarâtî language, which is supposed to be spoken by six or seven millions of people, is that of the province of Gujarât, comprehending both its peninsular provinces, now called Kâṭhiâwâḍ by the Marâṭhâs and English, of old known as Saurâshṭra, the 'country of the Sauras' (a name indicating an early Âryan connexion), and the continental provinces more especially denominated Gujarât or Gurjarâshṭra. It is more easy to trace the limits of the Gujarâtî

* Vide *ante*, p. 188.—Ed.

† Like Kânarese, *Aek.* ‡ *Prostâna.*

language than those of the Marâṭhî. Its northern boundary is the Gulf of Kachh, and a line drawn from the eastern extremity of that gulf through Disâ and running to the south of the Âbû Mountains to the western face of the Arâvalî Range on the east; its eastern boundary is the range of hills running from the shrine of Ambâbhavânî (east of Âbû) through Châmpâner to Hâmp on the Narmadâ. This river forms its southern boundary also from Hâmp to the jungles of Râjpiplâ, from whence it strikes to the south; its eastern line being that of the Sahyâdrî Ghâṭs till opposite Daman, where its extension to the south terminates, its southern boundary in this direction being the Daman-Gangâ River. From Daman to the Gulf of Kachh, including the peninsula of Gujarât, the ocean is its boundary. It is spoken, too, to a considerable extent in Kachh and among the Baniâs and other merchants, originally from Gujarât, who are so widely scattered throughout India and the shores of the adjoining countries. It is used by the Baniâs in many small settlements exterior to India.

There is no province of India in which the Brâhmaṇ Castes are more numerous and varied than in Gujarât. By their own fraternities they are reckoned at eighty-four; but their lists when examined, compared, and combined give us no fewer than 166 of the priestly castes, recognizing for themselves various local distinctions. Of these, eleven belong to the Audichyas or 'Northerners;' eleven to the Nâgaras consociated in connexion with the principal towns of the Hindu Râjas who reigned at Anhilavâḍâ Paṭṭan (still remarkable for their administrative ability in the Native States); the Sachoras; the Udambaras; the Narsiparas; the Valâdras or Vadâdras; the Pangoras; the Nânḍodras; the Girnâras; the Junâgaḍhya-Girnâras; the Chorvâsâ Grnâras; the Ajakiyas; the Somparas (of Somnâth); the Harsoras; the Sajodhras; the Gangâputras, servitors of the holy rivers; the Modha Maitras; the Gomitras; the Śrî-Gauḍas; the Gurjara-Gauḍas; the Karedas (sprung originally probably from the Marâṭhî Karhaḍe); the Vayandas; the Mewaḍas (of Mewâs) of four kinds; the Drâviḍas, of the south of India; the Deśâvâlas (of two kinds); the Râyakavâlas (of two kinds); the Rodhavâlas; the Kheḍâvâlas (of four kinds); the Sindhuvâlâs or Sindhava-Sârasvatas, from Sindh; the Padmivalas; the Gomativâlas; the Itâvâlas; the Medaṭavâlas (of Medâta in Jodhpur); the Gayavâlas; the Agastyavâlas; the Pretavâlas; the Yâjnikvâlas; the Ghoḍavâlas; the Pudavâlas; the Unevâlas; the Râjavâlas; the Kanojiyas; the Sarvariyas (of the Sarya River); the Kandoliyas; the Kharkheliyas; the Parvaliyas; the Sorathiyas (of Saurâshṭra); the Tangamodiyas; the Sânodhyas; the Motâlas; the Jârolas; the Râyapulas; the Kâpilas; the Akshayamangalas; the Gugalîs; the Nâpalas; the Anâvâlas or Bhâtelas, cultivators; the Śrîmâlîs (of ten kinds); the Modhas (of nine kinds); the Vâlmikas; the Nâradikas; the Kalingas; the Talingas from the south-east of India; the Bhârgavas of Bharoch; the Mâlavîs or Mâlavikas of Mâlwa; the Nanduvânas; the Bharathânas; the Pushkaranas (of the Pushkara Lake); the Sârasvatas; the Khadâyatas; the Mârus (of Mârwâr); the Dâhimas (of Râjpûtâna); the Chovîshas; the Jâmbus (of Jâmbusir); the Dadhîchas; the Lalâtas; the Vatulas; the Borsidhâs; the Golavâlas; the Prayâgavâlas (from Prayâga); the Nayakavâlas; the Utkalas (of Orissa); the Mâthuras (of Mathurâ); the Maithas; the Kulabhas; the Beduvâs; the Ravavâlas; the Dashaharas; the Karṇâṭakas; the Tâlajîyas; the Pârâsharîyas: the Abhîras; the Kundus; the Hiranyajîyas; the Mâstânas; the Sthitishas; the Predatavâlas; the Râmpuras; the Jelas; the Tilotyas; the Durmalas; the Kodavas; the Hunushunas; the Śêvadâs; the Titragas; the Basulâdas; the Magmaryas; the Râyathalas; the Chapilas; the Bâradâs; the Bhukaniyas; the Garodas, who officiate among the depressed Dheḍas; the Tapsdânas.

The Râjgurus (formerly family priests) and the Bhaṭṭas and Châranas (bards and encomiasts) have a position in the community scarcely of less notice than that of the Brâhmaṇs.

The different provinces of peninsular Gujarât (or Kâṭhiâwâḍ) receive their respective denominations from the different classes of their rulers, both in ancient and modern times:—

Okhâmandal, the district of Okhâ, forming the north-west corner of the peninsula, now under the Gâikawâḍ.

Halâḍ, principally the property of the Jâḍejâs, and named from Jâm Halâ of Kachh, the third from Râydhan, the first ruler mentioned by name in connexion with that province.

Machu-Kâṇṭâ, on the banks of the Machu ('fish') river, principally, like the preceding, the property of Jâḍejâs.

Jhâlâwâḍ, so named from the present principal proprietors of its soil, the Jhâlâ Râjpûts.

Bardâ (the capital of which is Porbandar), in which the Jaitwa Râjpûts are settled.

Kâṭhiâwâḍ, the province of the Kâṭhîs, properly so called.

Sorath, in which we have the remains of the name Saurâshṭra, anciently applied to the whole peninsula.

Gohilwâḍ, in which the Gohil Râjpûts are settled.

Und Sarwaiyâ, imbedded in the preceding.

Bâbriâwâḍ and Jâfarâbâd, the country of the Bâbriâs, and the district of the town of Jâfarâbâd.

The ancient notices of the rulers and ruling classes of the province are worthy of notice in connexion with its present population. The Buddhist edicts of the great emperor Aśoka, of the third century preceding the Christian era, are engraved with an iron pen on the granite rock of Girnâr, near Junâgaḍh. In juxtaposition with the same commemorative tablet are notices of the charitable deeds of succeeding kings. The Sâh or Sinhs kings of Saurâshṭra—probably the revivers of a more ancient dynasty of the same designation, who perhaps gave that name to the country which is found in Ptolemy's Geography, and which it would have been most convenient to retain—possessed it as the seat of their sovereignty from about the Christian era, or the century following, their capital in all probability being Sihor, anciently Sinhapur, now the second town in Gohîlwâḍ. The Walabhî dynasty, the era of which dates * from the overthrow of the preceding dynasty, A.D. 318 to A.D. 524, according to Colonel Tod, or, according to a Chinese traveller, rather more than a century later, was formed by the declaration of independence of Vijaya Sena, one of the Sâh commanders-in-chief, and had its capital at the now ruined town of Walâ, formerly Walâbhipur, in modern Gohîlwâḍ; and its members, though followers of Śiva, were the patrons of the Jainas, or Buddhist seceders, yet numerous in the provinces, two of whose most renowned high places, with wondrous temples and religious structures, are at Girnâr, the highest mountain of the peninsula, rising 3500 feet above the level of the sea, and Pâlitâṇâ, about two marches from Walâ and half that distance from Sihor. The Kulîs, whose denominations are numerous, are probably the aborigines of the country. The Ahîrs of the peninsula are a pastoral tribe, the Âbhîrs of the ancient Hindu writings, originally inhabitants of the country about the mouths of the Indus, denominated in Ptolemy's Geography Abiria. Among the earliest so-called "Râjpût" inhabitants of the country are the Jaitwâs, who (notwithstanding their claims of kindred with the monkey god) are probably a branch of the Skythian Getæ now occupying the north-western portion of the province (and who, as is well known, had to a considerable extent practised infanticide); the Chuḍâsâmâs, whom we agree with General Jacob in supposing to have proceeded from the Châvaḍâs who long reigned at Anhilwâḍâ, or Piran Paṭṭan; the Solankîs, who are supposed by Colonel Tod to have succeeded the Châvaḍâs at Anhilwâḍâ about A.D. 931; the Jhâlâs, whom we take to be probably a branch of the Makwanâ Kulîs converted to Brâhmanism; the Wâlâs, reckoned the probable descendants of the Walâbhî princes; the Surwaiyas and Râzâdâs, obscure representatives of the Sauryas or Sinhas, and of the kindred of the Râo of Junâgaḍh conquered by Mahmûd Shâh Begaḍa about A.D. 1472; and the Gohils, who entered the country on their expulsion from Mârwâr about the end of the twelfth century. The Pramâras, a detachment from the 'Agnikula' tribes of Mount Âbû,—like the others under the same fictional denomination,—are probably descendants of Kulîs. The Muhammadans (whose most important Chief is His Highness the Nawâb of Junâgaḍh) are principally the offspring of invaders of the province, from the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni (A.D. 1024) to that of Mahmûd Bêgaḍa (A.D. 1472) as now mentioned, and of subsequent adventurers. The Kâṭhis—from whom, in consequence of the terror which they inspired in the predatory Marâṭhâs when they first visited the province, the whole peninsula has in late time been denominated—are undoubtedly of Skythian origin, as indicated both by their name and physiognomy. They are mentioned by Arrian in connexion with the passage down the valley of the Indus by Alexander the Great; but it is only in late times that they have entered Saurâshṭra. The Jâts, found in various parts contiguous to the Indus, are admitted to be also Skythians, corresponding with the Getæ, with whom we have already connected the Jaitwâs. The Jâḍejâs (with whom we have had so much to do in the prevention of infanticide) entered the country from Kachh. They are the descendants of the Râjpûts of Sindh, and allege that they are the representatives of the Yâdavas of the Mahâbhârata. The accounts which are current of their entrance into Kachh and Kâṭhiâwâḍ are very inconsistent with one another; but an attempt is made to harmonize the discrepancies in

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 61, and vol. II. p. 312.—Ed.

a note prefixed to the *Selections on Kachh*,* and in Dr. Wilson's *History of the Suppression of Infanticide under the Bombay Government.*

Next in importance to the ruling classes in Peninsular Gujarât and their various *Grásiás* are the mercantile classes, both Hindus and Jainas, who are often more opulent than the highest class of the Chiefs, and unitedly viewed are reckoned at 84 castes, a number actually smaller than what can be enumerated. As commercial dealers on a large scale, as shopkeepers, and as money-dealers, they evince greater activity in business than can be elsewhere witnessed in our exterior Indian provinces.

To the provinces now mentioned, the British districts and those of the Gâikawâḍ on the continent have yet to be added and illustrated by the results of the last census. Their Mercantile classes (many of whom are Jainas) are the most important and intelligent in Western India. A similar remark may be safely made respecting the Agricultural and Pastoral classes, both Kulambis and Ahirs. The Kulîs or Kolîs, who denominated themselves Talabdâ† (Stahalodbhva), in Sanskṛit the 'Indigenous,' are making rapid advances upon them. Of the Kulîs, of many local designations, the Bâbriâs (the Barabaras of the books) are the most rude and uncivilized, even worse in these respects than the wildest Bhîlls and the Nâyakaḍyas, or Naikras, of the Bâriâ jungles. The higher artizans are of a respectable character. The Dheḍs correspond with the Mahârs and Mângs. Under the British Government they are certainly rising in their position, as the corresponding classes in other parts of the country.

The Kachhî.

The tongue-land of Kachh is distinctively marked by its natural boundaries on all our maps. It contains a population which in round numbers may be stated at half a million of souls. Its provincial language is nearly identical with the Sindhi spoken on the lower banks of the Indus, from which the immigration of population into Kachh seems principally to have taken place.

The Kachhî is now but little used in any form in literature or business. The only portion of the Scriptures ever rendered into this dialect is the *Gospel of Matthew*, translated by the Reverend James Gray, Chaplain at Bhuj, who came to India at an advanced period of life, and who was tutor to His Highness Desalji, Râo of Kachh. It was edited for the Bible Society in 1834 by Dr. Wilson, who in 1835 presented a copy of it to the prince, who viewed it with much interest, but who said that "while the language in which it is written is generally understood, and spoken by the lower orders of the people, it is not now used, even for a single note, and, of course, never taught in schools." He added, that "Gujarâtî and Hindustânî are spoken by great numbers of the people; understood by all except those in the north, who follow a pastoral life and have no villages; taught in the schools; and used, more particularly the former, in all correspondence." In these circumstances it was not thought expedient to multiply copies of the first book that has been understood to have appeared in Kachhí, though the small edition printed in it was a help to the acquisition of the dialect by some of our political and military officers who first rendered service during the course of and after the Afghan war. It may be added that the Kachhî is to a small extent spoken in the territories of the Jâḍejâ Râjpûts in the north of Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

The Tribes and Castes of Kachh much resemble those of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, though they are not so numerous. The Râo or Prince and his Bhâiyad or 'Brethren of the Tribe,' as has been already hinted, are Jâḍejâs. Among the nobles, or rather land-proprietors, are a few who are Wâghela Râjpûts, and also Sodha Râjpûts, who reside in the arid and waste country (with a few cultivated spots) between Kachh and Sindh, and whose daughters are frequently espoused by Jâḍejâs. The mercantile community of Kachh was long distinguished for enterprise; but since the opening of the Indus, the British occupation of Sindh, and the alteration of the routes leading to and from Kachh and Western Râjpûtâna, its sphere of action has been consider-

* "This date (A.D. 940), given to Mr. Raikes by the parties whom he diligently interrogated in connection with his interesting *Memoir on Kachh*, is obviously erroneous. At page 8 Mr. Raikes states that on the death of Lâkhâ, the son of Fool or Phul (commonly known by the name of Lâkhâ Phulâni), and of Purâjî, by whom he was succeeded, Lâkhâ the son of *Jârâ*, or *Jâḍâ*, was sent for from Sind and introduced into Kachh. Of Lâkhâ Phulânî he says, in a note which follows, that he was killed at Adkot in Saṁvat 901 (A.D. 844). If Lâkhâ, the son of Jâḍâ, came into Kachh in A.D. 940, as Mr. Raikes intimates, nearly 100 years must be reserved for the reign of Purâjî, which all the MSS. represent as of very short duration.

"Mr. Raikes, in furnishing me a few months ago with a memorandum of the chronology of the Jâḍejâs nearly in the words of this portion of his memoir, and from information given to him by H. H. the Râo of Kachh, says 'Lâkhâ is supposed to have come into Kachh about A.D. 843.' On this I have made the following remark in my *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*, page 168, note:—'The son of this Lâkhâ (Lâkhâ Jâḍânî, misprinted *Phulânî) was the Red Râidhan*, who was the Jâm of Kachh at Vinjan in A.D. 1464, or Saṁvat 1521 of the MSS. of the Jaina priests in Bombay. The discrepancy between the Râo's chronology and our own here brought to notice is great indeed; but we are able to solve it. The 8th century of the Râo (in which he says Lâkhâ Ghurârâ was in power in Sind) is the 8th century of the Hijra of Muhammad, and the "about A.D. 843" should be about A.H. 843, the equivalent of which, Saṁvat 1521, is given as the year of the ascent of the *gadi* by Râidhan, the son of Lâkhâ Jadânî.'" (pp. 8, 9, note.)

† In Khândesh, Talabde is the name of a village servant.—ED.

ably changed. The most considerable of their number are either Bhâṭyâs, originally from Bhaṭṭiner; Lohânâs from Lohogaḍh; Śrâvakas or Jainas; while Muhammadans, both Sunnîs and Shiâs, and more especially the Mehmans or Mihmans, converts from Hinduism to the faith of the Sunnîs, Khojahs,* converts to the faith of the Shiâhs, do much in smaller petty shopkeeping. The Kulambîs or Cultivators, both Levâs and Kaḍavâs (Hindus from Gujarât), the non-mercantile converts to Muhammadanism, and the remains of olden tribes are successful and thriving tillers of the ground, though they often suffer from a scarcity of water. The artizans, potters, masons, and hewers of stone are famous for their work. The boatmen, Khâravâs ('seamen'), and others are excellent sailors, proceeding to many ports of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, even to the latitude of Madagascar, where Bhâṭyâs, Vâṇiâs, and Bohorâs have long had their establishments. The Brâhmanical body of Kachh is rather strongly represented in proportion to its population; but all the varieties of their castes (which are not numerically large) are from Gujarât and Râjpûtânâ, and in one denomination from Sindh. These Brâhmaṇs are not so scrupulous about those to whom they minister as many of their own profession. The shepherd classes of Kachh are Ahirs and Rebâris, who rear camels, and ordinary shepherds. Comparatively good horses are reared both in Kachh and Kaṭhiâwâḍ. There are but few of the Wild Tribes in the country. The Dhêḍs are the representatives of the depressed tribes.

The Sindhî.

The Sindhî in its Hindu element is of the Âryan family, and is not yet very remote from the Sanskṛit, though it is more so than the Marâṭhî and Gujarâtî and some of the other northern languages of India. Large infusions have been made into it, through conquest and immigrations, of Arabic and Persian words, which are more applied to common objects by the people than is done elsewhere in the country in similar circumstances. The dialect of Upper differs from that of Lower Sindh, and that of the valleys from that of the Balochî and other border hills and mountains, so well illustrated by Captain A. F. Burton. The most interesting philological fact connected with Sindhi is the discovery in it, as spoken by the mountaineer Brahûis (well known as horse-dealers in the west and south of India), of a copious and definite Drâviḍian element, cognate with the Kânarese, Telugu, and Tamil, &c. Mr. W. H. Wathen, of the Bombay Civil Service, was one of the first scholars who directed attention to the fact, which has been since referred to by Captain Leach, Dr. Caldwell, and others. A good many exemplifications of this fact may be picked up in travelling through Sindh, and in conversing in Bombay with the Brahûis, whose ancestors must have entered India by Sindh at a remote era. It is now palpable that no language in this polyglottal country can yet show claims to pure Indian parentage. After Mr. Wathen and Captain Burton we are indebted to Dr. Trümp for a respectable grammar, the value of which is still more enhanced by that of the Pashtu grammar which has just appeared.

"The people of Sindh," says Sir Bartle Frere, whose able, wise, and benevolent administration of the province will ever be remembered, "are principally Muhammadans, in the proportion of about four Muhammadans to one of any other caste. This is a peculiarity in which the population is quite dissimilar from that of any other part of Bombay. The people are very peaceable and well-disposed, though far less civilized than the generality of Indian populations." Under the British Government they are making rapid advancement in every direction, not overlooking education, of which, in its best forms, they have long stood so much in need. It may be confidently said that almost all classes of Muhammadans are to be found in Sindh.

The Sindhî Muhammadan population proper, as we are told by Captain Burton, consists of the Hindu population converted during the reign of the Bene-Umyyeh Khalîfs. The different classes of the Muhammadans naturalized are the Sayyids, Afghans, Baluchis, Slaves (liberated). Memons, Khojahs or Khawajâhs. Among these classes there are many distinct classes and families. Among the Muhammadans there are no castes; but of the lower occupations some of them are despised by them.

The Brâhmaṇs of the province are rather of a notable character. They are Sârasvatas, like those of the Panjâb, and are divided into the following classes:—

(1.) The Shrikâras, or, as they are called by some, Shikârpuris, who are Vaishṇavas of the Vallabhâchârya sect. Only a single individual of their number is said to abstain from eating animal food, and from eating, too, at the hands of his Banyâ (mercantile) constituents.

(2.) The Bârîs, or Barovis, who are also Vaishṇavas of the same sect. They, too, freely use animal food.

(3.) The Kâvanajâhis, who are Śâktas, or worshippers of the female mates of the gods.

* The name means 'eunuch' or 'administrator,' but is applied to the scions of a princely family of Persia.

particularly of the consort of Śiva, known among them by her usual names, and especially by that of Siṅhavâṇî (or 'rider of the lion,' used here for the tiger). They drink liquor as well as eat flesh.

(4.) The Shetapâlas, so named from their engaging in cultivation, are partly Vaishṇavas, using animal food, but abstaining from liquor, and partly Śâktas, taking liquor as well as flesh.

They furnish water to Banyâs, merchants and shopkeepers.

(5.) The Kuvachandas resemble the Muhammadans in their habits, although they do not eat from their hands.

All these classes of Sârasvatas are Śukla or White Yajur-Vedîs. In using animal food they abstain from that of the cow and tame fowls, but eat sheep, goats, deer, wild birds of most species, and fish, killed for them by others. They also eat onions and other vegetables forbidden in the Smṛitis. They are generally inattentive to sectarian marks. They are partial to the Gurmukhî written character used in the Panjâb. They are the priests of the mercantile Lohânâs, or Lavânâs. They also cultivate land, and sometimes act as petty shopkeepers.

(6.) Associated with the Sârasvatas in Sindh are the Pokharṇa Brâhmaṇs, so named from the Puskhara or Pokhara Lake near Ajmir. Captain Burton thus writes of them: "They eat no flesh, and wear the turban, not the Sindh cap; they shave their beards, and dress very like the common traders, or Saukârs. They live by instructing the Hindus in their *Dharma* or religious duties, by deciding horary questions. To the sanctity of their name and origin they add the prestige of a tolerably strict life. They do not enter into the service of Government."

There are but few professed Kshatriyas, though the Bhotyas are in this category in Sindh. Amongst professing Vaiśyas are found the Lohânâ merchants, who also often act as Amils or Government servants. The Banyâs, too, claim the same rank. Of the Śûdras there are not so many varieties as in other parts of the Bombay Presidency; while of the lower tribes there are no settled representatives in the province. There is no lack of devotees, who wander about the country as mendicants and pilgrims.

The Kânarese.

We now pass from Sindh to the Karnâṭaka.

"The boundaries of the Kânarese (Drâviḍian) tongue," says Sir Walter Elliot in one of his valuable contributions to our Asiatic Societies, "may be designated by a line drawn from Sadâśivagaḍh, on the Malabar Coast, to the westward of Dhârvâḍ, Belgâṁ, and Hukeri, through Kâgal and Kurandvâḍ, passing between Keligâṁ and Pandegâṁ, through Brahmapuri on the Bhimâ and Śolâpur, and thence east to the neighbourhood of Beḍar. From Sadâśivagaḍh, following the southern boundary of Sundâ to the top of the Western Ghâṭs, it comprehends the whole of Maisur and Koimbatûr, and the line of Eastern Ghâṭs, including much of the Cholâ and Belâla kingdoms, and even Dvâra-Samudra, the capital of the latter, which was never subdued by the Châlukyas." In certain portions of this extensive territory, however, the Karnâṭaka Brâhmaṇs are commingled with other classes, above the Western Ghâṭs especially, with Marâṭhâ Deśasthas and Karhâḍas, and on the shores of the Indian Ocean with other classes who will be immediately mentioned. In the Belgâṁ and Dhârvâḍ Collectorates some of them, who are cultivators, are but little to be distinguished in apparel from the common peasantry. They have generally their abodes in particular portions of the villages in which they reside, chosen for purposes of caste purity. As among the other Drâviḍians, but few distinctions are recognized among them. They have the exact differences founded on their respective Vedas and sects which the Tamilian Brâhmaṇs have. Yet some distinctive classes of them may be mentioned.

The Kume Brâhmaṇs, says Dr. F. Buchanan,* are a kind of Brâhmaṇs differing from the others. They consist of four divisions, which never intermarry—the Kânaḍa, Arava Tokal, Urichi, and Bobora Kume. The three first are said to be of Karnâṭa descent, the last of Tailinga extraction.

The Nâgara Brâhmaṇs.—Speaking of those in the Nâgara districts, including the Badaganâd, Vaishyamâ, and the Aruvuttu Wokkal), Mr. Huddlestone Stokes says: "They appear originally to have come from the countries north-east of Nâgara, and to have settled here under the Ânagunḍî and Vijayanagara kings. They are mostly Smârtas of the Śringiri Svâmi, but not all of them. They speak Kânarese only, but their books are in the Nâgarî and Bâlabodha character. They are found chiefly in public offices." "There are many learned men among them, and generally they are respectably educated, good accountants, and intelligent men."

The Karnâṭaka Brâhmaṇs in general have not in modern times been remarkable for learning, on which account, perhaps, the Lingâyats (forming a comparatively lately instituted Śaiva sect) have

* *Journey through Mysore, &c.* vol. II. p. 64.—Ed.

made great progress in the territories with which they are most intimately connected. The great majority of them follow secular pursuits.

Sect seems to have greater sway in the Karnâṭaka than Caste. Hence we have Smârtas, 'observers of the Smṛitis,' or followers of Śankarâchârya, who are Vedântists; Mâdhvas or followers of Madhvâchârya; Râmânujas, Lingâyats, Jainas, and devotees and wanderers of all classes. Of existing sects and castes, too, there are many varieties, extending even to agriculturists and artizans, who are noted for their zeal; but this subject need not be here entered on in detail. It is principally in the collectorates of Dhârvâḍ and part of that of Belgâm above the Ghâṭs, and in that of Kânara below the Ghâṭs that in the Bombay Presidency the Kânarese language is spoken.

SKETCH OF UMRI.

BY C. A. SCANLAN, TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The whole of the area round the sources of the Kunu river* is split up into little territories presided over by the petty chieftains of Bhadaura, Umri, and Sirsi, the two former of whom are allied by family ties, and the incidents relating to the family of the one will quite answer for those of the other. These two collateral branches of the great Râjpût family are at feud with one another, and so great is their rancour that I am of opinion nought but bloodshed would wipe out their hatred. Even in these times of the supremacy of British rule, carrying with it all the wholesome dread it inspires, and notwithstanding the vicinity of a British Political in the cantonment of Gunâ, only 8 or 10 miles miles off, these two families still practise raids into one another's districts, the invariable issue of which is bloodshed.

The following narration I have obtained from the family archives of the Umri Chief. The Râja is a Sisodia Râjpût descended from the house of Udayapur. Udaya Sing is his progenitor, and was, after the general manner of native potentates, the lusty father of an unhappy family of twenty-four sons, who were always contriving to cut each other's throats. Of these Sagarji was the forefather of the present Râja; he was the youngest son and Pratâp Sing the eldest: the former received as his patrimony the territory of Sirohi, whilst the latter succeeded the Râṇâ Udaya Sing, and deprived his brother of his territories. He refused to give any ear to the complaints of Sagarji, who thereupon complained to the emperor Akbar, having previously enlisted the Jaypur Râja's sympathy and interest, for he had already married that Chief's sister.† Akbar then ordered an advance to be made on Udayapur, and accompanied his forces in person. The reigning prince, Pratâp Sing, was expelled, and Sagarji assumed the sceptre. He only reigned seven years, for at the end of that period, on account of his nephew's many amiable qualities, and seeing in him a future good ruler, he resigned the reins of government to Amar Sing, the son of Pratâp Sing, and retired to the court of Jahângir, who had by this time succeeded Akbar. He was made a Diwân and received Khandar as a jâgir, and on his death was succeeded by his son Mân Sing, who had given to him the additional grants of land of Sapur and Toro. To him succeeded Mokam Sing with possession of Khandar only, being deprived of the two additional grants in which his father appeared only to have enjoyed a life-interest.

This prince had two sons, Sojan Sing and Chattar Sing. The latter, owing to some family dissensions, took up his abode at the imperial court, and there growing in favour, he was deputed to take command of the army proceeding against Kâbul. He defeated the enemy at Ghazni, and in recognition of these services the emperor conferred titles on him, and made him lord of 60 villages or 5 barais, namely, Tharonto, Mendpur, Badarwâs, and Nâgdo; the remaining barai somehow he did not get possession of: it is said to have been situated somewhere near Antarbed, in Oudh. After twelve years, Chattar Sing returned home and died at Tharonto. His son, Pratâp Sing, succeeded him, and established a friendship with one Nahardil Nawâb, who had founded Nahargaṛh. Umri was then in possession of the Thâkurs called Tâgurs; their Chief was Pailad Sing, who ruled over 49 villages. Pratâp Sing, in conjunction with Nahardil, took possession of this territory, gave his sister in marriage to the Kotâ Râja, Maharon Râm Sing, who was killed at the battle of Dholpur, and appointed his own son, Himmat Sing, Chief of Umri, who, taking part in the above-mentioned battle, was severely wounded in it. When the Kotâ Râja was dying, he appointed Himmat Sing regent, as the heir, Bhim Sing, was only an infant. Himmat Sing, in conducting the affairs of the child-king, was obliged to take up his residence at Kotâ, which entailed on him the loss of three barais, Mendpur, Badarwâs, and Nâgdo

* Lat. 24° 45′ to 25° 0′, E. long. 77° 15′ to 77° 30′.

† Tod's account differs from this; see *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I. p. 331, or Mad. edn. vol. I. p. 279.—ED.

He had two brothers, Jaggat Sing and Jaya Sing, with the Kheodaman as his amra; to him he gave, for services rendered, eight villages, of which five still belong to Kheoda and three are attached to Garha. He gave to Jaggat Sing with Bhadaura four villages, and two others, Mon and Balapur, from Tharonto. From the revenue of the former five Jaggat Sing had to render to him a tribute of six annas in the rupee. The latter were free. The three villages of Porsar, Mokahawan, and Senera were conferred on Jaya Sing, who had also to pay the same tribute, with Senera free.

At this time Saiman was Diwân of Sirsi, whilst Sosingji Khichi was Chief of Râmpura and had married the Umri Chief's niece. These two were at variance with one another, but Saiman and Râja Himmat Sing were on most friendly terms. Sosingji told the Râja that if he would take his part and fight against Saiman he would give him 22 villages belonging to Rai: they coalesced, and a battle was fought at Patai, when Saiman Dhandera was beaten, and accordingly the Râja received the 22 villages of Rai. At Kedarnâth* there were two pujâris or priests, both brothers; one lived at Bhadaura and the other at Umri, and both divided the pujâri dues. The Râja of Ragogaḍh took possession of 15 villages of Rai and attached them to Bamori, thus only leaving in possession of Umri 7 villages, which remained in the possession of the Umri kings for six generations. In the fifth generation to Jaggat Sing of Bhadaura Mân Sing was born, and Ragogaḍh was attached to Gwâlior. Mân Sing enlisted John Baptist Filose on his side, and induced him to secure to him in rental the above 15 villages. This was accordingly done, and it appears that in later years Mân Sing got the ear of some one in the pay of the English Government, and obtained thorough possession of those villages in addition to two others which he wrenched from the seven that belonged to Umri territory. This proceeding gave rise to a dispute at Agra. Mân Sing died, and Mohan Sing, the present Râja, was born, and carried on the dispute for 30 years, and, failing to consummate the ends he desired, he conferred with Mokam Sing, the present Chief of Umri, and they divided the land of contention. However, in 1862, Mohan Sing managed to secure the remaining five villages.

This is the history of Umri up to the present date, and I have not the slightest doubt these two men will carry on their feud till they impoverish one another. Close on to Bhadaura, directly above the banks of the Kunu, stands the hill of Sandor, on which was once situated the stronghold of the same name. Below its base on all sides, covering an area of about four or five square miles, are the ruins of a very large and ancient city. It is traditioned that the Râja who was then reigning, for some reason, deserted this site and established the stronghold of Rintambor, which should properly be known as Ranthbhaunar. This Râja had made several attempts to establish himself in this locality, but was expelled each time, till at last he was informed by a faithful retainer, whose name was Ranth, that unless he, together with his dog, Bhaunar, was decapitated, and their heads buried, the one under the right pillar and the other under the left pillar of the entrance gateway, and their trunks thrown into the fosse, the Râja could not obtain a firm footing. The sacrifice was made, and the retainer, a Seria by caste and race, nobly offered himself up a victim to the cupidity of the grasping chief, who of course now gained all he desired.

From the areas covered with débris, I was led to the conclusion that two or three sites had once been occupied by large and populous towns, and had this opinion confirmed by the traditions of the people, but the vestiges of the ruins are very ordinary, and above the surface show the existence of nothing worthy of notice in architecture. In one ruined site I was shown large slabs with colossal human figures embossed on them, and from the manner of their designs I am of opinion that they are connected with the ceremonies of the Sarangi Bânias, who in days gone by, must have had a very large town here, and were in all probability expelled from this locality when the hypocritical Aurangzîb carried his iconoclastic invasion throughout the length and breadth of India, for this ruthless Goth even evinced his savage zeal by defacing some of the beautiful Saracenic architecture at Fatehpur Sikri. In some other places I found, engraved on slate, an arm raised from the elbow perpendicular to its upper portion, together with a sun, star, and crescent-moon depicted. What these mystical signs alluded to, I failed to find out.—*Report of the Topographical Surveys*, 1871-72.

* At a spot known as Kedar Kuika Kho, the writer adds, "There is a small common-place temple at the bottom of the left-hand scarp" of the Kunu "which immediately begins the gorge." At the Śivarâtri "a large concourse of people assembles to pray, feast, and make offerings, after the orthodox manner, in honour of the presiding deity, Kedarnâth *alias* Mahâdeva."

REVIEW.

A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus, by Captain John Wood, I.N. New Edition, edited by his son. With an Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B. (London: J. Murray).

At a time when so much attention is directed to Central Asia, it was to be expected that the record of Captain Wood's Journey—so accurate, clear, manly and cheerful—would be republished, and we are glad to welcome—with the reprint, already in its second edition—the admirable essay of Colonel Yule. Wood was the first, as Col. Yule remarks, "to trace the Oxus to one of its chief sources; the first European in modern times—first and last as yet, seven and thirty years after his journey—to stand on the table-land of Pamir; and it is still on his book and survey that we have to rely for the backbone of our Oxus geography." And yet, as he adds, "it is strange to find, years after Wood's explicit statements as to the elevated plain of Pamir, doubts expressed as to its existence, just as if (to say nothing of Marco Polo) Wood's journey had never been made; or his narrative, from every line of which truth shines, had never been published.* Even in M. Fedchenko's recent letters describing his successful visit to the Alai steppe he speaks of his own firm belief in the real existence of the high plain of Pamir as if it were quite exceptional."

The preliminary Essay is Historical as well as Geographical, and from the earliest times traces briefly but succinctly the history of the regions on the upper waters of the Oxus—the *Al-Nahr* of earlier Muhammadan history,—connected as it is with the Græco-Baktrian monarchy and the Yuêchi, Tochari, Kushans, Haiâthalah, and other tribes that in succeeding centuries poured into the district; the spread of Buddhism, Christianity, the intervention of the Chinese, the Muhammadan conquest, and the Mongol invasion marked by terrible massacres. At Bamian, for instance, a favourite grandson of Chinghiz Khan's was killed by an arrow, and "Chinghiz, in his wrath, when the city fell, ordered not merely that all life should be extinguished, but that all property should be annihilated, and no booty taken. The city received from the Mongols the name of *Mau-Bâligh*, 'The City of Woe.' But it was the end of Bamian, which has never since been a city, though its caves and its colossal idols remain."

In 1272-3 Marco Polo visited Badakhshan, and affords some interesting particulars regarding the province. Under the successors of Taimur the rule over these regions often changed hands. Under Shâh Rukh, in 1411, Mirzâ Ibrâhim Sultân, who was in charge of Bálkh, suppressed an attempt of Beháuddin of Badakhshan to establish his independence of the house of Taimur, and gave the kingdom to Shâh Mahmûd, Beháuddin's brother.† An envoy from the king of Badakhshan was also sent with the embassy from Shâh Rukh to the court of Pekin in 1419.‡ The rise of the Uzbek rule in Turkestân dates from the early years of the 16th century. "The Uzbeks were no one race, but an aggregation of fragments from nearly all the great tribes, Turk, Mongol, and what not, that had figured among the hosts of Chinghiz and Batu; and the names of many of these tribes are still preserved in the list of the numerous clans into which the Uzbeks are divided." Shaibâni, their great chief, conquered all the country between the two great rivers, with Kunduz, Bâlkh, Khwarizm, and Khorasân. About 1508 Bâber's cousin Wais, commonly styled Khân Mirzâ, succeeded in establishing himself at the Fort of Zafar on the Kokcha. On his death in 1520 Baber bestowed it on Humayun, who ruled it till 1529. Somewhat later Bâber gave the rule to Sulimân, the son of Khân Mirzâ, who transmitted the kingdom to his descendants. "The existing dynasty of Badakhshan," says Col. Yule, "was a family of *Sâhibzâdahs* (one of the holy families of Islam), and was established not long after the middle of the 17th century. Faizâbâd became their capital in the first half of last century. Till then their residence was at *Jauzgûn*, a place mentioned by no traveller that I know of; it was perhaps the city in the plain of Bahárak, alluded to as the former capital by Pandit Manphul (*Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XLII. p. 443, note). § About 1765, Shâh Wali Khân, the Wazir of Ahmad Shâh Abdali of Kabul, invaded the country, and some years later the king Sultân Shâh was put to death by the Kataghans of Kunduz. "In the early part of the present century, Kokan Beg, a Kataghan Uzbek adventurer, again ravaged the country, and its misery came to a climax in 1829, when Murâd Beg, Khân of Kunduz, again overran Badakhshan."||

From the history, the Essayist goes on to notice the travellers who have visited the country from the earliest to the latest times. Then comes the 'Apocrypha of Central Asian Geography,' as Col. Yule happily styles it. We quote the following account of it:—

"About ten years ago it was announced to

* See *Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. XXI. p. 65.

† *Notices et Extraits*, vol. XIV. pt. i. pp. 222, 224.

‡ *Not. et Ext.* vol. XIV. pt. i. p. 387 seqq.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 75.

§ See *Ocean Highways*, Feb. 1874, p. 475.

|| *Ibid.*

the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, by one of its most distinguished members, the late Mons. Veniukoff, that a manuscript had been discovered in the archives of the 'Etat Major' which professed to give a minute account of all the country intervening between Kashmir and the Kirghiz Steppes. The author was said to be a German (George Ludwig von ———), an agent of the East India Company, who was despatched at the beginning of this or the end of the last century to purchase horses in Central Asia, and who, having on his return from his mission quarrelled with the Calcutta Government on the subject of his accounts, transferred his MSS. to St. Petersburg, where they had remained for over fifty years unnoticed in deposit.* The chapters which Mons. Veniukoff published from this work, and which were certainly very curious, were received at St. Petersburg with the most absolute confidence, as extracts from official documents, and were cordially welcomed even in Paris; but in England they were viewed with suspicion from the commencement; and no sooner were the details brought forward than they were pronounced impossible, and the whole story of the horse-agent and his journal were accordingly declared to be an impudent fiction. Thereupon arose a controversy of some warmth, in which the late Lord Strangford and Sir H. Rawlinson attacked, and Messrs. Khanikoff and Veniukoff defended, the genuineness of the German MS. In the course of this controversy allusion was made to two other kindred works: one being a so-called Chinese Itinerary, translated by Klaproth in 1824, and a copy of which was also deposited in the archives of the Russian Etat Major; and the other being the confidential report of a Russian agent, who was said to have been sent by the Emperor Paul, at the beginning of the century, to survey Central Asia up to the Indian frontier, and whose manuscript notes, having been placed in Klaproth's hands for official purposes, were asserted to have been copied by him and sold to the British Foreign Office for 1,000 guineas. The Russians, on the one hand, vindicated the genuineness of the George Ludwig MS., by referring to the corroborative and independent authority of certain portions of the Chinese Itinerary. The English, on the other hand, comparing the Chinese Itinerary, as summarized by Veniukoff, with the Foreign Office Report, to which access was kindly given by Lord Stanley, and finding the spurious geographical descriptions and nomenclature of the two documents to be almost identical, came to the conclusion that the three manuscripts under consideration, with their accompanying illustrations, had been all severally forged by Klaproth—possibly from a mere love of mystification, but more probably from mercenary motives, since it could hardly have been by accident that the English report found its way to St. Petersburg, while the Russian report was transferred to London, where they would each respectively command the highest money value. On one point only could there be any doubt. There was nothing, as far as the texts were concerned, immediately to connect the German and the Russian Reports; but indirectly, nevertheless, the two documents were found to be very closely linked: for upon a map in Klaproth's own handwriting, which was bound up with the Russian report in our Foreign Office, and which was intended partly to illustrate it, a fictitious route was observed to be laid down from Śrinagar, the capital of Kashmir, to the Indus, which was also given in detail in the George Ludwig Journal, positive proof being thereby afforded that the compiler of the one document must have had access to the other. It may be well understood that these forgeries, as far as regards local descriptions, etymology of names, and historical synchronisms, are executed with considerable skill; for otherwise they would hardly have imposed on such experienced critics as the Geographical Societies of Paris and St. Petersburg. In reference to one particular point, indeed, the English investigators were for a time fairly bewildered. Ten years ago, it must be remembered, we had little positive information regarding the Oxus and its affluents, beyond the immediate range of Lieut. Wood's journey to the sources of the river; and when it was found, therefore, that a certain Colonel Gardner, who was known to have personally visited and surveyed the country between the Indus and the Pamir plateau, some forty years ago, coincided in his delineation of the Badakhshân and Bolor rivers with the Klaproth geographies, which he could never possibly have seen, rather than with Lieut. Wood's map, which was our standard authority, there did seem some ground for hesitation.† On

* They were *asserted* to have been deposited in the archives of the Russian War Office on the 14th Aug. 1806, —really the date of the letter of the pretended traveller attached to the series.

† The travels and adventures of Colonel Gardner are of such an extraordinary character that, had they ever been placed in a readable form before the public, he would long ago have enjoyed a world-wide reputation. The garbled and slovenly extracts from his journals which were published in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1853, and which Colonel Yule not inaptly compares to the "memoranda of a dyspeptic dream," by no means do him justice. According to the sketch of his career which was published in the *Friend of India* for September 1870, he must be one of the most remarkable "soldiers of fortune" of the present century. For seven years (1830-1837) he continued to perambulate every district of Central Asia between the Caspian and Kaśmîr. Kafferistân and Badakhshân seem to have been his favourite haunts, and he is certainly the only Englishman who has ever traversed the famous *Dereh*

a closer examination, however, it appeared that Colonel Gardner, in describing the course of the Oxus and its affluents, had not in reality relied on his own independent reminiscences, which were probably hazy in the extreme, but had merely followed a map drawn up by Arrowsmith in 1834, to illustrate Burnes's Bokhara Travels; and this map, it was further ascertained, embodied a large portion of the spurious information contained in the Russian MS., Klaproth's precious report having been placed by the Foreign Office at our great cartographer's disposal, as the latest official authority on Central Asian geography.

"The mystification, moreover, did not end here. Veniukoff and his friends, being entirely ignorant that there was a third Klaproth forgery in England, cited the supposed independent authority of Arrowsmith's map in support of the genuineness of the German and Chinese Itineraries; the truth, however, being—which they were very slow to recognize—that the map in question merely followed another branch of the fiction, and that the argument thus proceeded in a vicious circle. It would not have been worth while, perhaps, to have dwelt at such length on this piece of literary forgery, had it not been for the extraordinary publicity which the forgery has attained; a publicity which has caused the spurious delineation of the hydrography of the Upper Oxus to be introduced into almost every Russian and German map of Central Asia that has been recently published, and has thus hitherto vitiated all our geographical knowledge and produced universal confusion. Fortunately, though continental geographers have not yet thought fit to do penance for their credulity, we are now in a position in England to pronounce authoritatively on the question."*

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

ON THE VALABHÎ CHRONOLOGY.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—In the last number (No. 28) of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* there is a paper on a new Valabhî Copper-Plate by Professor R. G. Bhandarkar,† in which (at page 75) the following passage occurs:—"Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhî era, but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years, or according to the old reading 330 years, is far too long for the reign of Bhaṭârka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena."

The passage to which the Professor refers is the following:—"We have, according to the longest list, six names," those above referred to, "before Śrî Dhara to Baṭârka, the progenitor of the race, and allowing 20 years to each, which is more than they probably are entitled to, this would take us back to 528 for the earliest date for the Balabhî dynasty, if we adopt Wathen's date, or 508 if Bhâu Dâji's."‡ Instead, therefore, of the 272 or 330 with which the Professor credits me, I allowed 120 years, neither more nor less, for these six reigns.

This is so evidently a mistake, and these mistakes are so common in Indian periodicals, that I would not think it worth while correcting it, were it not that a paper by Major Watson in the last November part of the *Indian Antiquary* enables us to settle the disputed point within very narrow limits.

From that paper we learn that "The Senâpati Bhattâraka, taking a strong army, came into Saurâshṭra and made his rule firm there. Two years after this Skanda Gupta died. The Senâpati now assumed the title of king of Saurâshṭra."§ According, therefore, to this account, which I do not see any reason for doubting, the foundation of the Balabhî dynasty took place either two years before, or the year after, Skanda Gupta's death. Luckily we have, among others, several inscriptions of Skanda Gupta dated between the years 129 and 141 of some era. The latest is on a Pillar at Kahaon, ‖ and, with those on the rock at Girnâr, leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the readings of the figures. Now according to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, in the paper just referred to, Śrî Dhara Sena dated one of his inscriptions in 272 of some era, probably the same, whatever that may be. The interval, consequently, between these two dates is 131 years, but as it is not improbable that Śrî Dhara made his grant in the first year of his reign, or that Skanda Gupta set up the Kahaon pillar in the last of his, we may fairly distribute

Darwâz, and passed a season on the *Pamîr* Steppes. It was understood some years back that Mr. Cooper, our Commissioner at Lâhor, had brought Colonel Gardner's journals to England, with a view to their publication, and much geographical interest was excited in consequence; but the work has never appeared, and since Mr. Cooper's death it is uncertain what has become of the MSS. Colonel Gardner, in a ripe old age, still retains his military command in Kaśmîr.

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxxxv. (Jan. 1872), pp. 14—17. The third portion of Col. Yule's essay is a very careful geographical sketch of the basin of the Oxus, which space does not allow us further to notice.

† Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 60, 61.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. IV. p. 90.

§ *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 312.

‖ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* VII. 37, and *Jour. Bomb. B. R. As. Soc.* VIII. p. 115, 124, and 246.

the odd 11 years between the years that Skanda Gupta lived after these events, and the time that Śri Dhara reigned before his grant, and so make the interval exactly the 120 hypothetically assigned to it by me on the paper above referred to.

The era to which these dates ought to be assigned does not, and never did, appear to me open to doubt. No one has yet ventured to hint at any reason why it should be called the Balabhi era unless it was used by the kings of that principality, nor has any one given any reason why they should use any other era than that that bears their name. But more than this, no India antiquary except Lassen has dared to look the fact in the face that Balabhi was not destroyed, but was one of the most flourishing cities in India in 640 A. D., when Hiwen Thsang visited it. There was then a Dhruva Sena, or Dhruva Patu, on the throne, and no other person and no other dynasty has been—nor, so far as I can see, can be—suggested except that we are so familiar with, from the copper-plates, and one of whose kings, Dhruva Sena, was, if the date is correctly read, on the throne A.B. 332 * or according to this view A.D. 651 (332 and 319).

On the other hand, though it now seems clear that Albiruni was mistaken in saying that the Gupta era was the epoch of their extermination, there seems no reason for doubting that he was correct in asserting that the Gupta era commenced in 319 A. D., 241 years after the Śaka, and was identical with that of Balabhi. †

It is no use ignoring or attempting to escape from the fact that Balabhî was flourishing, and this dynasty, with its Śilâdityas, its Dhruvas and Dharas, was on the throne when the Chinese pilgrim visited it in A.D. 640, and no Chronology of the period is worth much that does not take this, which is the best-established point at that time, into consideration. Either it must be the basis of the whole system, or something equally valuable and trustworthy must be substituted for it; but no one has yet even attempted this. Lassen, as just mentioned, saw its importance, but his system broke down because he carried the foundation of the Balabhi dynasty back to the Gupta era A. D. 319, making an average of above 30 years for the ten kings who preceded Dhruva.‡ He was not then aware of the import of Skanda Gupta's inscription on the Junâgaḍh rock, since translated by Bhâu Dâji. § If his transcription is to be depended upon—and I see no reason for doubting it—it contains two dates, 130 and 138, which are both said to be from the Gupta era (Guptasya kâla); and no other era that I know of ever bore that name except the one commencing 319 A.D. Not knowing this, he did not perceive that the Guptas preceded the Balabhîs in the use of that era, and that the latter took it up only in 141 or 145. Major Watson's discovery of this fact removes the last difficulty, and I do not now see one single fact that militates against the chronology of this period as explained in my paper which Professor Bhâṇḍârkar so curiously misquoted.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

London, June 24th, 1874.

* *Jour. Bomb. B. A. S. R.* VIII. 245.
† Thomas's *Prinsep*, vol. I. p. 269.
‡ *Ind. Alterth.* vol. III. pp. 528 and 1159.
§ *Jour. Bomb. B. R. A. S.* vol. VIII. p. 124.
‖ Heb. *Pardês.*—ED.

Query.

Paradeśi, a stranger, a person of another country, is common Tamil, that is to say, Sanskṛit, from *Paradeśa*. A man will say, meaning he does not belong to that village, *nân Paradeśi*. The simple noun *Paradêśâ* is not so common.

Query—Is this the English word "Paradise"? It was used in Latin, of a later period, as from the Greek *Paradeisos*, primarily a garden, then the abode of the blessed.

Then there is the Arabic or Persian—for one author gives it as Persian, the other as Arabic—*Firdaus*,‖ which of course is the same word. The pit to be bridged over is that between the Sanskṛit *Paradeśa* and the Arabic *Firdaus*. *Paralokah* is the Sanskṛit in use for the next world. ¶

R. B. S.

¶ *Pardesî* from *par* = beyond, without, and *deśa* = country, a man from an outside country. In Marâṭhi there are many similar compounds, as *pargânwî* = in another village (never used in any other case); *parjila* = another district; *Parwârt* = a dweller without the walls, &c.—ED.

Last year in trying a case from Rânpur, Tâluka Dhandhuka, Ahmedâbâd Collectorate, I came across the fact that among Kolis the ceremony of *nâtra* or second marriage can be accomplished by the father of the bridegroom just knocking together his son's head and that of the bride, as they sit together on the ground, after which they are left alone together. In this case only the bridegroom's parents were present.

The other day I learnt from a petition from a Bhangiyâ at Gogo that if one of that caste runs away with another's wife leaving a wife or wives behind him, it is incumbent on his relations, if so ordered by the caste *panch*, to supply the sufferer with a new wife out of the number of these relicts, and he for his part will be quite content with the substitute.

C. G. C.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN IDEAS REGARDING GOVERNMENT, WAR, &c. CONTAINED IN THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., EDINBURGH.

IN the *Râjadharma*, or first part of the *Śântiparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, vv. 2125 ff., Yudhishṭhira is represented as having a long conversation with Bhîshma on the origin of regal government and the duties of kings. He begins by inquiring how some particular men who in all respects, physically and intellectually, are constituted like their fellows, who are exposed to the same sufferings and characterized by the same weaknesses, should have come to rule even over those who are distinguished by wisdom, courage, and nobility of nature. To this inquiry no distinct answer is at first returned by Bhîshma, who relates (vv. 2135 ff.) that originally in the Kṛita Yuga there was no kingly rule, or king, no punishment, or instruments for its execution, and that men were then righteous, and protected each other. While living in this state, however, they began to suffer distress, they became subject to delusion, deprived of their intelligence, and then of their sense of justice, and the slaves of covetousness and desire and passion, which led them into all sorts of culpable actions. Then the Veda was lost, and with it righteousness perished. This alarmed the gods, who resorted to Brahmâ, represented the sad state of things, involving the cessation of the accustomed sacrifices offered to them, and in their own interest craved his intervention. Brahmâ then produced a large body of *Śâstras*, extending to 100,000 *adhyâyas* (or sections), the contents of which in various departments are given at great length (vv. 2150 ff.), especially in regard to the different heads of warfare and government. Among other things are mentioned the means of preventing the people from forsaking the path of honour (v. 2195: *Yair yair upâyair lokas tu na chaled âryavartmanaḥ*). This great collection was afterwards, in consequence of the abridgment of men's lives, reduced by Śiva, Indra, Bṛihaspati, and Kâvya respectively, to 10,000, 5,000, 3,000, and 1,000 *adhyâyas* (vv. 2201 ff.). The gods now resorted to Vishṇu, who produced a mind-born son, Virajas, but he was unwilling to undertake the government of the earth, and preferred a life of isolation from worldly interests. His grandson Ananga, however, became king, and ruled righteously. His son Vena, born to him by Sunîthâ, daughter of Mṛityu (Death), was of a different character, and was slain by the expounders of the *Veda*, who produced from his hand a son who received the name of Pṛithu, submitted himself to the guidance of his spiritual advisers, and practised righteousness (see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. pp. 298 ff.). I pass over Bhîshma's next replies to Yudhishṭhira's questions about the duties of the different castes, &c., and come to what he says (vv. 2496 ff.) about the necessity of kingly government. Experiencing the evils of anarchy (which are again expatiated upon at great length in vv. 2542 ff.), men made an agreement among themselves that they would exclude from their society all offenders against the public welfare. They then applied to Brahmâ to find them a king who might be the object of their reverence, and who might afford them protection.*

The god pointed out Manu, who, however, expressed himself unwilling to undertake an office which might lead him into sin, and which was very difficult to administer, looking especially to the deceitful character of men. The people, however, persuaded him to dismiss his fears, as the guilt of the sins committed by any one would, they said, affect the doer only, and not the king, and promised him tribute and guards, &c. in return for his protection. The example of these primæval men should,

* With these Indian speculations it is interesting to compare some lines quoted by Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Mathematicos*, IX. 54) and ascribed to Kritias the Athenian, in which the transition from primæval anarchy to order and religion is thus described, according to the ideas of a sceptic:—"There was a time when the life of men was disordered and savage, the slave of force, when there was neither any reward for the good nor punishment for the bad. Subsequently men appear to me to have ordained punitive laws, in order that justice might be mistress of the human race, and might hold insolent violence in subjection: and every one was mulcted as he might offend. Afterwards, however, as, although the laws prevented the perpetration of open acts of violence, men committed many such deeds in secret, then it seems to me that some man of skill and intelligence understood that it was necessary to devise some mode of terrifying the bad, even if they should do, or say, or think, anything (evil) even in secret. He then introduced the Divinity," &c. &c.

Bhîshma proceeds, be followed by all men who seek their own prosperity, and a king should be appointed, and maintained in honourable state. I omit the long details which follow in regard to a king's functions in regard to the defence of his kingdom, and warlike operations, the government of the country, the administration of justice, and the levying of revenue; merely noting a few of the most interesting particulars. As the foundation of all, I quote first what is said about the king's own character, v. 2599, which proves that the author had formed a very just estimate of what a monarch ought to be. He is to conquer himself: it is only by doing so that he will be able to conquer his enemies. [This important advice is repeated elsewhere. Thus in the *Udyoga-parvan*, 1150 f. it is said: "That man is helpless and overcome who seeks to vanquish his ministers without vanquishing himself, or to conquer his foes without first conquering his ministers. He who first conquers himself as if he were an enemy, and then seeks to conquer his ministers and his enemies, does not strive in vain to attain his end." Further on in the *Śântiparvan*, v. 3450, it is wisely said: "A king destitute of ability and dexterity (*adakshah*) cannot protect his subjects. Kingly government is difficult to be exercised, and a great burthen." The king is to cause broad roads, drinking-fountains, and market-places to be constructed in his territory, and magazines of various kinds to be prepared (vv. 2648 f.); herbs (or medicines), roots, and fruits to be collected; and to provide four sorts of physicians (v. 2654); to arrange that actors, dancers, wrestlers, and jugglers shall enliven his principal city and entertain its inhabitants (v. 2655: *naṭâś cha nartakâś chaiva mallâ mâyâvinas tathâ, śobhayeyuḥ pura-varam modayeyuś cha sarvaśaḥ*. He is, however, to repress drinking-shops, harlots, procuresses, loose men (*kuśîlavâḥ = viṭâḥ*, comm.), gamblers, and such like, who are injurious to the country and vex good citizens (vv. 3315 f.). The king is to provide for the welfare and subsistence of the poor, of orphans, of old men and widows (v. 3251). It is his duty to wipe away the tears of such persons, and impart joy to men. Devoted to the welfare of his subjects and loving righteousness, he is to instruct (*anuśishyât*) his people in proper localities and on proper opportunities (3303). He is to appoint to office wise and experienced men, free from covetousness (2722). He is himself guilty if in his dominions his officers practise injustice (v. 3426). He is to be moderate in his taxation, for the man who cuts off the cow's udder will seek in vain for milk (2730). He should act like a gardener (preserving his trees), not like a charcoal-maker (cutting them down and burning them) (2734). If a king does homage to righteousness, his subjects will imitate his example (2834). The following is of interest, as throwing some light on the position of Brâhmaṇs in the age when it was written. In answer to a question about the distinction to be made between Brâhmaṇs who performed the duties proper to their caste and those who engaged in other occupations, Bhîshma tells Yudhishṭhira (vv. 2870 ff.): "Those who are distinguished for learning and look upon all creatures with an equal eye resemble Brahmâ (*Brahma-samâḥ*); those versed in the three Vedas are like gods; whilst those wretched Brâhmaṇs who neglect the works proper to their birth [*janma-karma-vihînâḥ*] are no better than Śûdras. Those who are devoid of sacred learning and neglect to kindle the sacred fire are to be made liable to the payment of tribute, and to forced labour. Judges,* temple priests,† those who sacrifice to the constellations and in villages, with frequenters of the highways (*mahâpathika*, according to the commentator, either those who undertake sea voyages, or collectors of taxes on the highways), are the Chaṇḍâlas among Brâhmaṇs. *Ṛitviks*, *purohitas*, kings' ministers, messengers, ... ‡ *vârtânukarshaka* are like Kshatriyas. The Brâhmaṇs who ride on horses, elephants, or in chariots, or are foot-

* Such (*dharmâdhikâriṇaḥ*) is the sense given to *âhvâyakâḥ* by the commentator! In Wilson's and Williams's Sanskrit Dictionaries one of the senses assigned to *âhvâna* is "legal summons," and to *âhvâna-darśana* is attributed the signification of "day of trial." In Böhtlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*, also, one of the senses assigned to *âhvâna* is that of a "legal summons;" and *âhvâyitavya* is rendered as a "person to be summoned before a court." None of these Dictionaries, however, attributes to *âhvâyaka* the meaning of "judge." And this meaning is rather unexpected, as Manu, viii. 9, expressly says that when the king cannot himself look into law cases, he is to appoint a learned Brâhmaṇ to do so (*tadâ niyunjyâd vidvâṁsam brâhmaṇaṁ kârya-darśane*). *Âhvâyaka* may also mean merely a person who delivers the summons.

† *Devalakâḥ*; explained by the commentator as *vetanena deva-pujâ-kartâraḥ*.

‡ I leave a blank here, as I find no explanation of *vârtânukarshaka*.

soldiers, are like Vaiśyas.* The king, when his treasury is empty, should levy taxes from the persons above described, except from those who are like Brahmâ and the gods (*i.e.* from those first of all named). The Vedic doctrine is that the king is master of the property of those who are not Brâhmaṇs, and of those Brâhmaṇs who pursue occupations not proper to their caste. Persons of the latter description are not to be overlooked, but to be controlled and watched, with a view to the promotion of righteousness. The king in whose country a Brâhmaṇ becomes a thief is regarded by those who understand such matters as being himself in fault. The man learned in the Vedas and a householder who from the want of means of subsistence becomes a thief is to be supported by the king: so say those who know the Veda. If when so supported he does not desist (from his evil practices), he is to be banished from the country, with his relations."

Yudhishṭhira afterwards asks (vv. 2950 ff.) whether, when the Kshatriya race has become mixed, and fails to afford protection from robbers, a Brâhmaṇ, a Kshatriya, or a Śûdra may come forward to perform the duty required, or whether they are to be prevented. Bhîshma replies that any man who, in the absence of any other appliance, acts as a ship to convey those who are in need of one to their desired haven, who delivers men from those by whom they are harassed, and affords them peace and security, be he a Śûdra, or any one else, deserves honour. What, it is asked (v. 2958), is the use of a bullock which can carry no load (?), of a cow which is not milked, or of a king who affords no protection? Such a king, as well as an unlearned Brâhmaṇ, and a cloud which drops no rain, is like a wooden elephant or a leathern deer. Such a king, therefore, is to be appointed as shall defend the good and repress the bad. It appears from this that the idea of a Śûdra king had already been entertained, and probably acted upon, at the time when these lines were composed. †

In the portion of the *Mahâbhârata* from which I have been quoting, humanity to enemies is repeatedly enjoined. Thus in vv. 3487 ff. it is said: "He who when he has captured in battle a hostile king who has acted fairly [or has formerly been kind], under the influence of hatred does not treat him with respect, fails in his duty as a Kshatriya. When a king is powerful, let him be courteous, and compassionate when (another has fallen) into misfortune. Thus will he be dear to men, and not forfeit his prosperity. Let him act the more kindly to him to whom he has done an unfriendly act [in conquering him]. That man will soon be an object of affection who, though an enemy, does friendly acts." The following rules of warfare are partly the same as are found in the seventh chapter of Manu, vv. 90 ff.; as indeed much of the substance of the prolix maxims of the *Râjadharma* of the *Mahâbhârata* is to be found in a condensed form in that chapter‡:—

3541. "A Kshatriya who is not clad in armour is not to be fought in battle. A single warrior is to be fought by a single warrior, so that a man who is unfit (for fighting) may be let go.§ If the foe comes equipped, his adversary must also equip himself: if he comes with an army, he must be challenged with an army. If he fight unfairly, he must be repelled without regard to fairness. If he fight rightly, he is to be encountered in the same way. A man on horseback is not to attack one in a chariot; but one in a chariot should assail an enemy in a chariot. A poisoned or barbed arrow is not to be used: these are weapons of the wicked. The warrior must fight righteously, and not be incensed against the adversary who seeks to kill him. A foe who is breathless, or childless, is never to be struck; nor one whose weapon is broken, or who is worn out, or whose bowstring

* They are not, it will be observed, said to be like Kshatriyas, whose functions they invade; but are put a step lower down.

† In the *Râmâyaṇa* a Nishâda *king* is mentioned (see *Orig. Sanskṛit Texts*, II. 407) as a friend of Râma: but it may be supposed that he was intended to be understood as ruling over a tribe of Nishâdas only.

‡ In another part of the *Râjadharma*, 2009 ff. (compare vv. 2938 f.) reference is made to two lines as from Manu, one of which I find is given verbatim, viz. *adbhyo 'gnir brahmataḥ kshatram*, &c. (Manu, ix. 321.) Three lines below, two verses are quoted as from Uśanas. In the *Anuśâsanaparvan* (vv. 5408 ff.) some verses occur which are identical in tenor, though not in diction, with the sublime lines of Manu viii. 17 and iv. 238—242; but Manu is not referred to by the *Mahâbhârata* writer as his source; in fact Bṛihaspati is introduced as pronouncing the verses. Whether in these several cases the writers in the *Mahâbhârata* have borrowed from Manu, or the compilers of both books have derived the passages which are common to them from some source prior to both, I am unable to decide, as I have not studied either of the works with sufficient care to be able to pronounce which is the most probable supposition. Manu's *Śâstra* is also referred to in the *Anuśâsanap.* v. 2534.

§ According to the reading in the Bombay edition, this must be translated: "One warrior must be addressed by another, 'do thou discharge (thy weapon) and I shoot.'"

is cut.* [An enemy when wounded] is to be cured in [the conqueror's] own country, or sent to his home,—when a quarrel arises among good men, and the unfortunate man is virtuous. If not wounded, he is to be released,—this is the eternal law. Wherefore Manu Svâyambhuva enjoined that men should fight righteously. The wicked Kshatriya who professing to fight fairly (? *dharmasangarah*) acts treacherously and conquers by unrighteousness, destroys himself. Such conduct is characteristic of bad men: but the wicked should be overcome by virtuous action. It is better to die by acting righteously than to conquer by sinful procedure... 3557. A king should not seek to conquer the earth by injustice ... Such conquest is of short duration, does not conduct to heaven, and ruins both the conqueror and the earth. He is not, after capturing, to slay a foe whose armour is fractured, one who calls out 'I am thy [prisoner],' one who joins his hands, or who lays down his arms." (Compare vv. 3708 ff.) The sense of the next lines (vv. 3560 ff.) is not very clear. They run thus: "Let not a king fight against a man who has vanquished by force: let him wait for a year, in order that he may be born again from himself." [Which, according to the commentator, means: "Let him teach him to say 'I am thy slave:' then even if after a year he does not say these words, let him be born, *i.e.* become the son of his conqueror, and then be released." 3561. "A maiden captured by force is not before the lapse of a year to be asked" [Dost thou choose us, or any one else (for thy husband?) according to the commentator. If, he goes on, she chooses another person, she is not to be detained]. "So, too, as regards all property and anything else captured by violence" [that is, says the commentator, anything taken away by fraud,—male and female slaves, &c.,—is to be restored at the end of a year]. 3562. "But the property of persons who ought to be slain (robbers, &c., comm.) is not to be kept for them. Let the Brâhmans use it, and drink milk, and drive bullocks in their cars, or [if the captive is not a robber, comm.] let mercy be shown [let his property be restored, comm.]. A flying enemy is not to be pressed (v. 3677). v. 3782. "The renown of that king increases who, when he has conquered, spares: his enemies trust him even if he has committed a great fault."

[In v. 8235 of the same book the same sentiment is put into Bali's mouth: "They call him a man who, when he is strong, shows mercy to a heroic enemy who has fallen into his hands and is in his power." Similarly in the *Râmâyana*, vi. 18. 27 f. (Bombay ed.) it is said: "Having humanity in view, let not a warrior slay even a humbled enemy who seeks refuge and with joined hands implores (mercy). An enemy, be he depressed or proud, who takes refuge with his opponent is to be protected by a man of understanding, even at the sacrifice of his own life."] A king is to seek for victory by eminence in all science, not by deceit, or hypocrisy (v. 3580). Yudhishthira here expresses an opinion that no duties are worse than those of a Kshatriya; since a king, whether by flight or by battle, causes the death of numbers of men. He therefore asks how he is to act so as to gain heaven (v. 3581 f.). After some commonplaces on the duty of punishing the bad, favouring the good, performing sacrifice, &c., Bhîshma represents the profession of a warrior in quite a different light, expatiates on the merits and celestial rewards of valour, and declares that it is a violation of a Kshatriya's duty to die in bed (vv. 3603 ff.) Further on (vv. 3623 ff.), battle is compared to a sacrifice, in which elephants are the *ritviks*, horses the *adhvaryus*, the flesh of the enemies the oblations, &c. &c. Subsequently, however, we find sentiments like the following (v. 3769):—"Victory gained by fighting is the worst kind of victory:" and (v. 3785) "A fierce king is hateful to men; and they despise a mild prince. Both qualities therefore are to be united. When about to smite, and even when smiting, a king should speak kindly: and when he has smitten he should compassionate, as if lamenting and weeping (saying), 'It is not pleasing to me that men are killed in battle by my soldiers: though again and again commanded, they do not perform my bidding. Oh, I desire life: such a man as this does not deserve to be slain: brave men who do not flee in battle are very rare: the soldier by whom this man was slain has done an act displeasing to me.' While speaking in

* A verse in the *Udyogaparvan* (1426), however, is conceived in a different spirit: "An enemy who comes into one's power, who when on the point of being killed prostrates himself in submission, is not to be let go. Such a foe is to be slain while one has the power; for if spared he would soon cause apprehension." Similarly *Âdip.* 5552 f., 5555, and 5563 ff. and *Sântip.* 5293 f.

this way, however, he is in secret to honour the slayers." It cannot be denied that most of these maxims are remarkable for the spirit of humanity which they inculcate. Whether the practice of the ancient Indians corresponded to the precepts of their teachers is a question which I am unable to answer; but it is of no little importance that a high ideal should be held up before a people, even although it should often be disregarded.* That it was the barbarous practice of the ancient Greeks, civilized in other respects as they were, to sell as slaves those citizens of other free Hellenic states who fell into their hands in battle, is well known. See Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. ix. p. 480, and vol. viii. p. 224. I am unable at present to pursue this latter subject further.

Edinburgh, July 15th, 1874.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS MAXIMS FREELY TRANSLATED FROM DIFFERENT INDIAN WRITERS.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(*Continued from page* 183.)

Praise of Women. (*Mahâbh.*, I. 3028 ff.)

Our love these sweetly-speaking women gain;
When men are all alone, companions bright,
In duty, wise to judge and guide aright.
Kind tender mothers in distress and pain.

The wife is half the man; his priceless friend;
Of pleasure, virtue, wealth, his constant source;
A help and stay along his earthly course,
Through life unchanging, yea, beyond its end.

Women naturally Paṇḍits. (*Mṛichchhakaṭi.*)

Men, seeking knowledge, long must strive,
And over many volumes pore;
But favoured women all their lore,
Unsought, from nature's grace derive.

The Bachelor only half a man. (*Brahma-dharma*, II. 2.1.)

A man is only half a man, his life
Is not a whole, until he finds a wife.
His house is like a graveyard, sad and still,
Till gleeful children all its chambers fill.

'*Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat,*' *&c.* (*Hitopadeśa.*)

Shall He to thee His aid refuse
Who clothes the swan in dazzling white,
Who robes in green the parrot bright,
The peacock decks in rainbow hues?

The same. (*Vṛiddha Châṇakya*, X. 17.)

With fervent hymns while I great Vishṇu laud,
The gracious, mighty, all-sustaining God,
How can I, faithless, for subsistence fear?
Does He for babes their mothers' milk prepare,
And will He not His ever-watchful care
Extend o'er all their future life's career?

No Second Youth for Man. (Compare Job xiv. 7.) (*Kathâsarit-sâgara*, LV. 110.)

The empty beds of rivers fill again;
Trees, leafless now, renew their vernal bloom:
Returning moons their lustrous phase resume:
But man a second youth expects in vain.

The lapse of time not practically noticed. (*Subhâshitârṇava.*)

Again the morn returns, again the night;
Again the sun, the moon, ascends the sky;
Our lives still waste away as seasons fly,
But who his final welfare keeps in sight?

The same. (*Râmâyaṇa*, II. 105, 21.)

Men hail the rising sun with glee,
They love his setting glow to see,
But fail to mark that every day
In fragments bears their life away.

All Nature's face delight to view
As changing seasons come anew;
None sees how each revolving year
Abridges swiftly man's career.

Men should not delay to be good; Life uncertain. (*Mahâbh.*, XII. 6534 ff.)

Death comes, and makes a man his prey,
A man whose powers are yet unspent,
Like one on gathering flowers intent,
Whose thoughts are turned another way.

* When Yudhishṭhira resolves to offer the horse sacrifice, and the horse, according to custom, is let loose and wanders over the earth, attended by Arjuna, the latter, in accordance with the injunctions of his brother, abstains from slaying any of the kings who oppose him, and whom he overcomes in battle: *Aśvamedhikaparvan*, vv. 2215 ff., 2459 ff.

Begin betimes to practise good,
Lest fate surprise thee unawares
Amid thy round of schemes and cares;
To-morrow's task to-day conclude.

For who can tell how things may chance,
And who may all this day survive?
While yet a stripling, therefore, strive,—
On virtue's arduous path advance.

'This is the Law and the Prophets.' (*Vikramacharita*, 158.)

In one short verse I here express
The sum of tomes of sacred lore:
Beneficence is righteousness,
Oppression sin's malignant core.*

Good and Bad seem to be equally favoured here; not so hereafter. (*Mahâbh.*, XII. 2798 ff.)

Both good and bad the patient earth sustains,
To cheer them both the sun impartial glows,
On both the balmy wind refreshing blows,
On both at once the god Parjanya rains.

So is it here on earth, but not for ever
Shall good and bad be favoured thus alike;
A stern decree the bad and good shall sever,
And vengeance sure, at last, the wicked strike.

The righteous then in realms of light shall dwell,
Immortal, pure, in undecaying bliss;
The bad for long, long years shall pine in hell,
A place of woe, a dark and deep abyss.

June 1874.

* The last two lines in the original, literally rendered, run thus:—"Helping others is to be esteemed as virtue; the oppression of others as sin."

THE GEOGRAPHY OF IBN BATUTA'S TRAVELS.

BY COL. H. YULE, C.B.

(*Continued from page* 212.)

III.—*His Voyage to China.*

On arriving at Sunârgâon from his excursion to Silhet, Ibn Batuta found there a junk about to start for Java, *i.e.* as we shall see, Sumatra, the *Java Minor* of Marco Polo, a voyage of forty days. On this he took his passage.

After fifteen days' voyage they touched on the coast of a country called Barahnagâr, where the men had muzzles like dogs, whilst the women were very beautiful. The former went naked, the latter wore aprons of leaves. They had houses of reeds on the shore, and had plenty of plantains, areca palms, and *pân*. Some Musalmân settlers there were, who lived apart from the natives. The people had tame elephants in numbers. Their Chief came to see the strangers, mounted on an elephant, and attended by some twenty followers, also on elephants: the Chief was clothed in goat-skins, and had three coloured silk handkerchiefs tied on his head.

Leaving this place, in twenty-five days more they reached the island of Java, which gives its name to the Jâwi *lubân* (or benzoin).† Here they disembarked at a small town called Sarha, the port of the city of Sumathra, which was four miles distant.

I will not repeat here the discussion of the position of the city of SUMATRA which will be found in my notes on Marco Polo.‡ Its *locus* on the north coast of the island is limited by Pedir on the west and Pasei on the east, *i.e.* between long. 96° and 97° 20′ or thereabouts, whilst the strong probability is that it lay near the head of the estuary-like bay called in the charts Telo, or Taluk-Samâwe.

Returning to Barahnagâr, which we have not yet determined, we may first be certain that it was on the main-land,—the elephants settle that point. Next, it should lie at about ⅜ of the sea track from Sunargaon to Sumatra. This will place the probable *locus* about the southern part of the Arakan coast, near Sandowê or Gwa. A little further south we have the prominent points of Cape and Island Negrais, a name corrupted from the Nâgarît of the Burmese, and bearing reference to a story of a dragon or *nâga* which lies in wait there to sink the ships of unbelieving navigators. § Nagâr may be the same name. Dulaurier, however, has pointed out that Barah Nagâr may represent the Malay words *Bârât Nagâra*, "West Country," and this is highly probable, as the crew of the junk were likely to be Malays. But this interpretation would be quite consistent with the position that I suggest; indeed one sees no part of the coast to which the term *West*

† Benzoin, from *lubânjâwi* taken as *lo benzoi*.
‡ Book III. ch. X. note 1.
§ Phayre, in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* vol. XXVIII. p. 476.

Country could apply so well, in the mouth of Malays.*

The people are described as savages, and we do not suppose that the proper Peguans were so. But these may easily have been a tribe of the wilder races, such as the Khyens of the Arakan Yoma mountains, of which range Negrais is the terminal spur.

After spending a fortnight at the court of the King of Sumatra, where he found brethren of the law from nearly all parts of the Muhammadan world, Ibn Batuta obtained leave to proceed on his voyage to China, and the king provided him with a junk and all necessaries.

After sailing for twenty-one days along the coasts of the dominions of the orthodox Sultân of Sumatra, they arrived at Mul-Jâwah. This was a region of pagans, which had an extent of two months' journey, and produced abundance of excellent aromatics, especially the aloes-wood of Kâḳulah and Kamârah, places which were both in Mul-Jâwah. The port which they entered was that of Kâḳula, a fine city with a wall of hewn stone wide enough to give passage to three elephants abreast. Elephants were employed for all kinds of purposes; everybody kept them and everybody rode upon them. The first thing that he observed was a group of elephants carrying aloes-wood into the town to be used as fuel! This is a kind of formula, for he tells us the same of cinnamon and brazil wood in Malabar.†

All the commentators, professed and incidental, *e.g.* Lee, Dulaurier, Defrémery, Gildemeister; Walckenaer, Reinaud, Lassen, assume this Mul-Java to be the island of Java. And the explanation given of the name is from the Sanskrit *Mûla* = root or original. This word is used in Malay,‡ and the derivation is of course possible. But as regards the identification, surely a little consideration might have satisfied any of these learned persons that if by Mul-Java, where elephants were kept by every petty shopkeeper, and where eagle-wood was used to light the kitchen fires, the Moorish traveller did mean Java, then he lied so egregiously that it is not worth considering what he meant. There are no elephants in Java except the one or two that may be imported to swell the state of native courts; and there is no eagle-wood.

On the other hand, those two circumstances, of the excessive abundance of domesticated elephants, and the unusual abundance of aloes-wood, are of themselves sufficient to indicate the true position of this country as being on the shore of the Gulf of Siam.

The shores of that sea are intimately connected with the great islands of the Archipelago by natural characteristics and by trade, and nothing is more likely than that the Arab mariners who frequented those seas should have included them, with some distinctive sign, under the terms *Jáwa, Jáwi,* which they append to the Archipelago generally, and its products.§ This distinctive sign is more likely to have been Arabic than Sanskrit, and I believe that Capt. Burton has furnished us with the word, when he tells us that the Arabs, who now confine the name of Zanzibâr to the island so called, distinguish the African mainland there as Barr-el-MOLI, or the "Continent."‖ Mul-Java would thus be *continental Java*.

Kâḳula is a name that has not survived It occurs in the chaos of Edrisi's chapters on Indo-China (I. 185, 191). It may have been a colony of one of the Śri Kâkulas of the coast of Kalinga (one on the Krishnâ, the other, now Śrikakol, further north). Kumâra, a name that has been a source of endless confusion, and in which Arabian geographers or European commentators have mixed up Madagascar, Cape Comorin (Kumârî), and Assam, but which is almost always associated with aloes-wood, I believe to be connected with Khmer, the ancient native name of the kingdom of Kamboja.¶

I know of only one other book in which Mul-Java occurs. This is the *History of* Wassâf, who states, in his usual rigmarole style, that in A. H. 691 (A. D. 1292) Kublâi Kâan sent a fleet to subdue the *island* of Mul-Jâva, one of the countries of Hind, which was

* It is worth noticing, however, that just about the same *locus* must probably be assigned to Ptolemy's *Bera*bonna.

† Compare the statement of a Musalmân traveller, who assured us, the other day, that "in Burma the cultivators kept and bred elephants as the people here do oxen." —ED.

‡ See Crawfurd's *Malay Dict.*

§ So also Crawfurd includes the peninsula and coast of Siam in his admirable *Descriptive Dictionary*.

‖ *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. XXIX. p. 30. Burton says the word *moli*, though common in Zanzibar Arabic, will not be found in dictionaries.

¶ Ibn Khurdâdbah places Komâr three days west of Sanf or Chanf, *i.e.* Champa or Southern Cochin China. Abulfeda puts but a short day's voyage between the two countries. Mr. Lane, in his notes on Sindbad, puts Komar on the Gulf of Siam.

200 *farsakhs* long and 120 broad. Srî Râma, the king of the country, submitted, and intended to travel to the Kâan's court, but death prevented him, and his son carried out the intention. There is no other information.* I do not think much stress can be laid on the use of the term *island* here, considering how loosely it is often used. Srî Râma is a name that we find both among the early kings of the Malay settlers in the Peninsula, and as that of the King of Siam who founded Ayodhya; but both are almost certainly later than Kublâi.

After leaving Kâkula the party sailed for thirty-four days, and then arrived at the Calm or Pacific Sea (*al-Bahr al-kâhil*), which was of a reddish tint and disturbed by neither winds nor waves. The boats were set to tow the ship, and the great sweeps of the junk brought into play, but they were thirty-seven days in passing this sea. They then arrived at the country of Ṭawâlisi.

This was a very extensive country; the sovereign was the equal of the King of China, and frequently carried on naval war with China, compelling the Chinese to sue for peace. The people had Tartar countenances; their women were amazons; the name of the port where they landed was Kailûkari (which seems Indian); the place was governed by a daughter of the king called Urdujâ (which is Turki, and had been already given by Ibn Batuta as the name of one of the queens of Muhammad Uzbak Khan of Kipchak). This young lady, who is a great warrior, speaks Turki both to the traveller and to her own servants; she keeps elephants; and on leaving her country the travellers run before the wind for seventeen days and then reach the port of Zaitûn (or Chwanchau) in China.

Many attempts have brought me no nearer the identification of Ṭawâlisi, and I strongly incline to the belief that it belongs to the geographical system of Captain Gulliver and Peter Wilkins, Mariner.

Palermo, April 1874. H. YULE.

* See D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, II. 465, and Dowson's *Elliot's Hist.* II. 27. Neither Gaubil nor Deguignes has any mention, from Chinese sources, of this expedition.

NIJAGUṆA'S NOTES ON INDIAN MUSIC.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following notes are adduced principally with the object of making the science of Indian Music, if possible, a subject of discussion in the *Indian Antiquary*. Not only from a scientific, but also from a practical point of view, a good and at the same time easy treatise on the musical laws and tunes prevalent in this country appears to be a desideratum.† What is given below cannot be called a translation; but the technical terms as they are given in a sort of Canarese (Kannaḍa) concordance, the *Vivekachintâmaṇi*, have been simply presented in a coherent manner. It may also serve to show what musical system is used in at least one portion of the South. The author of the concordance is Nijaguṇa Śivayogi, a Liñgâita. In the writer's copy under the last heading, called *grantha-rachana-nibandhana*, these words occur:—"when it had become the śaka marked by guṇa, ṛitu, giri, and vishaya (A.D. 1841?) it was composed by Nijaguṇa."‡ No attempt to correct the text has been made by the present writer. In Canarese the final î of Saṁskṛit feminines generally appears as short, and the â of feminines as ĕ.

1. The origin and places of the seven notes (*svara*), and other musical knowledge (*gâna-śastra*).

In the order of the *utpatti* of the seven *svaras*, the *seven svaras*, called shaḍja, ṛishabha, gândhâra, madhyama, pañchama, dhaivata, and nishâda, have been born in the order of Paraśiva's seven faces, called îśvara, sadyojâta, vâmadeva, aghora, tatpurusha, îśâna, and nirañga. The *sthânas* of the shaḍja and the other seven svaras are the throat, the head, the nose, the heart, the mouth, the palate, and the pûrvâñga.

2. The times, sounds (*dhvani*), asterisms, and so on.

Sunrise, noon, afternoon, evening, the first part of the night, (mid-)night, and its termination are successively the (seven) pleasant *kâlas* of shadja and the other svaras. The peacock's cry, the bull's bellow, the goat's bleat, the curlew's cry, the cuckoo's song, the

† Conf. *As. Res.* vol. III.; Stafford's *History of Music*; the book noticed, *Indian Evangelical Review*, I. 4, p. 525.

‡ Vulgar tradition says that this person lived about 900 years ago (*i.e.* about 970 A.D.), and was a petty king in Maisûr, belonging to the Ârâdhya Brâhmaṇas, who are invested both with the Yajnopavîta and Liñga. Nijaguṇa's *Vivekachintâmaṇi* has been translated into Tamil.

noble horse's neigh, and the rutting elephant's roar are, in proper order, the (seven) agreeable *anukaraṇa dhvanis* of shaḍja and the other svaras. Ârdrĕ, Pûrvâshâḍha, Revati, Viśâkhĕ, Mûla, Anûrâdha, and Makha are successively the *janma nakshatras* of shaḍja etc. Amâvâsyĕ, trayodaśi, pañchami, ashṭami, saptami, tadigĕ (tritîyâ), and navami are in a line the *utpatti tithis* of shaḍja, etc. Âṅgirasa, Bhṛigu, Kaśyapa, Vasishṭha, Nârada, Atri, and Kapila are in their order the *Rishis* of shaḍja, etc. Brâhmi, Mâheśvari, Kaumâri, Vaishṇavi, Vârâhi, Mâhendri, and Châmuṇḍi are in their order the *adhidevatĕs* of shaḍja, etc. The red lotus (aruṇâbja), brown (kapila), gold (hema), blue lotus (nîlotpala), black (kṛishṇa), white (śveta), and variegated (chitra) are successively the *varṇas* of shaḍja, etc. Shaḍja, madhyama, and pañchama,—these three svaras belong to the *brahma jâti;* ṛishabha and dhaivata, these two belong to the *kshatriya jâti;* gândhâra and nishâda, these two belong to the *vaiśya jâti;* two others, the antara and kâkuḷi, belong to the *śudra jâti.* Love (śṛiṅgâra), mirth (hâsya), tenderness (karuṇa), anger (raudra), heroism (vîra), terror (bhayânaka), and disgust (bîbhatsa) are in their order the *phalas* of the shaḍja, etc.

3. The origin of the third and quarter tones (*śruti*) from the notes.

Further, the four *śrutis* called gahvari, nishkaḷĕ, gûḍhĕ, and sakalĕ are born of the shaḍja svara; the three *śrutis* called madhurĕ, âvaḷi, ekâkshari are born of the ṛishabha svara; the two *śrutis* called bhṛiṅgajâti and pareṅgitĕ, arise from the gândhâra svara; the four *śrutis* called rañjaki, pûrṇĕ, alaṅkâriṇi, and vâṁśĕ are born of the madhyama svara; the four *śrutis* called reṇuki, lalitĕ, tasthi, and vâṁsakĕ have their origin in the pañchama svara; the three *śrutis* called bhâshâṅgi, vartaki, and sampûrṇĕ are come into existence from the dhaivata svara; the two *śrutis* called prasannĕ and sarvavyâpi have originated in the nishâda svara. Thus *twenty-two śrutis* have come from the seven svaras, and the svaras of *prakṛiti* and *vikṛiti*, the *tâḷa*, the *laya*, and the *meḷa* come under consideration.

4. The śruti-gamakas and deśî-gamakas.*

Further, sphurita, pramita, dîrgha, lalita, uchchhrita, guruśrita, ullasita, sûkshmita, dîrghâyita, dîrghochchhrita, lîlochchhrita, dîrghalalita, lalitochchhrita, prastuta, kâṇḍita, kshipra, hata, akshipta, samullâsita, komala, and ullasita komala are the *twenty-two śruti gamakas;* and kampita, sphurita, lîna, tribhinna, saptada, ândoḷita, âhara are the *seven deśî gamakas.* These different characteristics are to be studied.

5. The characteristics of the origin of the modes (*râga*), and the scales (*grâma*), etc.

The *gîta* is born of the above-mentioned *śruti gamakas* of the svaras; it bears the following *six lakshaṇas:* svara, susvara, surâga, madhura, akshara, alaṅkâra. For the origin of the *râgas* there are *three grâmas:* the shaḍja grâma, the madhya grâma, and the gândhâra grâma. The gândhâra grâma is used in the Gandharva world: the other two grâmas are used in the world of mortals. The *five râgas* called dhaivata, nishâdini, shaḍja kesari, shaḍja divyavati, shaḍja madhyama are born of the shaḍja grâma; the *ten râgas* called gândhâri, rakshogândhâri, madhyama gândhâri, divyavati, madhyama divyavati, pañchama gândhâri, pañchamendriya nandini, nandayanti, karma vyabhichâriṇi, and kauśiki are born of the madhyama grâma. Thus the number of râgas born of the two grâmas is *fifteen.*

6. The classes (*jâti*) of the modes.

The *six sâdhâraṇa jâtis* are: śuddha, bhinna, gauḍa, ashṭa sâdhâraṇa, sapta sâdhâraṇa, and shaṭ svara. The *six* called shaḍja grâma, madhya grâma, gauḍa, pañchama sâdhâraṇa, kauśiki, and mâlava kauśiki are the râgas born of the *śuddha jâti;* the *four* called bhinna shaḍja, bhinna tâna, bhinna kauśiki, madhyama bhinna are the râgas belonging to the *gauḍa jâti;* the *eight* called shaḍâra, ṭîkâ râga, mâḷavi, pañchama mâḷavi, kauśiki, ḍhakkâ kauśiki, sauvîra, and hindoḷa are the râgas belonging to the *ashṭa sâdhâraṇa jâti;* the *seven* called nartaki, kakubha, shaḍja kauśiki, bhramâḷa, pañchama bhramâḷa, pañchama gândhâra, and rûpa sâdhâraṇa belong to the *sapta sâdhâraṇa jâti;* the *eight* called ṭîkĕ, saindhavi, pañchama, shâḍava, deva gupta, gândhâra gupta, kauśika gupta, and upâṅga, are the râgas belonging to the *shaṭ svara jâti.* Thus *thirty-six*† *râga mûrtis* which are shaṭ triṁśat tatvâtmakas, arise from the six râga jâtis which are shaḍakshara-shaḍâmnâya-shaṭsthala-shaḍadhva-sevyas.

* Gamaka, according to the St. Petersburg Lexicon, denotes a deep pectoral tone.

† The text seems to give only 33; the bhinna jâti may have been omitted.

7. The *râgâṅgas.*

Further, there are *four aṅgas:* the râgâṅga, bhâshâṅga, kriyâṅga, and upâṅga. The madhu, mâdhavi, śaṅkarâbharaṇa, hindoḷa, baṅgâḷa guṇḍa kriyĕ, śrî râga, sâraṅga, abhra, pañchama divya, ghaṇṭâ râga, ghûrjhari, soma râga, dhanyâsi, deśi, deśâkshi, mâḷava, śrî varâḷi, nâga divya, karṇâṭa, and baṅgâḷa are the *twenty râgas* that are derived from the *râgâṅga.* Kauśiki, veḷâvaḷi, śuddhâvaḷi, modi, nâṭi, suhari, lalitĕ, âthoḷi, gauḍi, saindhavi, nâga dhvani, âhari, trâvaḷi, śuddhâhari, kâmbhoji, śrî kaṇṭha, bṛihaspati, dâkshiṇâtya, ḍŏmbâ kriyĕ, surâshṭra saindhavi, kalyâṇi, śambarâvaḷi, madhukari, kâḷindi, puḷindini, taraṅgiṇi, megha rañjani, kurañji, śuddha vâhini, prathama mañjari, nâṭî nârâyaṇi, phala mañjari, and śayasodari are the *thirty-four** *râgas* that are born of the *bhâshâṅga.* Nîlotpalini, ekachchavi, johari, utpali, kinnarikĕ, gîti, râjñi, turaṅgi, gândhâri, gauḷi, râkshasi, nâdottari, vasanta bhairavi, sâvaḷa, deva gupta, sâraṅga bhairavi, gandhi, kâmodi, siṁhâvaḷi, kâmadeva, deva nâdottara, and vasanta baṅgâḷa are the *twenty-two râgas* that are born of the *kriyâṅga.* Sindhu varâḷi, kannaḍa (=karṇâṭa) varâḷi, drâmiḍa (=drâviḍa) varâḷi, and prathama varâḷi are the *four râgas* that are *upâṅga varâḷis;* mahârâshṭra ghûrjhari, saurâshṭra ghûrjhari, drâmiḍa ghûrjhari, and dakshiṇa ghûrjhari are the *four upâṅga ghûrjhari râgas;* karṇâṭa gauḷa, deśa gauḷa, turushka gauḷa, mâḷava gauḷa, chhâyâ gauḷa, saurâshṭra gauḷa, and drâmiḍa gauḷa are the *seven upâṅga gauḷa râgas;* châyâ toḍi and turushka toḍi are the *two upâṅga toḍi râgas;* bilahari and bhairavi are the *two upâṅga râgas* of *nâṭi;* sâlaga nâṭi and bhillaja karañja are the *two upâṅgas* for the *râma kriyâ râga;* deva kriyĕ, trinetra kriyĕ, and bhûtâḷa kriyĕ are the *three upâṅgas* for the *kolâhala râga.* The *one hundred and six*† *râgas* are born of the four kinds of aṅgas. From the grâmas, the jâtis, and the aṅgas *together one hundred and fifty-seven*‡ *râgas* take their origin.

8. The thirty-six modes.

It is long since the following *thirty-six râgas* of all the râgas have been notable from being chiefly used: râma kriyĕ, bhûpâḷi, vasanta, nâṭi, sâraṅga, bhauḷi, kâmbhoji, ghûrjhari, bhairavi, guṇḍa kriyĕ, bilahari, dhanyâsi, kalyâṇi, pada mañjari, baṅgâḷi, deśi, deva gândhâri, megha rañjani, kurañji, âhari, śrî râga, pahaḍi, gauḷa, râma kriyĕ,§ śaṅkarâbharaṇa, bhillaki, deśâkshi, varâḷi, sâveri, maṅgaḷa, kauśiki, nârâyaṇi, aṭhâṇa, ârabhi, toḍi, and madhyamâvati.

9. A short statement regarding the *śuddha, mitra,* and *saṅkîrṇa* modes.

Further, of the above-mentioned thirty-six râgas seven belong to the *male gender;* only the baṅgâḷa râga is *neuter;* the remaining twenty-eight are *female râgas.* A division into *families* (kuṭumba) is usually made, so that there are *four* female râgas for each of the male râgas. Further, by a threefold division of qualities there arise *three and three dâsî râgas* for the thirty-six râgas, so that there are *one hundred and eight.*

Further, of the *prakṛitis* of the seven *svaras,* called *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha,* and *ni,* also in the seven *avasthĕs,* called aṅkura sthâyi, śruti sthâyi, mûrchhanâ sthâyi, chauka, khecharî sthâyi, rava saṅgati, and muktâya, (and) of the *saṅyogas* and *viyogas,* in the way of seven to one (7 × 7 × 7, *i.e.*) three hundred and forty-three *svara-prasthânas* are born, called the garbhâṅga; and on account of the variety of option in leaving and acquiring in the prastâra of the above ones, like the various prapañcha, the râgas become numberless. (Then follow some words about Sadâśiva's praṇava.)

10. Some allied (*mitra*) modes.

Vasanta bhairavi, śânta bilahari, and râma kriyĕ are the three *mitra râgas* of *râma kriyĕ;* mukhâri and hindoḷa are the two *mitra râgas* of *vasanta;* nâṭi, âhari, sâlaga nâṭi, hamîra nâṭi, and ghûrjhara nâṭi are the fivefold *nâṭis;* saurâshṭra gauḷa, mâḷava gauḷa, ketâra gauḷa, chhâyâ gauḷa, kannaḍa gauḷa, tâva gauḷa, and mohara gauḷa are the *gauḷa mitras;* mitra bhauḷi alone is the *bhauḷi mitra;* gumma kâmbhoji, tĕnugu (*i.e.* tĕlugu) kâmbhoji, and deśya kâmbhoji are the three *kâmbhoji mitras;* śoka varâḷi, vasanta varâḷi, jogi varâḷi, pantu varâḷi, prathama varâḷi, pratâpa varâḷi, laksha varâḷi, and nâga varâḷi are the seven‖ that are *mitras* of the *śuddha varâḷi.* Thus one has to learn the śuddha, mitra, and saṅkîrṇa differences from the guru's mouth.

* The text seems to adduce only 33.
† Of this number, as it seems, only 151 are adduced in the text.
‡ This stands also at the beginning.
§ The text seems to give only one hundred.
‖ The text seems to give eight.

11. The manner of singing the râgas (*gâna vaikhâri*).

12. The various musical instruments (*vâdya bheda*).

13. The stringed instruments (*tantrî vâdya*).

14. Songstresses (*gâyaki*).

15. Drummers (*mardaḷĕkâra*).

16. The *tâḷa kriyĕs*.

Further, the *tâḷa* is the śakti and the śabaḷa brahma's (*i.e.* Îśvara's) liṅga. As in this tâḷa (*tâlaḥ*) the consonant *t* and the long *a* together are born of the âkâśa liṅga, and it, therefore, is rudrâtmaka; and as the consonant *l*, the *a*, and the *visarga* spring from the bindu and are śaktyâtmaka, the word tâḷa is gaurî-śaṅkara-devâtmaka, and the first manifest *nâda* that arises from it is called *dhruva*. Two dhruvas are called one *mâtrĕ;* two mâtrĕs are called one *guru;* a significant *pluta* is called *virâma matrĕ*. Whilst thus the mâtrĕs increase for the moments (*nimesha*), by the order of present, future, and past of the time of mark (*vyanjana kâla*), the form of the kriyĕ becomes manifold, and the origin of the variety of the tâḷas occurs. So one has to understand the rise of the tâḷas, and to pay regard to the *daśa prâṇas*, as the kâla, mârga, kriyĕ, aṅga, jâti, graha, kaḷĕ, laya, yati, and prastâra of the tâḷa are called.

17. The *tâḷa bhedas*.

Further, it is said by the tâḷa dhâris who are acquainted with the Bharata śâstra that the *seven tâḷa bhedas*, called dhruva, maṭṭeya, rûpaka, jampĕ, triputi, aṭṭĕ, and eka, and the *one hundred and eight** *tâḷas*, called chañchat puṭi, châchat puṭi, shaḍ gîta, patrachchhada, saṁvrijita, sammita, ĕḷĕ, jombĕḍĕ, gârhi, ḍakkĕ, sara karaṇa, pâtî karaṇa, piṇḍa karaṇa, krauñcha pada, kaḷa haṁsa, âdi, lalita, matta, mâtaṅga, phala chakra, âsthâna maṇṭapa, maya maṇḍita, ĕkka sara, rachchĕ, uttara pâṇi, pañcha pâṇi, saṅkrishṭa, khañjâkhañja, akhaṇḍita, vilambita, kuṭila, chaturaśra, khaṇḍa, vriddha, upavriddha, subhadra, saṅgata, prachchhannâlaya, châru kalyâṇa, goshṭhi kalyâṇa, dhruva laya, jâmbâyâra, hariṇî vishama, vidyâdhara, mâtaṅga, brahmânandana, sarasvatî kaṇṭhâbharaṇa, vimaṭhayâ, svara maṭhayâ, tegadamâna maṭhayâ, pûrva kaṅkaṇa, kâmya kaṅkaṇa, praśasta, kokila priya, siṁhânandana, siṁha vikrîḍita, siṁha nâda, sapta mudrikâ, jayâḷa, and so on, are distinguished by the number of *six vargas*, called bhaṅga tâḷa, upabhaṅga tâḷa, vibhaṅga tâḷa, vitâḷa, śuddha tâḷa, and anutâḷa.

(Then follow nritta bheda, râja bhoga, etc.)

Mercara, 5th April 1874.

WORDS AND PLACES IN AND ABOUT BOMBAY.

BY DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

Bombay long before its possession by European nations had its own history, its gods, temples, villages, and its geographical and natural divisions, each having its own name, which by process of time have in some instances been rendered meaningless, while in others they remain in their original form.

The attempt now made to unravel the original and historical significations of these words is generally based either on tradition, or on the ancient records of the Hindus, and only in a few instances on the writings of the first European authors, Portuguese and English. The words Walkeshwar, Bombay, and Mazagon are ancient and significant; while others, such as Girgaum and Byculla, probably of modern date, have been subjected to arbitrary meanings.

Wâlukeśvara, now called Malabar Hill, is derived from two words of Sanskrit origin— वालुका (*vâluka*) which 'means sand,' and ईश्वर (*iśvara*) 'lord;' hence Wâlukeśvara signifies "lord of sand."

The legend given in the *Wâlukeśvara Mahâtmya*† runs thus:—Râma, the seventh *avatâr* of Vishṇu, and king of Ayodhyâ (modern Oudh), while on his way to Laṅkâ (Ceylon) in order to recover his wife Sîtâ, who had been carried off by Râvaṇa, the king of Laṅkâ, getting wearied of his long journey, halted at the place now called Wâlukeśvara along with his brother Lakshmaṇa, who was in the habit of providing Râma every night with a new *liṅga* of Śiva directly from Kâśî (Banâras). The night Râma stayed at Wâlu-

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* The text seems to adduce 58 of them.

† *Wâlukeśvara Mahâtmya*, or "the greatness of Wâlukeśvara," is an old Sanskrit manuscript which has not yet seen the light of publicity. I am indebted for the perusal of it to Mr. Yashvant Phondbâ Nâyak Danâita. It is supposed to have been written about five hundred years ago.

keśvara, however, his brother quite forgot to get a *liṅga* for him, or, as others say, failed to arrive at the time appointed, and consequently Râma, growing impatient, made one himself of the sand at the spot. Just after this sand-*liṅga* was made, Lakshmaṇa arrived with his from Kâśî, and had it set up there in a temple which was then named Lakshmaṅeśvara, while that made by Râma got another temple, from which, however, on the arrival of the *Mlechchas* or first foreign invaders, it jumped into the sea and disappeared.* The place that was formerly named Lakshmaṇeśvara is called Wâlukeśvara. Both the Muhammadans and the Portuguese are said to have destroyed this Hindu temple, as they did many others on the coast; but about 150 years ago a person by name Râma Kâmaṭ, a Brâhmaṇ, who is supposed to have been an influential person,—and was the only wealthy Hindu present at the laying of the corner-stone of St. Thomas's Cathedral,—rebuilt it.

There is a tank here which has also its legend, which states that Râma being thirsty, and finding no water on the hill, shot an arrow into the earth, and forthwith a tank made its appearance, which is hence called Bâṇatîrtha, *i.e.* a *tîrtha*, or holy place of ablution, produced by an arrow. It is also sometimes called Bâṇagaṅgâ, from बाण (*bâna*) an arrow, and गङ्गा (*gaṅgâ*) a sacred stream. Some people likewise call it Pâtâḷagaṅgâ, which is supposed to be the name of a sacred river of Pâtâḷa, or the infernal regions.

Other writers, however, such as Vâlmiki,† Vyâsa,‡ Śrîdhar,§ and Mayur Pant,‖ who have written the history of the war of Râma with Râvaṇa, make no mention of this episode in Râma's life.

In the first chapter of the second section of the *Sahyâdri khanda* of the *Skanda Purâṇa* it is mentioned that Paraśurâma, the sixth incarnation of Vishṇu, and the exterminator of the Kshatriya caste, after reclaiming the Koṅkan from the ocean, established a great number of *tîrthas* and *liṅgas* in it. He at the same time established वालुकेशोमहाश्रेष्टो बाणगंगासरस्वती, *i.e.* the very great Wâlukeśvara and Bânagaṅgâ tank.

Probably the Bânagaṅgâ mentioned here is not the one made by Râma by shooting an arrow into the earth, or into Pâtâḷa, under the earth, but was made by Paraśurâma on the occasion when he is said to have stood on the top of the Sahyâdri range and shot fourteen arrows, one of which may have fallen on this spot and produced the *tîrtha*. Such places are not uncommon in the Koṅkan; *e.g.* in the village called Bânavali (village of the arrow) in the southern part of the territory of Goa there is a tank of this name, and the *Sahyâdri khanda* states that यत्रबाण : पतत्यत्र बाग वल्लीति विश्रुता पुरी जाता पुण्यतमायम बानणसुनिर्मिता, *i.e.* "the place where an arrow (of Paraśurâma) fell is known by the name of Bânavali it became meritorious, and was produced by the arrow of Râma."

Now it is fair to mention that the latter has the authority of the Purâṇas, while the former is from a manuscript of comparatively recent date.

Bombay.—This word is derived from the goddess Mumbâ, in whose honour the temple Mumbâdevî is named even in our days. The interpretation given by some writers of the word Bombay as derived from two words of the Portuguese language, *bom* 'good,' and *bahia* 'bay,' cannot be correct. The Portuguese could not have possibly combined the masculine *bom* with the feminine *bahia*—at the most they would have called it Boa bahia; but from the first the designation they gave it was not Bombay, nor Boabahia, but Bombaim. Not only the earliest Portuguese writers, such as Diogo Couto, Faria e Souza, and others; but

* The Kolis, who, as will be shown hereafter, were the original inhabitants of Bombay, pay special devotion to this *liṅga*. My charge of the Kûlâbâ Branch Dispensary as a physician brought me frequently in contact with the Kolis, whose principal quarter in the whole Koṅkan, I suppose, is Kûlâbâ. One of the best-informed among them told me, some time ago, that the *liṅga* made by Râma, having from a distance "got scent" of the *Mlechchas* long before they arrived at Bombay, jumped into the sands of Back Bay and disappeared. When Bombay was restored to the Hindus, some of the Kolis dug at the place where the *liṅga* had jumped, in order to recover and restore it to its former position; they dug until they had almost reached the antipodes, but the *liṅga* was not to be found. They gave up the search, under the belief that Bombay would again fall into foreign hands and the *liṅga* did not choose to be a second time obliged to take refuge in the sand.

† Vâlmiki, the author of the *Râmâyana*, is said to have been a Kolî by caste, but is now considered a Ṛishi.

‡ See *Mahâbhârata* (*Vanaparvan*, &c.).

§ Śrîdhar is a Marâṭhî poet of great renown. He was a resident of Paṇḍharpur, and wrote the *Râmavijâya*, or history of Râma, in Marâṭhî in *ovî* (ओवी) metre.

‖ Mayur Pant was an inhabitant of Bâramati, in the Dekhan, and of the tribe of Karhâḍe Brâhmans. He has written the history of Râma in *ârya* (आर्या) metre in Marâṭhî.

even the papers relating to the grant * of the Island of Bombay by the King of Portugal to Charles II. of England. In the treaty, concluded on the 23rd June 1661, the name Bombaim is used, which also the earliest English writers, such as Dr. Fryer and others, employed.

It is reasonable to suppose that this name is derived from Mumbâ, of the origin of which there are two versions. One is that the Mumbâdevî temple was first erected about five hundred years ago by one of the Kolîs, aboriginal dwellers in Bombay, whose name was Muṅga (मुंगा): and really such names as Muṅgâ, Simgâ, Bogâ, and Vâgâ are not uncommon among them; and they say that the name of Muṅgâ might have eventually changed into Mumbâ, for it is customary among the Hindus to give their own names to their gods and goddesses, as, for instance, the word Dhâkaleśvara, *i.e.* a temple built by a person of the name of Dhâkji, Mâṇakeśvara, *i.e.* a temple built by a person by name Mânkoji, and several others. But it is not possible to account for the change in the word Muṅgâ of the letter *g* (ग) into the letter *b* (ब) of Mumbâ; for these two letters belong to two different classes of consonants.

The other version, and perhaps the more correct of the two, is that taken from the *Mumbâ Devî Mahâtmya*, written in Prâkṛit, which states that there was a giant in the Island, by name Mumbâraka, in whose honour Bombay is named. This giant by his religious austerities pleased Brahmâ so much that he obtained from the deity immunity from death, and also a promise that he should always be successful in war against his enemies. This privilege, however, made him so vain that he commenced to harass all his neighbours, when a meeting of the gods was convened in order to put a stop to the encroachments of the privileged giant. They all went for advice to Vishṇu, and he, in order to chastise the giant, created a goddess from his own splendour, who punished him so severely that he was obliged to sue for pardon. Having granted this, the goddess told the giant to ask any boon or favour from her, whereupon he said that he would like to build a temple and name it by their joint names, as Mumbâdevî, or the goddess of the giant Mumbâraka. He is supposed to have been Mubâraka I., Emperor of Delhi, and called a giant from the resistance he always offered to the Hindu religion; and to have called the place Mubârakapur, subsequently contracted into Mumbai and Bombay, the change of *m* (म) into *b* (ब) being natural.

Although a myth, this story explains the origin of the name Bombay in a somewhat more plausible fashion than the other, and I give it without comment in the form in which I received it.

The temple referred to was first built on what is now the Esplanade, but about a century and a half ago it was transferred to its present site, near Payadhûni, where there is a pagoda with a large tank, the daily resort of innumerable Hindus, especially Vâṇîs and Kolîs, who have recourse to it in order to perform their ablutions.

* As it is very seldom that these old documents see the light, I may give here an old official paper, written in the Portuguese of the 16th century, purporting to be a list of all the villages, cocoanut-trees, taxes, &c. which were made over to the English at the time of the formal cession of the Island, which took place on the 17th February 1665, after a meeting of the Commissioners of the two nations, Inofre Coque and Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos and Dom Sebastiaõ Alvares Migos, by a written agreement drawn up "in the house of D. Ignez de Miranda, the first landed proprietress in the island, and widow of D. Rodrigo de Moncanto, in the presence of the public notary of Basçaim, Antonio Monteiro da Fonceca, and other authorities of the Islands of Bombaim and Basçaim." Here follows the list:—

Bamonavalle, e Celtem: (Pacaria) Rendimento 15 muras —4 paras,—e 11 adolis de batte.

Bandrastaes: Duas povoaçoes dos destiladores da sura de palmeiras bravas.

Bombaim: (Cassabe) 40 mil palmeiras particulares, e 5 mil da Companhia.

Coceo: Ilheo na ponta da Ilha.

Colvarias: Povoações dos Coles, com os nomes das Aldeas a que pertenciam: Varoy—Parella—Sião—e Dirgavi.

Diravy: (Pacaria) R. 8 muras e 8 paras.

Maim: (Cassabe) 93 mil palmeiras manças, e algumas hortas.

Mazagam: (Aldea) R. 184 mur., 250 palmeiras bravas.

Matuguem: (Aldea) R. 65 mur.—4 par.—3 adol, e 10 palmeiras bravas.

Nagam: R. 42 mur. 15 par. e 15 adol.

Parella: (Aldea) com suas pacarias—Boyvares.

Patecas: (Ilha) de Mazagão.

Romalla, e Salgado: R. 150 mur. 15 par., e 15 adol.

Rauly, e Matuguem: (Marinhas).

Siam; (Aldea) R. 54 mur.

Sinry; Vadalay.

Vadalla; com suas Pacarias, Syory—Gon-Waddy R. 75 mur. 4 par. e 4 adol.

Varoly; (Aldea) R. 34 muras.

ON THE BOUNDARIES OF THE MARÂṬHÎ LANGUAGE.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, BO. C.S.

The Reverend Dr. Wilson, in the Bombay Administration Report for 1872-3 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 222), gives the Narmadâ (Nerbudda) river as the northern limit of the Marâṭhî language. With all due respect to the doctor, who is perhaps our first living authority upon the subject, I think the Taptî, or at most the Sâtpuḍâ Range, would have been more accurate. The only parts of this Presidency which touch the Narmadâ are included in the undisputed Gujarât below the ghâṭs, the Rewa Kâṇṭha states, and the collectorate of Khândesh. In the two former I suppose there is no question that Gujarâtî is the vernacular. In the only part of Khândesh which lies on the Narmadâ, viz. the Akrânî Parganâ, the inhabitants are a wild race called *Pauryas,* who neither understand nor speak any civilized tongue, but whose dialect approaches most closely to the Gujarâtî, e.g. "*Moi toino ghormâṇ goloi thoio,*" = "I went into his house," in the mouth of a Paurya. It will be observed that though the participle *goloi* approaches the Marâṭhî *geloṇ,* the genitive in "*na,*" and the substantive verb *thoio* are more Gujarâtî. This curious dialect, as the example shows, abounds in rolling vowels and diphthongs almost as much as the Homeric Greek. It is never written; they are always examined in court by interpreters, and their answers taken down, in Marâṭhî, "since better may not be." Marâṭhî *is* spoken on the Narmadâ in Holkar's Nimâr, viz. by certain Kunabîs descended from a colony established in the Peshwâî (*vide* Forsyth's Report upon the Settlement of Nimâr, head "Castes," article "Therole"). But the Bhîlls of the Western Sâtpuḍâs speak among themselves a dialect of Gujarâtî, and those further eastward one approaching to Nemâdî. Most of them know a little Hindustânî or Marâṭhî, and employ it in speaking to Europeans or men from the plains; but their own gibberish is unintelligible to both, whenever they please to make it so. The Gujarâtî Kunabîs, who hold nearly all the cultivated land in the trans-Taptî portion of Khândesh, still speak Gujarâtî among themselves, and very pure too, as I found by setting a Paṇḍit from Ahmadâbâd to talk to a Gujar Pâṭîl. Marâṭhî only holds its place there at present as the language of Government; and even south of the Taptî the colloquial dialect of the Nawapûr Peṭâ, the Pimpalner and Nandurbâr Tâlukâs, is characterized by the use of the Gujarâtî genitive.

The use of Marâṭhî, however, in Government offices and schools, is fast changing all this, and in another generation or two the reverend doctor's statement will be literally accurate,—the more reason that the present state of things should be recorded.

THE PERAHERA FESTIVAL IN CEYLON.

(*From the Final Report of the Service Tenures Commission,* 1872.)

The Perahera is a festival observed in the month of Ehala (July) in Dêwâla * temples, the chief ceremony in which is the taking in procession the insignia of the divinities Vishṇu, Kataragama, Nata,† and Pattini for fifteen days. All the Dêwâla tenants and officers attend it, buildings and premises are cleaned, whitewashed, decorated, and put in proper order. The festival is commenced by bringing in procession a pole and setting it up at the temple in a lucky hour.‡ This is done by the Kapurâlâ.§ During the first five days the insignia ‖ are taken in procession round the inner court of the Dêwâla; the five days so observed are called Kumbal-perahera, from *kumbala,* a potter, who provides the lamps with stands, called *kalas,* generally used in the Dêwâlas at the festival. During the next five days, called Dêwâla-perahera, the procession goes twice daily round the Widiya or outer court of the

* Dewâlaya is a temple dedicated to some Hindu Deviyô or local divinity. The four principal Dewâla are those dedicated to Vishṇu, Kataragama, Nâta, and Pattini Deviyô. There are others belonging to tutelary deities, such as the Mahâsaman Dewâlaya in Sabaragamuwa belonging to Saman Deviyô, the tutelary Deviyô of Srîpâde; Alutnuwara Dewâlê in the Kêgalla district, to Deḍimundi-dêwatâ-baṇḍar, prime minister of Vishṇu, &c.—*Report,* p. 62.

† Nâta is said to be now in the Divyalôkaya, but is destined, when born on earth, to be the Buddha of the next *kalpa,* under the name of Maitriya Buddha.—*Report,* p. 73.

‡ The day is called *Kaphitundawasa* (*Report,* p. 67), and the post is called *Edanda* (p. 63).

§ Kapurâlâ is a Dêwâla priest; the office is hereditary. (p. 67.)

‖ Abarana—insignia of a Deviyô; vessels of gold and silver, &c. in a Dêwâlê. (p. 58.)

Dêwâlê. During the third or last five days, called the Maha-* or Randôli-perahera, the procession issues out of the temple precincts, and, taking a wider circuit, passes round the main thoroughfares of a town. The festival concludes with one of its chief ceremonies, the Diyakepîma, when the insignia are taken in procession on elephants to the customary ferry, which is prepared and decorated for the occasion; and the Kapurâlâ, proceeding in boats to the middle of the stream, cut with the *Rankuduwa* (golden sword) the water at the lucky hour. At that very instant the *Rankendiya* (the golden goglet), which is first emptied of the water preserved in it from the Diyakepîma of the previous year, is re-filled and taken back in procession to the Dêwâlê. It is customary in some temples for the tenants to wash themselves in the pond or stream immediately after the Diyakepîma. This is a service obligatory on the tenants. After the conclusion of the Perahera, the officers and tenants engaged in it, including the elephants, have ceremonies for the conciliation of lesser divinities and evil spirits performed, called Balibat-nêṭîma,† Garâyakun-nêṭîma,‡ and Waḷiyakun-neṭîma. The Perahera is observed in all the principal dêwâlas, such as Kataragama, the four Dêwâlas in Kândi, Alutnuwara Dêwâlê, and Saman Dêwâlê in Sabaragamuwa, &c.

The following account of this ceremony as observed nearly 60 years ago was presented to His Excellency the Governor, 19th August 1817, and published in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* of 13th September 1817. §

The Disawa of Nelasse's Account of the Perahera.

Perahera (properly called Ehsalêkeleye) is a very ancient ceremony in commemoration of the birth of the god Vishṇu, beginning on the day that the god was born, viz., the day of the new moon in the mouth of July (Ehsala). In some sacred books this ceremony is said to be in remembrance of Vishṇu's victory over the Âsuras, or enemies of the gods.

The ceremony of the Perahera is thus begun:—The people belonging to the four principal dêwâlês go to a young jacktree, not yet in fruit, the stalk of which is three spans in circumference. They clear the ground round the tree, and consecrate it by fumigating it with the smoke of burning rosin, smearing it with a preparation of sandal, made on purpose, and further by an offering of a lighted lamp with nine wicks, which is put at the foot of the tree, and of nine betel leaves and nine different kinds of flowers arranged on a chair. This being done, the woodcutter of the Mahâdêwâlê, dressed in a clean cloth, and purified by washing and rubbing himself with lemon-juice, with an axe fells the tree at its root, and cuts the trunk transversely into four pieces of equal length, to be divided among the four dêwâlês. The lowest piece is the property of the Nâta dêwâlê, the next of the Mahâ dêwâlê and the next of the Kataragama dêwâlê, and the top piece is the property of the Pattini dêwâlê.

Each log is carried to its respective dêwâlê, accompanied by the beating of tom-toms. On the day of the new moon of the month of Ehsala each piece is fixed into the ground in a particular spot in the dêwâlê, a roof is erected over it, it is covered with cloths to keep it concealed, and decorated all round with white *olas*, fruits, and flowers, &c.

Thus prepared and situated, the logs are called Kîp, which signifies pillars.

Till the fourth day from that on which pillars were fixed, the Kapurâlâs carry round the Kîp morning and evening the bow and arrows of the gods to whom their temples are consecrated. On this occasion tom-toms are beaten, and canopies, flags, talipats, umbrellas, fans, &c. are displayed. The bow and arrow are called the god, and carrying them round the Kîp is called carrying the god. On the fifth day of Perahera the Kapurâlâ brings the bow and arrow to the gate in the street, and places them in the Ranhiligay on the back of an elephant. The elephants of the four dêwâlas, thus bearing the bows and arrows of the four gods, are led to the Maluwa, which is situated between the Mahâ and Nâta dêwâlas, where the chiefs and people assemble.

At the same time, the Bauddha priests of the Maligawa bring to the gate of their temple the Datukarenduwa (the shrine containing the relic of Buddha), and place it in the "Ranhiligay," on the back of an elephant, who remains at the gate. In the meantime the procession moves from the Maluwa between the Mahâ and Nâta dêwâlas, making a circuit round the latter on its way towards the gate of the Maligawa, where the relic of Buddha is in waiting.

The procession is as follows:—

(1.) The king's elephants with Gajanayke Nileme:

* Randoliya is the palanquin in which the insignia are carried in this procession.—*Report*, p. 78.

† Balibat-netima—a devil-dance performed for five days after the close of the Perahera by a class of persons superior to the ordinary Yakdessô (devil-dancers), and called Balibat Gammehêlâ, supposed to be descendants of emigrants from the coast. A Yakdessô is a tenant of the tom-tom-beater caste who performs devil-ceremonies. (pp. 60, 82.)

‡ Garâ-yakun.—A devil-dance performed in some districts at the close of important undertakings, such as construction of buildings, at the close of the Perahera for the elephant, &c. (p. 65.)

§ *Report*, pp. 75, 76. For a notice of the Kândi Perahera see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 117, note.

(2.) Jingalls with Kodituakku Lekam:

(3.) The people of the Four Korles disâvoni, carrying jingalls, muskets, and flags, with the Disâwe and petty chiefs of that disâvoni.

(4.) The people of the Seven Korles, (5.) those of U'wa, (6.) of Matale, (7.) of Saffragam, (8.) of Walaponê, (9.) of Udapalata, all appointed and attended like the people of Four Korles.

(10.) The bamboos or images representing devils, covered with cloths.

(11.) The elephant of the Maligawa bearing the shrine, followed by other elephants and the people of the Maligawa, who precede the Duwene Nileme and Nanayakkare Lekam with umbrellas, talipats, flags, fans, shields, tom-toms, drums, flutes, &c., accompanied by dancers.

(12.) The elephant of the Nâta dêwâla bearing the bow and arrow of the god, attended by the women of the temple, and followed by the Basnayke Nilame, with the same pomp of attendants as the former.

(13.) The elephants, bow and arrows, and people of the Mahâ Vishṇu dêwâla, (14.) of the Kataragam dêwâla, (15.) of the Pattini dêwâla.

(16.) The people of the Mahâ Lekam department, carrying muskets and flags, and preceding their chiefs.

(17.) The people of the Attepattu department, similarly equipped, followed by the Attepattu Lekam and the Ratemahâtmiyas of Udanuare, Yatinuyare, Tumponi, Harispattu, Dumbare, and Hewahette.

(18.) The people of Weddikkare department, followed by their Lekam.

(19.) The people of Wadanatuaku department with their Lekam.

(20.) The people of the Padikâre department and their Lekams.

The ceremonies just described are performed during five days, commencing on the sixth of Perahera, and they are performed in the four principal streets in the evening, and at the seventh hour of the night; but in the nocturnal procession the shrine is not introduced.

Indeed, till the reign of king Kirteśrî the shrine never appeared. On the occasion of the presence of some Siamese priests this king ordered the shrine to form a part of the evening Perahera, assigning as a reason that with this innovation the ceremony would be in honour of Buddha as well as of the gods.

In the course of the five days mentioned, precedency is to be taken by turns by the different parties who attend the procession.

The five days having expired, another ceremony, an important and essential part of the Perahera, commences, called Randoli Bema, which lasts five days more.

It commences with bringing from the dêwâlas the Randolis or palanquins, four in number, each dedicated to a particular goddess, and each furnished with a golden pitcher and sword similarly dedicated.

These palanquins form a part of the evening procession, and are then carried by the people after the bows and arrows; but in the procession at night they take the lead; the women belonging to the dêwâlas, who attended the first part of the ceremony, attend this also, to which every other honour is due and is paid.

In the king's time the daughters and young wives of the chiefs, dressed in royal apparel given them by His Majesty, alternately accompanied the Randoli of each goddess.

From the commencement of this ceremony, the castes of washers and potters, including both sexes, attend, the men of the former carrying painted sticks under their arms, and of the latter earthen vessels adorned with cocoanut flowers. The Olia people of the five principal disâvonis carry five large bamboos in attendance during the whole of this ceremony.

Thus the ceremony of Perahera is continued up to the day of the full moon of the Ehsala. On the night of the full moon, and on this alone, the shrine is carried in the procession.

As soon as the procession is over, the shrine is deposited in the temple Asgrî Wihâra, and the Randolis and bows and arrows are brought back to their respective dêwâlas. Soon after, boiled rice, curries, cakes, &c. are offered in the dêwâlas to the images of the gods. The offerings being made, procession recommences and proceeds to the river at Getambê or Gonaruwa, bearing the bow and arrows and Randolis.

At the river a decorated boat is found in readiness, in which the four Kapurâlâs of the dêwâlas, attended by four other men belonging to the same establishment, go some distance up the river, carrying with them the swords and water-pitchers of the goddesses, and at the break of day the Kapurâlâs suddenly strike the water with the swords, the other men at the same moment of time, discharging the water that had been taken up last year, fill the pitchers afresh in the exact place where the swords had been applied.

This being done, they land, and having placed the water-pitchers and swords in the Randolis they return with the procession to the city. The morning of their return is the sixteenth day after the commencement of the Perahera. The two Adigars and the chiefs who may not have accom-

panied the ceremony to the river meet it on the road, when returning, at a place called Kumare Kapua, and accompany it to the Asgrî Wihâra, from whence the shrine being taken, the whole procession moves to the place from which it started at first, viz. the Malua. From the Malua each party returns to its respective dêwâla, the shrine is carried back to the Maligawa, and the ceremony is at an end.

During the five days that the Randoli ceremony is performing, the Kapurâlâs of the four dêwâlas, the evening procession being concluded, come to the Magulmandua, and recite the *Mangala-ashta*, a hymn of thanks and praise to the gods, and they offer up prayers that the reigning king may be blessed and prosper. Then they return to their dêwâlas with garlands of flowers from the Magulmandua, with which they adore the images of the gods.

Since the English government has been established, the *Mangala-ashta* has been repeated at the Nâta dêwâla.

During seven days after the ceremony of beating the water, the Wali-yakun is danced in the four dêwâlas by people belonging to the caste of tom-tom-beaters. The dancers are masked, and they dance to the sound of tom-toms.

This dance being finished, the people of the Balibat caste dance during seven days more round heaps of boiled rice, vegetables, curries, cakes, fruits, &c., which they eat after the dance; at the end of fourteen days, the dancing being over, the kîps fixed in the dêwâlas, as already described, are taken up, carried to the river, with tom-toms and flags, and thrown into the water; on the day the water is struck with swords four bundles of fine cloth, with gold and silver coins, and pieces of sandalwood, are given by the Treasury to the dêwâlas.

Under the former government, when the king accompanied the Perahera, the ceremonies were performed with unusual splendour, and the processions were far more magnificent than they are here described. In case of any impurity appearing near the dêwâlas, the performance of the ceremonies was intermitted during the space of three days.

The whole of this festival was ended on the 31st, at 11 o'clock in the morning. The commencement of the concluding procession was announced by the firing of jingalls, a loud noise of tom-toms and Kandyan pipes, accompanied by the cracking of the Adigars' whips; eight fine elephants first appeared one after the other, then came the relic of Buddha, which was carried under a small gold vessel called *Ranhiligay*, covered by an elegant gilt canopy on the back of a noble elephant most superbly caparisoned, his head and back covered over with crimson cloth embroidered with gold, and his tusks cased in gold; he was supported on each side by two elephants richly adorned with brocade housings, their riders on their necks, and other attendants on their backs, bearing silver fans and umbrellas. The great elephant in the centre carried nothing but the canopy or gilt open pavilion covering the Ranhiligay, which contained the relic. The second Adigar, as Diwene Nileme, marched after the relic, preceded by his whips and followed by a vast crowd of attendants, a party of whom was armed with spears; five elephants of the Nâta dêwale next followed, the one in the middle carrying the bow and arrows of the god, which were succeeded by a long procession consisting of elephants belonging to the different dêwâlas, bearing the symbols of their gods, Disâves with numerous attendants, standard-bearers, tom-tom-beaters, pipers, &c. This part of the procession was interspersed with groups of dancers and huge figures intended to represent demons. These were followed by the whip-bearers of the first Adigar, who marched attended by three chiefs on his left and followed by a great body of guards and retinue. Then came the close palanquins supposed to contain the goddesses of the dêwâlas, each attended by a number of well-dressed females with their heads tastefully ornamented with flowers.

The day was fine, and the rays of a brilliant sun were reflected from the silver fans and umbrellas, from the brocaded clothing of the elephants, and from the gold pavilions covering the relic of Buddha and symbols of the gods, altogether forming a spectacle no less interesting than novel to an European.

Daily, for an hour or more before the procession commenced, the tight-rope dancers and other performers of different descriptions assembled in the great street between the Mahâ Vishṇu and Nâta dêwâlas, immediately under the windows of that part of the palace from which the king of Kandy was accustomed to view such ceremonies. These handsome apartments were now occupied by the Second Commissioner of the Residency, James Gay, Esq., in whose spacious hall His Excellency the Governor and Lady Brownrigg, and most of the ladies and gentlemen of Kandy, frequently met to witness the various performances.

The rope-dancers were two females, who, considering that they did not use the balancing pole, moved with no small degree of ease and grace, and one of them, rather a well-turned figure, showed her activity by springing from the rope many times in rapid succession to a height not less than six or eight feet. A group of young men

and boys in the attire of dancing girls, having their arms and legs covered with small bells, displayed with effect their talents, while another party, with little of the "foreign aid of ornament," performed a very regular figure-dance, brandishing all the while and at each other a couple of short sticks which they held by the middle, one in each hand; the effect of this was much improved by the sticks having a tassel of white flax at each end. But of all the dancers, perhaps none were more worthy of notice than two athletic champions armed with foils and bossy shields, who performed a war-dance. Their merit lay in an extraordinary and not ungraceful activity of limb and flexibility of wrist, more than in any display of the science of attack and defence.

Immediately after the relic of Buddha and the symbols of the gods had been deposited in their respective sanctuaries, all the chiefs who had borne a part in the Perahera, repaired to the Hall of Audience to pay their respects to His Excellency the Governor, and to report the successful termination and happy omens of the great festival. Upon this occasion the attendance of chiefs was more numerous, and they were more splendidly dressed in their peculiar and strange costume, than had been before seen by us; their richly embroidered velvet caps with elegant gold flowers on the top, so various, for no two were alike, were strikingly beautiful. Their large plated tippets, fringed with gold, over their splendid brocade full-sleeved jackets, with the immense folds of gold muslin which composed their lower garments, gave the whole group a character that may justly be termed magnificent.

The dignified but easy air and manner with which the two Adigars, the Disâves, and the other superior chiefs walked up the hall to salute His Excellency the Governor, must have forcibly struck every person present. This, when taken into consideration with the history of their nation, the general character and poverty of the great body of the people, and their peculiar situation and circumstances, and particularly in as far as regards their locality and exclusion from intercourse with the rest of the world, is perhaps a moral phenomenon, a parallel to which is not to be met with among any other people in the world.

After compliments had passed between His Excellency the Governor and the principal chiefs, agreeably to Kandyan custom, one of a group of provincial Mohottale came forward and addressed His Excellency in a complimentary speech, in which he attributed the unprecedented productiveness of the soil, and the extraordinary general prosperity of the country, since it came under the rule of the English, to the famed good fortune of His Excellency.*

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for March* 1874 contain an account, with translations by Mr. Blochmann, of three inscriptions sent to the Society by General Cunningham—one from Îrich or Erich, on the Betmâ, N. E. of Jhânsî, referring to the building of a mosk there during the reign of Mahmûd Shâh of Dihlî, dated A.H. 815 or A.D. 1412,—the other two from Piparai near 'Îsâgaṛh, referring to the building of mosks in the time of Mahmûd Shâh Khiljî of Mâlwa, one in A.H. 855 (A.D. 1451), the other in A.H. 884 (A.D. 1480); the rhymes in these two are the only doggerel verses, Mr. Blochmann says, he has seen in inscriptions. These are followed by two others forwarded by Mr. J. G. Delmerick—one in characters resembling those of the Tugluq period, from the old fort of Abûhar in the Sirsâ district, Dihlî, relating to the renovation of a building by Shamsuddunyâ waddin Iltitmish, but apparently put up when the exact date of the building had been forgotten,—for it is dated "in the year six hundred and thirty odd" (A.D. 1232-1242);—the other, a damaged one, from the fort of Sirsâ, referring to the erection of a house by Muhammad Shâh in 732 A.H., in order to please the spirit of Tugluq Shâh, the martyr, whose death, Ibn Baṭûṭah alleges, he caused by the breaking down of a state pavilion.

Mr. W. Theobald contributes "Observations on some Indian and Burmese species of Trionyx."

In the *Journal* (No. 186, Pt. I., No. 1.—1874) Mr. Blochmann gives a note on a new gold coin of Mahmûd Shâh bin Muhammad Shâh bin Tugluq Shâh, of Dihlî, a puppet king whose reign, ending 22nd Rajab 752 A.H., was so short and precarious that the historians scarcely allude to him.†

In the *Proceedings* for May, Mr. Blochmann translates and comments on nine more inscriptions:—(1) from the tomb of Makhdûmah Jahân, the mother of 'Alâuddunyâwaddin 'Âlam Shâh, at Badaon, dated 866 A.H.

* Report, pp. 21-24.

† See Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians* by Dowson, vol. III. p. 285.

(1462 A.D.); (2) from a loose slab at 'Alâuddîn's Treasury, Qutb Shâh, Dihlî, 932 A.H., or A.D. 1524-25; (3) from a ruined mosk near the Ajmîr Gate, Agrâ, A.H. 1031 (A.D. 1621-22); (4) from Sujân Deo, near Allahâbâd, A.H. 1055; (5) from the tomb of one Lâl Khân at Râjghâṭ, Banâras, A.H. 1182; (6) from a mosk built at Sakît† in the reign of Ghiyâsuddunyâ waddîn Abul Muzaffar Balban in A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285); (7-9) other three from Sakît, dated A.H. 947, 970, and 1097.

It also contains a "Memorandum on the Operations of the Archæological Survey for the season 1873-74," by Major-General Cunningham, R.E., C.S.I., from which we make the following interesting extracts:—

In the State of Nagod (on the northern frontier of the Central Provinces), which was formerly called Uchahara, there are several ancient sites, one of which, named Dhaniya-Majgowa, has yielded a number of copperplate inscriptions. of which eight are now in the possession of the Râja of Nagod. These records belong to two different families of petty chiefs, of whom the principal representatives are Râja Hastina, and his sons Sakshabhâna and Sarvvanâtha in one line, and Râja Jayanâtha and his son Sarvvanâtha in the other line. At Bhubhara, twelve miles to the west-north-west of Uchahara, I obtained a short record of the last-named prince inscribed on a stone pillar. But the most interesting remains are at Bharahut, six miles to the north-east of Uchahara, nine miles to the south-east of the Sutna railway station, and 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad.

In our maps the place is called Bharsad, and I believe that it may be identified with the Bardaotis of Ptolemy. It is the site of an old city, which only sixty years ago was covered with a dense jangal. In the midst of this jangal stood a large brick *stupa* 68 feet in diameter surrounded by a stone railing 88 feet in diameter and 9 feet in height. The whole of the *stupa* has been carried away to build the houses of the present village; but rather more than half of the stone railing still remains, although it has been prostrated by the weight of the rubbish thrown against it when the *stupa* was excavated. When I first saw the place, only three of the railing pillars near the eastern gate were visible above the ground, but a shallow excavation soon brought to light some pillars of the south gate, from which I obtained the measurement of one quadrant of the circle. I was thus able to determine the diameter of the enclosure, the whole of which was afterwards excavated, partly by myself and partly by my assistant Mr. Beglar. In many places the accumulation of rubbish rose to eight feet in height, and as the stone pillars were lying flat underneath this heap the amount of excavation was necessarily rather great; but the whole work did not occupy more than six weeks, and all that now exists of this fine railing is now exposed to view.

This colonnade of the Bharahut stupa is of the same age and style as that of the great Sânchi stupa, near Bhilsa. But the Sânchi railing is quite plain, while the Bharahut railing is profusely sculptured,—every pillar and every rail, as well as the whole coping, being sculptured on both faces, with an inscription on nearly every stone. From the characters of these inscriptions, as in the similar case of the Sânchi stupa, the erection of the railing must be assigned to the age of Aśoka, or about B.C. 250.

The inscriptions are mostly records of the gifts of pillars and rails like those of the Sânchi and other *stupas*. But there is also a considerable number of descriptive records, or placards, placed either above or below many of the sculptures. These last are extremely valuable, as they will enable us to identify nearly all the principal figures and scenes that are represented in these ancient bas-reliefs.

Amongst the numerous sculptures at Bharahut there are no naked figures as at Sânchi and at Mathurâ, but all are well clad, and especially the women, whose heads are generally covered with richly figured cloths, which may be either muslins or perhaps brocades or shawls. Most of the figures, both male and female, are also profusely adorned with gold and jewelled ornaments, in many of which one of the most significant Buddhist symbols plays a prominent part. The earrings are mostly of one curious massive pattern which is common to both men and women. The *ankûś*, or elephant-goad, was also a favourite ornament, which is placed at intervals in the long necklaces of ladies.

At each of the four entrances the corner pillars bore statues, each 4½ feet in height, of Yakshas and Yakshinîs, and of Nâga Râjas, to whom the guardianship of the gates was entrusted. Thus at the northern gate there are two male figures and one female, which are respectively labelled Ajakâlaka Yakho, Kupiro Yakho, and Chadâ Yakhi, that is, the Yakshas named Ajakâlaka and Kupira, and the Yakshinî Chandâ. Other Yakshas are named Suviloma, Virudaka, and Gangito, and a second Yakshinî is labelled Yakhinî Sudasana. On two other pillars there are male figures, each with a hood canopy of five

* Blochmann's *Translation of the Âîn*, pp. 126, 398, 400, 435, 516.

snakes' heads, and each labelled Nâga Râja. These have their arms crossed upon their breasts in an attitude of devotion, appropriate to their appearance on a Buddhist building. On two middle pillars there are two female statues respectively labelled Chukaloka Devatâ and Sirimâ Devatâ, whom I take to be goddesses.

Amongst the scenes represented there are upwards of a dozen of the Buddhist legends called *Jâtakas*, all of which relate to the former births of Buddha. Luckily these also have their appropriate inscriptions, or descriptive labels, without which I am afraid that their identification would hardly have been possible. Amongst these *Jâtakas* are the following:—

(1). *Hansa Jâtaka*, or "Goose-birth," of which the only portion now remaining below the inscription is the expanded tail of a peacock, which must therefore have played some part in the story.

(2). *Kinara Jâtaka.* The Kinaras were a kind of demigods. Here two of them, male and female, are represented, with human heads and clad in leaves, standing before some human personage who is seated. The assignment of horses' heads to the Kinaras must therefore belong to a later date.

(3). *Mṛiga Jâtaka*, or the well-known legend of the "Deer," in Sanskṛit *Mṛiga*. I call it a deer, and not an antelope as is generally understood, because all the animals in the bas-relief are represented with antlers. The King of Kâsi is seen aiming an arrow at the King of the Deer (Buddha).

(4). *Maghâ Deviya Jatakam*, or "Maghâ-Devi-birth." I know nothing of this story.

(5). *Yava Majhakiyam Jâtakam.* This title means literally the "mean or average amount of food" which was attained by daily increasing the quantity with the waxing moon and decreasing it with the waning moon. I know nothing of the story, but the bas-relief shows a king seated with baskets of grain (?) before him, each bearing a stamp or medallion of a human head. To the left some men are bringing other baskets. Barley (*yava*) would appear to have been the principal food in those days.

(6.) *Bhisaharaniya Jâtaka.* A ṛishi (or sage) is seated in front of his hut, with a man and woman standing before him, and a monkey seated on the ground, who is energetically addressing the sage.

(7.) *Latuwa Jâtakam.* The "Latwa-bird-birth." This legend apparently refers to some story of a bird and an elephant of which I heard a curious version in Kaśmîr in 1839. In the bas-relief there is a bee stinging the eye and a bird picking the head of an elephant, with a frog croaking close by, while the elephant is treading on a nest of young birds. To the right the same (or a similar) bird is sitting on the branch of a tree, over an elephant who is running away with his tail between his legs. Near the top the hind half of an elephant is seen rushing down some rocks. In my Kaśmîrî version an elephant while feeding throws down a nest of young birds into a stream, where they are all drowned. The parent bird seeks the aid of the bees and mosquitoes, who attack the elephant with their stings, and having half-blinded him he rushes off towards the stream, and plunging headlong down the rocks is drowned. The fable seems intended to show the power of combination. There can be no doubt that the two legends are substantially the same; and it seems probable that we may find other Buddhist *Jâtakas* still preserved in modern legends after the lapse of more than 2000 years. Perhaps this particular legend may be found in the *Panchatantra*.

(8.) *Vitura punakaya Jâtakam.* I know nothing of this story. *Vitura* perhaps may be a mistake for *Vithurâ*, "a thief."

Of illustrations of the life of Buddha during his last appearance there are some good examples. The earliest of these is a medallion containing Mâyâ's dream of the white elephant, which is superscribed *Bhagavato Ukdanti.* A second scene belongs to the reign of Ajâta Satru, king of Magadha, in the eighth year of whose reign Buddha attained *Nirvâṇa.* This is labelled *Ajâtasata Bhagavato vandate.* Some of the well-known assemblies of the Buddhists would also appear to be represented, of which one is called the *Jatila Sabha*, of which I know nothing. A second belongs, I think, to a later period of Buddhist history, about midway between the death of Buddha and the reign of Aśoka. This sculpture represents a large assembly, and is duly labelled *Sudhamma Reva Sabha Bhagavato Chudâ Mahâ.* The words *Reva Sabha* I take to mean the assembly or synód which was presided over by the famous Buddhist priest Revato just 100 years after the death of Buddha, or in B.C. 378.*

But the Bharahut sculptures are not confined to the legends and events connected with the career of Buddha, as there is at least one bas-relief which illustrates a famous scene in the life of Râma. In this sculpture there are only three figures, of which one seated to the left is holding

* That is, if we accept Max Müller's conjectural date for the *Nirvâṇa* (*Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 298); if with Kern (*vide ante*, pp. 79, 80) we assume the *Nirvâṇa* to have taken place about 370 B.C., then this council was that in the 17th year of Aśoka, or 253 B.C.—ED. *I.A.*

out an arrow towards a male and female who stand before him—the latter being behind the other. These figures are labelled respectively Râma (the rest lost, but most probably Chandra) Janaka Râja and Sitala Devî.* I believe that this is by far the earliest notice that we possess of the great solar hero Râma and his wife.

I look upon the discovery of these curious sculptures as one of the most valuable acquisitions that has yet been made to our knowledge of ancient India. From them we can learn what was the dress of all classes of the people of India during the reign of Aśoka, or about three quarters of a century after the death of Alexander the Great. We can see the Queen of India decked out in all her finery, with a flowered shawl or muslin sheet over her head, with massive earrings and elaborate necklaces, and a petticoat reaching to the mid-leg, which is secured round the waist by a zone of seven strings, as well as by a broad and highly ornamented belt.

Here we can see the soldier with short curly hair, clad in a long jacket, or tunic, which is tied at the waist, and a *dhoti* reaching below the knees, with long boots, ornamented with a tassel in front, just like Hessians, and armed with a straight broad sword, of which the scabbard is three inches wide.

Here also we may see the standard-bearer on horseback with a human-headed bird surmounting the pole. Here, too, we can see the king mounted on an elephant escorting a casket of relics.

The curious horse-trappings and elephant-housings of the time are given with full and elaborate detail.

Everywhere we may see the peculiar Buddhist symbol which crowns the great *stupa* at Sânchi used as a favourite ornament. It forms the drop of an earring, the clasp of a necklace, the support of a lamp, the crest of the royal standard, and the decoration of the lady's broad belt and of the soldier's scabbard.

There are also houses of many kinds, and several temples, one of which is labelled *Vijayata pâsâde*, or the "Temple of Victory." There are animals of several kinds, as elephants, horses, deer, cows, and monkeys, and a single specimen of a real tapir. There are numerous crocodiles and fishes, and in one sculpture there is a very large fish, which is represented swallowing two boat-loads of men. There is also a great variety of flowers, and several kinds of fruits, amongst which the mango is very happily treated.

But perhaps the most curious of the Bharahut sculptures are a few scenes of broad humour with elephants and monkeys as the only characters. In two of these an elephant has been captured by a band of monkeys, who have fastened a billet of wood along the inside of his trunk so as to prevent him from moving it. Ropes are fastened to his neck and body, the ends of which are pulled by monkeys who are walking and dancing in triumphal procession to the sound of shells and cymbals played by other monkeys. The spirit of these scenes is very droll. A third scene represents monkeys holding a giant by the nose with a pair of pincers, to which is fastened a rope dragged by an elephant. The action and attitudes of the monkeys are very good. The intention of all these designs is exceedingly spirited, but the execution is coarse and weak.

In the short inscriptions on the railing of the Bharahut *stupa* I find the names of the following places, Sugana, or Srughna; Vedisa, or Bhilsa; Pâtaliputa, or Patna; Kosâmbi, or Kosam; Nandinagarika, or Nander; and Nâśika, or Nâśik; besides a number of unknown places, of which Asitamasâ is most probably some town on the river Tamasâ or Tamas, the Tons of our maps.

From these inscriptions also I have learned the names of several parts of the Buddhist gateways and railings, one of which is a new word, or at least a new form of word, not to be found in the dictionaries.

On the top of Lal Pahâr, or the "Red Hill," which overhangs Bharahut, I obtained a rock-inscription of one of the great Kalachuri Râjas, Nara Sinha Deva, dated in Saṁvat (Śake) 909. Altogether Mr. Beglar and I have collected about twenty inscriptions of the Kalachuris, who took the titles of Chedindra, and Chedinarendra, or "Lord of Chedi," and called the era whicoh they used the Chedi Saṁvat and the Kalachuri Saṁvat.

I have also got an inscription of the great Châlukya Râja Tribhuvana Malla,† who began to reign in A.D. 1076 and reigned 51 years. The inscription is dated in Śake 1008, or A.D. 1086, and the place of its discovery, Sitabaldi, confirms the account of his having conducted an expedition across the Narmadâ.

After leaving Bharahut I visited Kosam, on the Jamunâ, which I have formerly identified with the ancient Kosâmbi. I explored the place very minutely, and my three days' search was rewarded by the discovery of several very curious terracotta figures, which are certainly as old as the

* The practice of labelling sculptures is also observable on the old temple of Pâpnâth at Paṭṭadkal, on the Mâlprabhâ, S.E. of Badâmi, where the scenes are all from the *Râmâyana* and are nearly all so labelled, in characters of about the 6th century A.D.—ED. *I. A.*

† *Vide ante*, vol. I. pp. 81-83, 158; vol. II. pp. 297-8.—ED.

period of Buddhist supremacy, as the common Buddhist symbol forms an ornament both for males and females, as in the Bharahut sculptures, which I have just before described.

Unfortunately there are no inscriptions upon them. Some of them were undoubtedly toys. Such are the two rams' heads, with a hole from side to side for an axle, and a hole at right angles behind for the insertion of a pole, so that they might be rolled forward on wheels to butt against each other. Such also are four carts or chariots with similar perforations, and with harnessed oxen represented on the fronts. One of them has four oxen, the others only two. These I take to be authentic specimens of the ancient Toy-cart, or *Mrichchhakaṭi*, which gave its name to one of the oldest of the Hindu dramas, translated by H. H. Wilson.*

A further examination of the inscriptions (at Bharahut), and the receipt of Mr. Beglar's report of the completion of the excavations, have made several very valuable additions to my account of the Bharahut sculptures, of which I will now give a brief description.

A bas-relief labelled with the name of *Pasenajita* shows the well-known King of Kośala in a chariot drawn by four horses, proceeding to pay his respects to the Buddhist Wheel-symbol, which is appropriately named *Bhagavato dhamma chakam*.

A second bas-relief represents a Nâga Chief kneeling before the Bodhi Tree, attended by a number of Nâga followers. This scene is named *Erapâto Nâga Râja Bhagavato vandate*, that is, "Erapâtra, the Nâga Râja, worships Buddha."

The following *Jâtakas* have also been found by Mr. Beglar :—(1) *Uda Jâtaka*, (2) *Senchha Jâtaka*, (3) *Birila* (read *Birâla*) *Jâtaka* (or) *Kukuta Jâtaka*, (4) *Isimbc Jâtaka*, (5) *Nâga Jâtaka*, and (6) *Chhadantiya Jâtakam*.

A single bas-relief gives a party of female dancers attended by female musicians. The attitudes are the same as at the present day; but the four female dancers are intended for *Âpsaras*, as they are separately labelled *Alambusa Achharâ*, *Subhada Achharâ*, *Padumânati Achharâ*, and *Misakosi Achharâ*.

There are also representatives of five separate Bodhi Trees of as many different Buddhas, which are distinctly labelled as follows: (1) *Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi*, that is, the Tree of *Vipasyin* or *Vipaswi*, the first of the seven Buddhas; (2) *Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi*; (3) *Bhagavato Konagamana Bodhi*; (4) *Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi*; (5) *Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi*. These last four are the well-known Buddhas named Krakuchhanda, Konâgamani, Kâsyapa, and Śâkyamuni.

But by far the most interesting of all Mr. Beglar's discoveries is a bas-relief representing the famous Jetavana monastery at Śrâvasti. The scene is labelled *Jetavana Anâdhapediko dati koti santhatena ketâ*, which I take to mean that "Anâthapedika buys (*ketâ*) the Jetavana for certain *kotis* of money." To the left there is a building labelled *Kosambikuti*, a name which has already appeared in my Śrâvasti inscription. A second building near the top is labelled *Gadhakuti* or *Gandhakuti*. In the foreground there is a cart which has just been unladen, with the pole and yoke tilted upwards, and the bullocks at one side. The story of the purchase of Prince Jeta's garden by Anâthapindika for eighteen *kotis* of *masurans* is told in Hard's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 219.

According to the legend, Prince Jeta, not wishing to sell the garden, said that he would not part with it for a less sum than would pave the whole area when the pieces of money (*masurans*) were laid out touching each other. This offer was at once accepted by Anâthapindika, and accordingly the courtyard is represented covered with ornamented squares, which touch each other like the squares of a chessboard, but do not break bond, as a regular pavement of stones or tiles would do.

For this reason I take the squares to represent the square pieces of old Indian money. Beside the cart there are two figures with pieces in their hands. These I suppose to be Anâthapindika himself and a friend counting out the money. In the middle of the court are two other figures also with square pieces in their hands. These I suppose to be the purchaser's servants, who are laying down the coins touching each other.

To the left are several persons of rank looking on, whom I take to be Prince Jeta and his friends. The whole scene is very curious; and when we remember that the bas-relief is as old as the time of Aśoka, it does not seem too rash to conclude that we have before us a rude representation of the buildings of the famous Jetavana which were erected by Anâthapindika during the lifetime of Buddha.

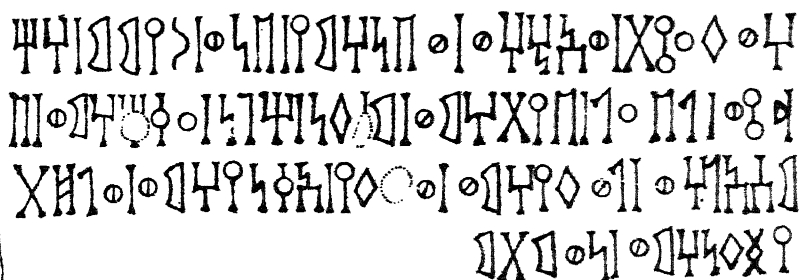
One of the new inscriptions discovered by Mr. Beglar is also interesting, as we get the name of a king who must have been a contemporary of Aśoka. This record is as follows: "(Gift) of the Prince Vâdha Pâla, son of Râja Dhanabhuti."

* The *Memorandum* from which the preceding is extracted is dated 'Simla, 13th April 1874.' What follows forms a supplement to it.—ED. *I. A.*

A SABÆAN INSCRIPTION.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

This inscription is on a stone slab 21 inches long and 6·7 broad, but reduced to one-fifth in linear measurement on the accompanying facsimile. It will be extremely interesting to those few scholars who occupy themselves with researches of this kind, and who on account of the scarcity of these documents, each of which is at least two thousand years old, can but seldom enjoy the pleasure of handling a new one :—



Transcript :—

1. הופעת ואחהו ובנהמי בנו רימם חה
2. חדו לבעל ביתהמו מדפן הגן וקחהמו ב
3. מסאלהו לופיהמו ועפי אקניהמו ולדת
4. יפעהמו נעמתם

1. In הופעת the final ת is not necessarily a feminine termination, and I prefer to take it for a masculine. All the other words of this line are well ascertained.

2. The most plausible letter for filling in the first lacuna of one character appears to me to be ד, and about the second there can be no doubt, since the upper part of the letter is sufficiently plain to enable us to restore it.

3. M. Halévy has (Osiander 19, *J. A.* 1873, p. 321 *seq.*) for לופיהמו "qu'il les bénisse," and elsewhere for ליעפי ביתן סלחן "pour le salut de la maison de Silhin;" accordingly I supply the lacuna of one letter occurring in this line by ע and the complete word will be ועפי

4. אקניהמו with pronominal suffix is the plural of קני "property, possession, acquisition;" for יפעהמו, the only word of this inscription which ought not to present any very great difficulty, on account of its well-known surroundings, I am nevertheless unable to propose a better approximation than ضاعف "to double, to augment."

Translation :—

Hofa'sat and his brother, with their sons the Benu Raimm, have renovated to Ba'l their house Madfan (*lit.* sepulchre), because he has heard them in his grace! May he bless and protect (or save) their possessions, in order to augment their prosperity!

REVIEWS.

NUMISMATIC and other ANTIQUARIAN ILLUSTRATIONS of the Rule of the SASSANIANS IN PERSIA, A.D. 226 to 652. By Edward Thomas, F.R.S., Corréspondant de l'Institut de France. (London: Trübner, 1873.) 94 pp.

The papers in this small volume are a reprint of a series of articles contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and here collected in a separate form to court the criticism of antiquarians in this branch of Oriental research,—being intended as a basis for a more extended essay on which the author is engaged for the new edition of Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*. It is indeed a most valu-

able contribution to the literature* of the subject, and to Pehlvi palæography, for the medals described "exhibit in their serial order," as the author remarks, "an almost unchanged system of writing extending over a period of more than three centuries. The early sources of the alphabet have already been traced to the Phœnician,† and its latter adaptations may be followed through the sacred rituals of the Pârsîs to the modern type, founded on the surviving texts of the Fire-Worshippers of Bombay." The *Kalîlah and Dimnah* was translated from the Indian *Panchatantra* into Pehlvi in the first half of the sixth century, and from the Pehlvi into Arabic by Ibn al Mukaffa two centuries later. And, as remarked by Prof. Cowell,‡ "Benfey has shown that with regard to the cycle of stories in the *Panchatantra* and other similar collections, there are three distinct 'moments' in the history of their transmission. Their origin is generally Buddhist, and it is in Buddhist books that we are in most cases to look for their oldest forms; they were thence adapted by the Brâhmans, and incorporated in their Sanskrit literature; and it is from these Indian adaptations that they have spread westward over Europe." Then the revenue system of the Sassanians was translated into Arabic from its *original Pehlvi*, in the reign of the Khalif Abdalmalik § (A.D. 684-705), and the Arabs continued to translate Pehlvi books up to the tenth century; || whilst Hamdal Mustûfi, the author of the *Nuzhat-al-Kulûb*, who died in 1349 A.D., expressly states that the current speech of the people of Shirwán, in his time, was Pehlvi ¶

Owing to the entire absence of exclusively Zand letters throughout the whole array of the national and popular monuments of the period up to 641 A.D., Mr. Thomas holds, with M. Oppert, * that it was fabricated by the priests. The results of his investigation on the derivation of the Âryan alphabets are thus briefly summed up:—"The Âryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the science of writing: (1) The *Persian Cuneiform* owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian Cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Tûranian symbolic character; (2) the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets were manifestly derived from the Phœnician; (3) the *Baktrian* was adapted to its more precise functions by a reconstruction and amplification of Phœnician models; (4) the *Devanâgari* was appropriated to the expression of the Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Pâli or Lât alphabet, which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (*Dravidian*) dialects; (5) the *Pehlvi* was the offspring of later and already modified Phœnician letters; and (6) the *Zend* was elaborated out of the limited elements of the Pehlvi writing, but by a totally different method to that followed in the adaptation of the Baktrian. Mr. Thomas holds that the Âryan immigration into India, on the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Sarasvatî and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, employed the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phœnician, whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch bark. "This alphabet continued in use as the official writing under the Greek and Indo-Skythian rulers of Northern India, until it was superseded by the superior fitness and capabilities of the local Pâli, which is proved by Aśoka's scattered inscriptions on rocks and monoliths (Lâts) to have constituted the current writing of the continent of India in B.C. 200, while a similar, if not identical, character is seen to have furnished the prototype of all the varying

* The principal notices of Sassanian coins are to be found in Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Persarum* (Ed. Costard) (Oxford, 1760); De Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse* (Paris, 1793); Sir W. Ouseley, *Observations on some Medals and Gems* (Lond. 1801), and *Travels in Persia* (Lond. 1823); Visconti, *Iconographie des Roisperses*; T. C. Tychsen, *Commentationes IV. de Numis veterum Persarum in comment. Soc. Reg.* (Gött. 1808-13); Sir R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, &c.* (Lond. 1821); M. Adrien de Longpérier, *Essai sur les Médailles des Rois perses de la Dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, 1840); Dr. Dorn, *Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. à St. Pétersbourg, Classe Historique*, 1843, with numerous detached essays of later date; Dr. Justus Olshausen, *Die Pehlvi-Legenden auf d. Mzn. der letzt. Sassaniden* (Kopenhagen, 1843), translated in *Num. Chron.* O.S. vol. XI. (1848) p. 68; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (Lond. 1841), p. 396; A. Krafft, *Ueber Olshausens, Entzifferung, in den Wiener Jahrbüchern der Literatur*, Bd. 106 Anzeigeblatt; Dr. Mordtmann's papers in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1848, p. 112; 1854, p. 1; 1864, p. 1; 1865, p. 373. Mr. Thomas's articles in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII. (1849) p. 353; vol. XIII. (1852) p. 373; and *Num. Chron.* O.S. vol. XII. (1849) p. 68; and vol. XV. (1852) p. 180; and also casual references in his edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* (Lond. 1858); M. Bartholomæi's Letters to Dr. Dorn in the *Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. XIV. (1857) p. 371, and elsewhere; also M. N. de Khanikoff to Dr. Dorn, 1857.

† *Num. Chron.* vol. VII. N.S. p. 216, and XI. p. 202.

‡ *The Academy*, Apr. 1, 1872, p. 139; also Colebrooke, *Hitopadeśa*; H. H. Wilson, *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. p. 155; Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 128; Mas'audi, *Meadows of Gold*, Fr. ed. vol. I. p. 159.

§ *Tarîkh Guzidah*, *Jour. R. As. Socy.* vol. XII. p. 257.

|| M. Reinaud, *Abulfeda's Geogr.* p. lxvi. quoting Mas'audi. See also Mas'audi, vol. II. p. 146, and vol. III. p. 252.

¶ M. de Khanikoff in *Bull. Hist. Phil. St. Pétersbourg*, vol. IX. p. 266. See *Jour. Asiatique*, 1862, p. 64, and Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. III. p. 357.

* *Jour. Asiatique*, Fev.–Mars 1851, p. 281. See also E. Burnouf, *Comment. sur le Yaçna*, pp. cxxxix. cxli. cxlv. cli. &c.; Westergaard, *Letter from Yazd* (1843), *Jour. R. As. Socy.* vol. VIII. p. 350, and his *Zend Avesta* (Kopen. 1852-4), pp. 3, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22; Dr. W. D. Whitney, *The Avesta*, in *Jour. Amer. Or. Socy.* vol. V. pp. 352, 355-6, 360 - and Dr. Haug, *The Sacred Language of the Parsis*, pp. 33, 122, 129, 162.

systems of writing employed by the different nationalities of India at large from Sindh to Ceylon, and spreading over Burmah, till the Indian Pâli meets Chinese alphabets on their own soil in Annam."*

The following is a table of the Sassanian monarchs, with the dates of their several accessions, revised from the latest authorities† :—

		Accession.
1.	Ardeshir (Artahshatr) Bâbekân ‡ A.D.	226
2.	Shâpûr (Shahpûhr) I. his son	240
3.	Hormazd I. §	271
4.	Varahrân (Bahram) I.	272
5.	Varahrân II.	275
6.	Varahrân III (Segân Shâh)‖	292
7.	Nerschi (Ναρσῆς)¶	292
8.	Hormazd II.	301
9.	Shâpûr II. (Zu'laktâf)	309
10.	Ardeshîr (Artashatr) II. (*Jamîl*)	380
11.	Shâhpûr III.	384
12.	Varahrân IV. (*Kermán Sháh*)*	386
13.	Yezdejird (Izdakarti) I. (*Bazah-kár*)	397
14.	Varahrân V. (*Gór*)	417
15.	Yezdejird II. (*Sipáh-dost*)	483
16.	Hormazd III. his younger son	457
17.	Fîroz (Fîrûchi),† eldest son of Yezdejird II.	459
18.	Vagharsh (Βάλας)	486
19.	Kobâd (Kûât, Καβάδης), *Nek-rái*, 'wise')	490
20.	Khusrû I. (Naushîrwân)	530-1
21.	Hormazd IV. (*Túrk-Zádah*‡)	578
22.	Khusrû II. (Parvîz)	590
23.	Kobâd *Shîruiah* (*Ál ghashúm*)§	628
24.	Ardeshîr III.	628
25.	Shahr-yâr (Khorham, Σαρβάρος‖)	629
26.	Pûrân-dukht (dr. of Khusrû Parvîz)¶	630
27.	Khusrû	631-2
28.	Azarmi-dukht (dr. of Khusrû)	631-2
29.	Hormazd	631-2
30.	Yezdejird III. son of Shahr-yâr*	16th June 632 to, 652

FROM THE INDUS TO THE TIGRIS, a Narrative of a Journey through the Countries of Balochistan, Afghanistan, Khorassan and Iran in 1872, together with a Synoptical Grammar and Vocabulary of the Brahoe Language, and a Record of the Meteorological Observations and Altitudes on the March from the Indus to the Tigris, by HENRY WALTER BELLEW, C.S.I., Surgeon, Bengal Staff Corps, &c. (London: Trübner & Co. 1874.)

A book of travels, through a country, the details of whose geography are but little known to the general reader, without either a map or an index is almost a phenomenon in the present or any other age, and is most discouraging to peruse. Here is a work, almost a pure and simple narrative of travel from place to place, which no one need attempt to read intelligibly without the aid of a good Map of Persia and Baluchistan, yet published without so essential an accompaniment.

The author was selected to accompany Major-General F. R. (now Sir Richard) Pollock on his political mission to Sistân at the close of 1871. In Sistân the mission joined Sir Frederick Goldsmid's, and they proceeded together to the Persian capital, whence Dr. Bellew returned to India with the camp and establishment. He carefully avoids any allusion to the politics of the countries visited, and confines himself strictly to the narrative of the journey from Shikârpur, by Jacobâbâd and the Miloh Pass to Kalât, and thence by the Nishpâ pass, the Peshin valley, and the Barghanah pass to Kandahâr; then to Ballakhân on the Helmand Bûst, and through the Garmsel or 'hot tract' from Hazârjuft to Rûdbâr. Sixteen miles beyond Rûdbâr the travellers came to Kalâ Mâder Pâdshâh, or 'foot of the King's mother.' "The fort itself is in fair preservation, and appears to be of much more recent date than the ruins that surround it. It is said to have been the residence of the mother of Kai Khusrau. At about 8 or 10 miles beyond it are the extensive ruins of KAIKOBÂD, a city named after its founder, the first of the Kâyâni sovereigns, and subsequently said to have been the capital of Kai Khusrau. Two tall dilapidated towers, at some 300 yards apart, are pointed out as the site of his palace, and the fenestered curtain walls projecting from them towards each other give an outline of the palatial court. These ruins are all of raw brick, and wear a very ancient look, and prove the astonishing durability of the material." Does the writer not

* See also *J. As. Soc. Ben.* 1867, 6 Feb. and *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. V. p. 421.

† See *Essai d'une Histoire de la Dynastie des Sassanides* by M. K. Patkanian; translated from the original Russian text by M. Evariste Prud'homme, *Jour. Asiat.* Fev.–Mars 1866.

‡ Tabari, vol. II. p. 5; and *Jour. Asiat.* vol. VII. 1839, p. 28.

§ Mas'audi calls him *Al Batal*, 'the hero,' II. p. 166, No. 13. The Arabic nickname is *Al Athîm*, 'the Sinner.'

‖ Agathias, IV. 25.

¶ Morier, *Travels in Persia* (1812), pp. 87, 257; Flandin, *La Perse*, vol. II. p. 270, and pls. 45, 52; Thomas, *Sassanian Inscriptions*, p. 102.

* Gottwaldt's *Hamza Isfahâni* (St. Petersburg, 1846), p. 39.

† Moyse de Kaghank, l. I. c. x.; M. Patkanian, *Jour. Asiat.* 1866, p. 166; Tabari, t. II. pp. 127, 129; Mas'-audi, t. II. p. 195; Mohl's *Shâh Nâmah*, t. V. p. 84; De Sacy, p. 342; Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. I. p. 122. He lost his life in war with the Haïtalah or White Huns.

‡ Mas'audi, t. II. pp. 211, 213, 219, 252; Tabari, t. II. pp. 252, 268; Mohl's *Shâh Nâmah*, t. V. p. 681; Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. I. p. 154; *Jour. Asiat.* 1866, p. 157.

§ 'The iniquitous.'

‖ Mas'audi, t. II. p. 233; Tabari, t. II. p. 342.

¶ Widow of Shahr-yâr. Tabari records in order,—Pûrân-dukht (1 year and 4 months); Khushenendè (1 month), Azarmi-dukht (6 months); Kesra son of Mihr-Hasis; Khurzâd-Khasrû; Firoz; Ferrukhzâd Khusrû, and Yezdejird, II. 349).

* The Armenian chronicles make Yezdejird the son of Kobâd and grandson of Khusrû.—Sépêos, in *Jour. Asiat.* 1866, p. 227.

forget that there was a Kobâd succeeded by a Khusrû in the 6th Christian century, to whom the names of these places may be quite as much due, as to the Kâyânî kings a thousand years before them?

The next stage was Kalâ Jân Beg, thence to Bandar and by Nasîrâbâd to Banjâr, where they joined Sir F. Goldsmid's party; then by Peshâwarân, the site of a populous city utterly destroyed by Taimurlang, to Khyrâbâd, the first inhabited place the party saw after passing the Afghan-Sistân frontier. Several marches ahead the climate became notably different from that of the districts left behind. During the day the air was delightfully mild and balmy, and at night fresh and bracing. In crossing the Kalâ Koh range you, in fact, enter another country, and the change is no less observable in the characteristics of the people than of the climate. The inhabitants have much fairer skins than the Afghans, are clothed differently, and appear a more orderly community. Thirty miles more passed, and the Mission met the first travellers seen on all the road from Kandahâr westward. They were a small party of twenty men on their way from Birjand to Sistân for grain. They were needy, and therefore showed none of the haughty indifference of ordinary Afghans towards strangers. Birjand is the centre of a considerable trade with Kandahâr and Herat on one side, and Kirmân, Yazd, and Tehrân on the other. It is also the seat of the carpet manufactures for which this district has been celebrated from of old. The carpets are called *qâlîn*, and the best kinds fetch very high prices from the aristocracy of the country.

From Birjand the party proceeded to Ghîbk or Ghînk, and thence by Rûm to Ghayn or Qayn, supposed to have been founded by Kârin, "a son of the blacksmith Kâwâh of Ispahân, the hero of the Peshdâdî kings, who slew the tyrant Zâhâk, and whose leather apron—afterwards captured by the Arab Sâd-bin-Waqâss—became the standard of Persia, under the name of *darfshi Kâwânî*, or the Kâwânî standard. It was studded with the most costly jewels by successive kings, to the last of the Pahlavî race, from whom it was wrested by the Arab conqueror, and sent as a trophy to the Khâlif 'Umar."

From Ghayn they went by Girimunj, and Kakhak, through a very dangerous country, to Bijistân, one of the principal towns of the Tabbas district. Hereabouts the people were found to have suffered dreadfully from famine. The camp was surrounded by crowds of beggars, famished, gaunt and wizened creatures. Boys and girls, of from ten to twenty years of age, wan, pinched and wrinkled, whined around in piteous tones and vainly called on Ali for aid. Along the entire march from Ghayn to the Persian capital, hardly a single infant or very young child was to be seen: they had all died in the famine. "We nowhere heard the sound of music nor song nor mirth in all the journey up to Mashad. We passed through village after village, each almost concealed from view in the untrimmed foliage of its gardens, only to see repetitions of misery, melancholy, and despair. The suffering produced by this famine baffles description and exceeds our untutored conceptions." In the single province of Khorassan the loss of population was estimated at 120,000 souls, and over the whole kingdom could not be less than a million and a half. In the disorganization and laxity of authority produced during this horrible time, the Turkman began with fresh ardour their wonted frays, and during three years carried off twenty thousand Persian subjects from Mashad alone, for the slave markets of Khiva and Bokhara. During the height of the distress, the citizens of Mashad would flock out to the plains "to be captured by the Turkman, preferring a crust of bread in slavery to the tortures of a slow death under the heedless rule of their own Governors, who never stirred a finger to alleviate their sufferings or relieve their necessities." We cannot, however, follow our author in the details of his journey from Mashad to Tehrân, and thence to Baghdad, interesting though many of them are.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE NÂGAMANGALA COPPER PLATES.

SIR,—The notice which Professor Eggeling has bestowed upon the Nâgamangala copper plates in his letter of the 13th March, published in the *Indian Antiquary* (*ante*, p. 151), demands my sincere acknowledgments. The approval he has kindly expressed of my former contributions are doubly gratifying as coming from the representative of the Royal Asiatic Society. I may, however, be permitted to reply to some of the observations he has been good enough to make on certain passages of my rendering.

First, as regards the name Koṅgaṇi taking the form Koḍgaṇi, and my suspicion that this might furnish a clue to the origin of Koḍagu, the name of Coorg. The word undoubtedly appears in the photo-lithograph as *Koṅgani*, but this is not so in the photograph from which it was obtained, and from which my translation was made. A defect there occurs, a large white spot, on the *ṅga*,

which prevents the entire shape of the first letter being seen, but so much as appears indicates ḍ. I should probably, however, have left the matter as doubtful, owing to the flaw above described, had not my attention been previously arrested by a similar spelling on the stone in Coorg mentioned in my introductory remarks. I copied it on the spot, and feel no doubt that it was *Koḍgini.* The question can be settled only by careful reference to the originals, which I may have an opportunity of making at some time or other. Whatever the result may be, Coorg certainly formed part of the Kongu dominions, and the name Vîra Râya Chakravarti given as that of the founder of the dynasty coincides with Vîra Râya the well-known distinctive title of the Coorg Râjas.

With regard to the term Avinîta applied to the king known as Durvinîta, both words are evidently of similar import: *Avinîta,* or "without manners," amounts to very much the same as *Durvinîta* or *Duvvinîta,* "ill-mannered." Both, I conceive, are epithets, and synonymous. It is hardly possible that either was a personal name. But that the former is rightly taken as a proper noun is clear from the mention of the king twice by that title alone in the Merkara plates (Plate II. 5th line, *Avinîta nâmadheya*; last line, *Avinîta Mahâdhirâjâ*).* Whether of "ill manners" or of "no manners," I am indebted to Prof. Eggeling for an important correction, which brings out a redeeming trait in this ruler's character. He was "the author of a commentary on fifteen cantos of the *Kirâtârjunîya,*" and doubtless a patron of literature. No trace probably remains of this work. The only commentary on the *Kirâtârjunîya* generally known here is, I believe, the *Ganda Patha* of Mallinâtha. It is worthy of note that Durvinîta was not the only royal author in this line, for Mâdhava I. appears to have written a treatise on the *Dattaka Sûtra,* or law of adoption (Merkâra and Nâgamangala Plates, No. I.).

The reading *(a)navaśeshasya* instead of *nava koshasya* in the account of Śrî Vikrama I admit to be correct. But the interpretation proposed of the passage relating to Bhû Vikrama presents some difficulties. I am prepared, however, to give up *Daradana.* The revised reading suggested by Mr. Eggeling is as follows:—*aneka-samara-sampdâita-vijṛimbhita-dvirada-radana-kuliśa-âghâta* [*ḥ*]-*vraṇa-samrûḍha* [*śasvad ?* or *bhâsvad ?*]-*vijaya-lakshana-lakshîkrita-viśâla-vaksha*[*ḥ*]-*sthalaḥ*: "whose broad chest was marked with the marks of (continual?) victories; (marks) cicatrized from wounds caused by strokes from the weapons (*kuliśa*), and from [or, made from] the tusks of gaping (or brave?) elephants, obtained in many battles." In other words, the king captures a number of elephants in battle, causes weapons to be made from their tusks, from these weapons receives wounds, and prides himself on the scars of such self-inflicted wounds! It surely is more consistent with the character of a brave and warlike king, as Bhû Vikrama evidently was, to represent the healing up of dangerous wounds received *in battle* as tokens of his invincible prowess. I would therefore adhere to the reading *svâsthyad,* which appears to be borne out by the letters, and not *śasvad* or *bhâsvad. Radana kuliśa* may possibly refer to "the weapons made of ivory" which Bhû Vikrama is said to have "kept by him as trophies of victory;" but even allowing to pass unchallenged this statement of a proceeding which rather savours of puerility,—unless some new description of weapon had been used, causing an entire revolution in the modes of warfare, such as was produced by the introduction of firearms,—I doubt whether *kuliśa* can be interpreted of weapons generally. The word means an axe, or the thunderbolt-weapon of Indra. Now Indra rides upon the elephant Airâvata, bearing this *vajra* in his hand (in other words, upon the dark cloud from which he darts lightning). A figure of much beauty is therefore involved in comparing the white shining tusks projecting from the dark mass of a charging elephant to the dazzling streaks of lightning which accompany the thunderbolt hurled from a black storm-cloud, while the indispensable element of Oriental adulation is not wanting in the implied inference that the elephants must have been impelled by a higher power when they rashly assailed so mighty a potentate, but that his superhuman valour was proof against even the assaults of deity. It seems desirable, therefore, to render the passage somewhat as follows:—*aneka samara sampâdita vijṛimbhita dvirada radana kuliśâghâtaḥ vraṇa samrûḍha svâsthyad vijaya lakshaṇa lakshîkṛita viśâla vakshaḥ sthalaḥ*: "whose broad chest bore on itself the emblems of victory in the perfectly healed-up scars of wounds received in many battles inflicted by the tusks, darting like lightning (more literally, splitting like thunderbolts), of huge elephants."

The name Śimeśvara is, I believe, rightly transliterated from the photograph, and there are objections to such a compound as Śiveśvara, Śiva and Iśvara being identical. The second letter appears, however, to have been altered. From the faint marks below, it seems as if the engraver originally wrote Śiddeśvara or Śishṭeśvara. As regards the name Hari Varmma, the evidence adduced by Prof. Eggeling shows that it was also spelt Ari Varman. In both the Merkara

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 363, 364.

and Nâgamangala plates it occurs in a combination, thus, Śrimaddharivarmma, which would properly give Hari Varmma, and this is the form of the name in the *Kongudeśa Rájákal* also.

To the information obtained regarding the Pallavas I regret that I cannot as yet add anything. But another line of rulers has come to light in connection with these two inscriptions, which is not without interest. In a late tour I accidentally came upon a village named Nîrguṇḍa, which at once recalled the name of the kingdom mentioned in both. On further inquiry I found the place had a history of great antiquity, and have no doubt that it is the very one in which the transactions recorded in the Nâgamangala plates occurred.

The legend of the place is as follows:—In ancient times, when the site of the village was covered with thick forests, a king named Nîla Śekhara, the son of Râja Parameśvara Râya, came here from a northern country, and liking the spot began to erect a fort in the year 2941 of the Kali yuga (B. C. 160), the year Pramâdi, the month Śrâvaṇa, the 5th day of the moon's increase, the *nakshatra* being Hasta. While the work was proceeding, he came upon hidden treasure, and with it completed the fortifications, with seven walls, in five years. He also built temples therein, and named the town Nîlâvatipaṭṇa. Then raising a large army he conquered various countries, from the kings of which he levied tribute and contributions. He died after a reign (? at the age) of 80 years, and was succeeded by his son Vîra Śekhara, who ruled in the same manner as his father, and the descendants of this line continued to be independent sovereigns of their country.

After many days, in the powerful reign of Vikrama Râya of this house, a lion (*siṁha*) took shelter in a pleasure-garden to the east of the town and was a terror to the people. At that time two brothers, Soma Śekhara and Chitra Śekhara, sons of Vajra Makuṭa Râya, coming to Nilâvati at night, bored a way through the outer wall. Stupefying the guards with *manku búdi* (a kind of ashes which thrown upon any one renders him insensible) and maiming them, they penetrated in like manner through the seven walls. They next made a hole in the wall of Vikrama Râya's palace, and, seeing him asleep in bed, wrote, "If you do not give your daughter Ratnâvatî to Chitra Śekhara we will break your head," and going to the house of the king's minister tied the writing to his hand. Having done which, they concealed themselves in the house of a dancing-girl named Padmâvati.

Next morning the king, hearing the news from the minister and others, caused it to be proclaimed through the streets that the princess would be given in marriage to whomever should destroy the lion which had taken refuge on the east of the town. The brothers, hearing this, next night killed the beast, and cutting off its tail returned to their lodging. In the morning Mâra, a washerman of the town, finding the lion dead, cut out its tongue and took it to the king as a sign that he had killed the animal. The noise of the consequent preparations for the marriage of the princess to the washerman reaching the ears of the brothers, they went in disguise to the king with the tail of the lion tied to a lute, and represented how the younger was the real champion. Thereupon the king gave his daughter Ratnâvati in marriage to Chitra Śekhara. And after a short time Vikrama Râya died, and, having no male issue, left the kingdom to his son-in-law. And in the reign of Bala Vîra and Narasiṁha Bhupâla, his successors, Ballâla Râya, the Jain ruler of Dorasamudra, conquered the country, in the year 722 of the Śalivâhana era, the year Prabhava (perhaps a mistake for S.Ś. 927, the year Parâbhava). Vishṇu Varddhana, of that line, afterwards demolished the whole of the fort, and built a large tank in the east (now called Ballâla Samûdra), together with several temples. But in the year Vikâri of his reign a disease called *haravu* broke out in the town, from which the people died just as they were, those who were sitting sitting, and those who were standing standing. A great panic arose, and such as escaped the disease fled in all directions. The town being thus deserted went to ruin, and the king removed to Dorasamudra.

A long time after, Mangaiya and Honnaiya, of the Noṇaba Vakkaliga caste, enclosed some ground near the temple of Śiddheśvara, to the east of the ruins, and building a hundred houses established rayats in them. They called the village Nîrguṇḍa and assumed the office of Gauḍa. When their descendants had been in possession for two hundred years, the crops failed for four and eight years. The place was thereupon again deserted, and the Gauḍa's family built another village, named Sûragoṇḍanahaḷḷi, near Huliyâr, and settled there for fifty or sixty years.

About twenty or thirty years after Nîrguṇḍa was abandoned, Hanuma the Talvâr, and Chikka Malige the Begâri of the village collected twenty families of rayats and discharged the duties of Gauḍa for thirty or forty years. Descendants of the former Gauḍas then returned from Suragoṇḍanhaḷḷi at the instance of Anantaiya the Shânbhog, and collecting eighty families of rayats

resumed the Gauḍike, which their descendants hold to this day.

Nirguṇḍa, whose position is thus determined, is in the Hosdurga Tâluka of the Chitaldroog District, and is nearly a hundred miles north-west of Seringapatam. Nirguṇḍa was evidently the original name of the place, as appears from the Merkara and Nâgamangala plates, as well as from the Tamil chronicle, where it is given as Nirkoṇḍa, while Nilâvati-paṭṇa may be the Purâṇic name. The identification of this kingdom shows that the dominions of the Kongu sovereigns extended considerably to the north-west, and were conterminous at that point with those of the Châḷukyas of Kalyân. Some inscriptions at the place requiring to be cleared and deciphered may throw further light upon its history.*

I may add that I have identified another city connected with the Kongu kings. This is Muganda-paṭṇa or Mukunda-nagara, at which the 21st and 22nd kings in Prof. Dowson's list resided, and which is described as situated about 48 miles to the north-east of Seringapatam.† I find that was the ancient name of the Brâhmaṇ village of Malûr, near Channapaṭṇa, on the highroad from Bangalore to Seringapatam, and about midway between the two. Its foundation is attributed to a king named Vijayapâla, of the Somavaṁśa or lunar line, in the Kṛita yuga, or first age. In the Kali yuga, Vijñâneśvara Yogi is stated to have there composed his celebrated *bhâshya* or commentary on the *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti* or code. There are several ruined temples at the place.

LEWIS RICE.

Bangalore, 13th June 1874.

Mr. Growse favours us with a note that part of the Mârgala Inscription was published in the *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng. Br.* for 1871 (p. 260), accompanied by a translation from the pen of Mr. Blochmann, as follows :—

"The Khân of strong hand and of exalted dignity: the lion is powerless to overcome his strong hand. Mughul Rûmî composed the chronogram *Naziah i Mahwash i Hindustán*, 'the moonlike forelock of Hindustân,' A.H. 1083 (1672 A.D.)" This, we presume, is from a rubbing; the transcript printed at p. 205, *Ind. Ant.* for July, was furnished by Dr. Leitner, who was, we believe, unaware that Herr Blochmann had translated the inscription. The copyist, and not the translator, is responsible for the difference pointed out by Mr. Growse. We insert, below, Mr. Rehatsek's reply to the observations of Herr Blochmann on the Viśâlgaḍh inscription (p. 219), and have only to remark that it will be a great misfortune if the fear of laying themselves open to criticism should induce scholars to decline attempting the translation of imperfect copies. Inscriptions are frequently so situated that a rubbing cannot be obtained; and it is a great deal better that gentlemen who find inscriptions should get the best copy they can, than that they should get none at all. In the case of Persian inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency there is particular difficulty. The language, being locally a dead one, is seldom a subject of study to European gentlemen; and officers on tour who happen to find an inscription of which they cannot get a stampage or rubbing, think themselves lucky if the neighbourhood contains any sort of an old Mulâna or Kâteb who can make a copy at all approaching to accuracy.

SIR,—I am sorry that Herr Blochmann has thought fit to append to his valuable article on Muhammadan Chronograms some remarks upon my rendering of the Viśâlgaḍh inscription (*Ind. Ant.* p. 219), from which it appears that, instead of merely giving a faithful translation of what was placed before me, I ought, in his opinion, to have corrected the text. He accuses me of having "overlooked the metre and the Rubâ'î rhyme of it," and continues, "Mr. Rehatsek's *mî* in the second line is, I am sure, a *yî*," &c., as if I had misread the inscription; and gives his own translation. Now, after all, comparing it with mine (vol. II. p. 372), and considering that I have translated the text as it was given to me, Herr Blochmann must candidly acknowledge that I have done it well, unless he attaches importance to such differences as "work" for "business," "energy" for "resolution," and "tower of fortune" for "castle of happiness." Moreover, his "Burj i daulat" gives exactly the same date as my "Daulat Burj." He says he has not seen the tablet; and neither have I.

I need hardly remind Herr Blochmann that some inscriptions are very inelegant, *e.g.* one translated by me and appended to Mr. Nairne's first paper on Musalmân Remains in the Konkan (vol. II. p. 282). I differ from Herr Blochmann in believing that a translator has no right to transpose words or alter any text in prose or poetry, but is at liberty to give his opinion in a commentary or footnotes, as I have done in the instance quoted. But I am much obliged to him for

* MR. BOWRING alludes to Nilâvati in *Eastern Experiences*, p. 177.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* VIII. pp. 5 and 14, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 362.

having made me more cautious, and shall henceforth be on my guard and require estampages in lieu of the scrawls, which are often carelessly made by Kâtebs, and palmed off as correct transcripts upon gentlemen unacquainted with Persian.

E. REHATSEK.

With the profoundest respect for the immeasurable and unquestionable superiority of Dr. Wilson's knowledge, I would venture to ask whether it is correct to speak of the caste corresponding in Gujarât to the Marâṭhâ Kunabîs as "Kulambîs," as he does in his most interesting account of the Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency, copied into the August number of the *Indian Antiquary*. My small knowledge of Marâṭhî teaches me that Kulambî means peasant in that language. But in Gujarât the caste are always called, and call themselves, Kanbis. Since I saw "Kulambî" in the Administration Report, I have asked several authorities, native as well as European, who all agree that they know not the word as the common term for this caste.

Would it not also be well to avoid calling the Kolîs (as they undoubtedly call themselves, with the broadest possible *o*) "Kulîs"? The practice tends to confound the name of this race with the word *Kulî* (Hindustâni) from which comes the common word 'coolie.' Many Kolîs are Kulîs, but all *Kulîs* are not Kolîs.

What is the origin of Kulî?

C. E. G. C.

The Marâṭhî word for a cultivator is Kunabî, pronounced by the people as a dissyllable. The word Kulambî is found in the works of the Educational Series, but not in ordinary conversation.

"Kulî" is from the Persian Kûlî=a slave? and the hill-tribes are "*Kolîs*."—ED.

KIZILBASHES, YEZIDÎS, AND BÂBÎS, OF KURDISTÂN.

The Kizilbashes ('red-heads'—the origin of the name is unknown)* number more than 45,000. They worship a great black dog as the image of the divinity. Their doctrines and religious practices are otherwise almost unknown. We only know that once a year they assemble at night, in a house apart, to celebrate a ceremony which leaves far behind the orgies of the Bona Dea. There, after prayers of a revolting cynicism, after an invocation to the god of fecundity, the lights are extinguished and the sexes commerce without regard to age or family relations. The Kizilbashes have no existence in law; their scandalous mysteries only exist under protection of an absolute secrecy. They do not avow their beliefs, and pass ostensibly, on all occasions, for orthodox Musalmâns.

The sect of the Yezidîs believe that Satan, after having, by a long pilgrimage through the world, atoned for his pride and revolt against God, has been pardoned, and resumed his place before the Supreme Being, of whom he is the lieutenant and the Word. Though equally scorned by the Musalmâns and Christians, this sect, to the number of 30,000 souls, continues to maintain itself in a part of Kurdistân.

The Bâbîs inhabit certain villages of the Hakkari between Bak-kalli' and Katur, near the Turko-Persian frontier. These sectaries dispute, in the first place, the authenticity of the Qorân, and naturally reject all the commentaries on it; they have written a new Qorân, which they pretend is alone valid, and they do not in any way recognize the power or authority of the Mullâhs in matters religious. Not that they doubt the mission of Muhammad—at least overtly—but they pretend that the tradition has been altered and corrupted, and that the Mullâhs are as it were, usurpers in the domain of faith.—They are accused of communism, and even of preaching community of wives. They believe in the transmigration of souls: such a Bâbî dies to-day for the cause of God; in turn after a few days his soul passes into the body of another Bâbî, who is forthwith identified with the departed. Thanks to this system, they are immortal; also death is for them only an absence of short duration, of which they are the sport. It also results from this that transmigration goes far back,—the soul of each chief is the soul of an Imâm or of one of the heroes of Shiïte legend. The number of Bâbî refugees in Kurdistân is estimated at about 5000. The chiefs require of the disciples the most absolute obedience and the most inviolable secrecy: they are obeyed as faithfully as was, in his time, the Old Man of the Mountain.

Lastly, there are in the mountains of Kurdistân entire tribes who worship secular trees of their forests, and who have altars formed of great blocks of stone like dolmens or menhirs.—(*Translated from the Journal Asiatique, Oct.* 1873.)

It does not appear upon what evidence these charges are brought against the Kizilbashes—probably mere report of surrounding and hostile religionists. They are probably the same as the Kazilbashes of Kâbul, a colony of Persian extraction.—ED.

Note.

It may perhaps be useful to state, that the first half of the line from the *Râmâyaṇa* which is cited

* The name is said to be traceable to a red cap, imposed by one of the early Safavide monarchs of Persia on his followers.—ED.

by Patanjali under Pâṇini III. 1. 67 (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 124) is again cited by him under Pâṇini I. 3.12 (p. 245 Banâras ed.), and under very nearly, if not exactly, the same circumstances. This fact is, I think, of some importance in considering whether the line is an interpolation in the *Mahâbhâshya*.

It may be mentioned here, that there is a considerable body of such quotations in the *Mahâbhâshya*, and that it may be of use to make a systematic attempt to find out, if possible, the sources whence they are derived. I have myself come across not less than fifty such quotations *in verse*, some of which are certainly very noteworthy. Thus, to give but one instance, under Pâṇini VII. 3.2 (p. 122) occurs the following:—॥ प्रियां मयूरः प्रति नर्नृतीति ॥ and यद्वत्यनरवर नर्नृतीषि हृष्टः॥. Now, according to the received chronology, which refuses to allow to the bulk of the classical literature an antiquity of more than eighteen centuries (if so much), these lines, I apprehend, could scarcely have been supposed to be as old as their citation by Patanjali shows them to be.

Kâśinâth Trimbak Telang.

July 20th.

SUPERSTITION IN GANJAM.

Sir,—The following extract from a report of a Police Inspector in this district illustrates the superstitions in which Hindus generally, and Oriyâs in particular, delight. I send it to you in case you should think the case of sufficient interest for insertion in the *Antiquary*.

Lakhono Santerâm, a rich Brâhmaṇ of Bâruda, had long desired an heir in vain, and his wife had four times miscarried, when he called in the aid of a noted Śâstri, Dâmoh Thyâdhâye; this Śâstri had the reputation of great skill in sorcery, and L. Santerâm agreed to feed him while he stayed in his house, and to give him Rs. 140 on the accomplishment of his wish—the birth of a male child. For some months Dâmoh Thyâdhâye performed the most powerful incantations, and Santerâm had well-founded hopes of becoming a father, when, during February last, Dâmoh required of him a goat to perform a necessary sacrifice.

The parsimony of Santerâm, which is notorious, led to the refusal of this request, and his wife was delivered of a still-born male child early in March.

Santerâm then refused to give Dâmoh Thyâdhâye anything, and after high words had passed the latter proceeded straight to the temple of the Bâg Devi at Kolâda, and there for three days prayed to the goddess, fasting the while, that she should visit Santerâm with death for having insulted her votary.

Finding that his prayer was not answered, he smote the goddess and struck off her face: her image had been of stone, with extremities modelled of red clay fitted thereto.

He was seen to leave the temple, and the disfigurement of the goddess, which was soon discovered, caused great excitement. An angry crowd assembled to avenge the outrage, but the offender fled over the Bâg Dêvi Hill and escaped.

Soon afterwards a great serpent was seen to pass from the Bâg Devi Hill towards Nârâyaṇapuram. The heat of the weather and the burning of the jangal have probably caused it to seek the vicinity of water. It is still in the neighbourhood, and its track is said to be a cubit in width.

The people believe this serpent to be an incarnation of the Bâg Devi, and say that in a few days it will turn into a tiger.

H. St. A. Goodrich.

Ganjam, April 28th, 1874.

KNOWLEDGE OF SCIENCE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Sir,—Mr. Bailly, in his *Ancient History of Asia*, says: "We shall never obtain a proper acquaintance with Oriental science but by collecting and comparing the various knowledge which was distributed among the different nations of the East; but I have little doubt if ever we should be able to make such a collection as would warrant us to attempt one day to embody the whole, that the different members when re-united will form a Colossus."

Might not the contributors to the *Indian Antiquary* supply information as to what knowledge of science the old Orientals possessed,—such information as the researches of Rawlinson in Assyria have brought to light?

J. G. Gibbs.

THE FIVE SENSES,

From the Mesnavi of Jellâl-aldyn Rûmi.

Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.

پنج حسّ بایکدکر پیوستهٔ اند
زانکه این هر پنج ز اصلي رستهٔ اند
قوت هر یک قوّت باقي شود
ما بقي را هریکي ساقي شود

دیدن دیده فزاید عشق را
عشق اندر دل فزاید صدق را
صدق بیداري هر حسّ میشود
حسّها را ذوق مونس میشود
چون یکي حسّ در درون بکشاد بند
ما بقي حسّها همه مبدل شوند
چون یکي حسّ غیر محسوسات دید
گشت غیبي بر همه حسّها پدید
چو ز جو جست از گله یک گوسفند
پس پیاپي جمله زانسو بر جهند
گوسفندان حواست را بران
در چرا از اخرج المرعی چران
تا در آنجا سنبل و ریحان چرند
تا بگلزار حقایق ره برند
هر حست پیغمبر حسّها شود
جملهٔ حسّها در آن جنّت رود
حسّها با حسّ تو گویند راز
بي زبان و بي حقیقت بیمجاز
کین حقیقت قابلهٔ تاویلهاست
وین توهّم مایهٔ تخییلهاست
آن حقیقت کان بود عین عیان
هیچ تاویلي نگنجد درمیان
چونکه هر حسّ بندهٔ حسّ تو شد
مر فلکها را نباشد از تو بد
چونکه دعوی میرود در ملک پوست
مغز آن که بود قشر آن اوست
چون تنازع افتد اندر تنگ کاه
دانه آن کیست آنرا کن نگاه
پس فلک قشر است و نور روح مغز
این پدید است آن خفي زین رو ملغز
جسم ظاهر روح مخفي آمد است
جسم همچون آستین جان همچو دست
باز عقل از روح مخفي تر بود
حسّ بسوي روح ازان ره بر رود
جنبشي بیني بداني زنده است
این نداني کوز عقل اکنده است
روح وحي از عقل پنهان تر بود
زانکه آن غیبست ازان سر بود

United are the senses five,
They all from one original spring:
The food of one is strength for all,
Each to the others drink supplies.
Sight by the eyes increases love,
Love in the heart will truth augment,
Truth every sense will rouse from sleep,
Taste friendship with the senses makes.
When an internal sense the bonds have opened,
Each other sense transfigured is;
When one sense things unfelt perceives,
To senses what's unseen revealed will be.
If one ram leaps a little from the flock,
All others follow in its track.
Impel the sheep of your perceptions
To graze in "pastures *He* produced,"*
To feed on basil sweet and hyacinths,
Ways to find, to rose-groves of truths divine;
Each sense to the others a herald will be,
And all to the heavenly paradise will go.
Your senses to your senses secrets tell
Without a tongue, a tale, or trope,
Although their story is the midwife of comments,
The surmise, source to speculate upon;
But things self-evident and plain
Admit no explanation or comment.
When all perceptions your senses have enslaved
The spheres cannot escape your ken;
When in the realm of husks questions arise
Its very kernel is proved to be but husk;
Amidst disputes of scarcity in blades
Their seeds you are to strive to find!
Then spheres but husks will be, the spirit's light the grain,—
The one is seen, the other hid; start not:—
The body can be seen, the soul is hid;
But intellect is more concealed than the soul,
Therefore the spirit seeks the sense, and soars beyond:
You motion see and life perceive,
But that intellect fills it you forget;
Yet inspiration transcends intellect,
It is a mystery divine and unrevealed.

We are requested by Herr Gumpert to give insertion to the circular of the Bombay Committee for the re-establishment of the Strassburg Library, which accordingly appears on the cover of this number.

* *Qorân*, lxxxvii. 4.

by Patanjali under Pâṇini III. 1. 67 (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 124) is again cited by him under Pâṇini I. 3. 12 (p. 245 Banâras ed.) and under very nearly, if not exactly, the same circumstances. This fact is, I think, of some importance in considering whether the line is an interpolation in the *Mahâbhâshya*.

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J. G. GIBBS.

NOTE ON THE BHARAHUT STUPA (p. 255).

In a letter to *The Academy* of 1st Aug., Prof. Max Müller remarks, with reference to the age assigned by General Cunningham to the Bharahut stupa (*vide ante*, p. 255) that,—"Much depends, of course, on the date of these ruins, and here it is impossible to be too cautious. General Cunningham assigns them to the age of Aśoka, 250 B.C., chiefly, it would seem, on account of the characters of the inscriptions, which are said to be the same as those found on the Sânchi stupa. But to fix the date of a building in India by the characters of the inscriptions is a matter of extreme difficulty. The letters used for the earliest Buddhist inscriptions soon acquired a kind of sacred character, and were retained in later times, just as in Europe the old style of writing is preserved on architectural monuments of a later age."

The Jaṭila Sabhâ, he thinks, "may be intended for the assembly of Kaśyapa and the thousand Jaṭilas, mentioned in the *Mahávaṅso*, p. 2."

And with reference to the synod presided over by Revata "just 100 years after the death of Buddha, or in B.C. 378," (*ante*, p. 256) Max Müller remarks—"The fact that an assembly presided over by Revata is represented in the Bharahut sculptures would in no way prove the historical character of the Second Council. According to tradition, Revata, who had seen Buddha, presided not only at the second Council, a hundred years after Buddha's death, but was present also at a third, a hundred years later, under the real Aśoka."

THE GAUJA AGRAHARA COPPERPLATES.

V. N. NARASIMMIYENGÂR, BANGALORE.

A translation of these plates has already been given in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I. p. 377), but from their supposed antiquity and pretensions it has been considered desirable to furnish the accompanying facsimiles. The following is a transliteration in modern characters. The last verse cannot be deciphered, as the plate is much injured at the end.

१

(ज)यत्यावि)ष्कृीतं विष्णोवाराहं (क्षोभि)तार्णवं दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रे-विस्रां)
(तं) भुवनं वपुः ॥ स्वस्तिसमस्तभुवना (स्त्रियस्त्रिपिथ्विवल्लभमहा-राजधि)
राजपरमेस्वरपरमभट्टारकहस्तिनापुरवराधीस्वरआरोह(द)
भगदत्तारिपुरायकांतादत्तवैरिवैधव्यपांडवकुलकमलमार्त्तंड(क)
दनप्रचंडकलींगकोदंडगंडमार्त्तंडएकांगविररणरंगधीरअ(स्व)
पतिरायदिसापट्टगजपतिरायसंहारकनरपतिरायमस्तक
○ तलप्रहारिहयारुढाप्रोढरेखारेवंतसामंतभ्रिगचमारकों
कगचातुदिसभयंकरनित्यकरपरांगनापुत्रसुवर्ण्णवराहलांछन
ध्वजसमस्तराजावलिविराजितसमालीतर्लांसोमवंसोद्भवत्रिप
रोक्षितिचक्रवुर्त्ति तस्य पुत्रजनमेजयचक्रवुर्त्ति हस्तिनापुरसुखसंक
थाविनोदेन राज्यं करोति दक्षिणदिसात्वरे दिग्विजययात्रेयं विजयं क
रोमि तुंगभद्रहरिद्रासंगमेस्त्रिहरीहरहवशांत्रीधौ कटकमुत्क्रामि
तचैत्रमासे क्रि(ष्ण)पक्षामे दर्सके रविवासरे (ब)वकरणाउत्तरायण-(सं) (क्रां)

२

(तौ)वितीपातनिमित्तसुर्यापर्वणि अर्धग्रासग्रहितसमए सर्प्पया
गं करोमि वनवासे पंनिच्छाहस्तमध्ये खंपणसांतलिगेसाहसमु
द्रगौतमग्रामात्ब्राह्मणाकंनडषाखेयगौतमगोत्रदगोविंद
पट्टवर्द्दनरंकनडषाखेयवसिष्टगोत्रदवामनपट्टवर्द्दनरंकं
नडषाखेयभारद्वाजगोत्रदकेषवयज्ञदिक्षितरंकनडशाखेय
विवच्छगोत्रदनारणदिक्षितरं चतुर्मुखनानागोत्रिभ्योद्वात्रिंशतस
○ हस्रब्राह्मणांसर्प्पयागपुर्णाहुतितदंगसमये मंत्रांगमण

मं करोति चक्रवुर्त्तिमेचिपंचांगपसायछत्रसुखासनबलदग
द्दिगेअंकदंडखंडणानाडुबिट्टिगुलियसुंकअष्टभोगतेजसाम्य
गौतमग्रामा तन्मध्यप्रविष्टनाडवल्लिबादवल्लिचिक्कहारिकडोणंड
रुतलंगेरेसल्लिगोडुतोगरुगुजिआलुरुवाचेयनहल्लिचंपगोडु
किरुसंपगोडु एवं द्वादसग्रामात् सर्वनमस्यधारापूर्वकंदत्त तस्य
ग्रामस्य सीमांतराणि कथं ईसान्यदासिमेगौतमग्रामदबंनि

३

उरसालिडरात्रसंधीस्त्रिमेसंचरीस्रोतसंगम तथा दक्षिणमवलो
के गौतमग्रामदसालिडरद्वेसिमेअवलिगोल तथा पश्चिमगौ
तमग्रामदसालिडराद्वसिमस्रोतप्राप्य तथा दक्षिणगौतमग्रा
मदसालिडरद्वेसिमेडघुंगुड्डेविर्द्धतदाक तथा दक्षिणागौतमग्रा
मदसालिडरद्वेसिमेसोतपाप्य तथा दक्षिणग्रामाआग्नेयगौत
○मग्रामदसालिडरकाण्वपुरदत्रिसंधीसीमेडभयगिरिमध्यब्य
घनगोंदि, तथा पश्चिममवलोके गौतमग्रामदकाण्वपु
रदद्वेसिमेकडवदकोलतथापश्चिमगौतमग्रामदकाण्वपुरद
द्वेसिमे संचरीस्रातप्राप्य तथा पश्चिमगौतमग्रामदकाण्वपुर
दमलेयंदुरत्रिसंधीसिमे केतकिकट्टु तथा पश्चिमगौतमग्राम
दमलेदुरद्वेसिमे कग्गल्लमोरेडि तथा पश्चिमगौतमग्रामदमल्येदूरेअं
धासरदत्रिसंधीसीमेलवणस्रोतप्राप्य तथा पश्चिमग्रामानैरुत्यगौ
(त)मग्रामदअंधासुरदाहासगुंददत्रिसंधीसिमे लवणनदियस्रौतसं
गम तथा उत्तरमवलोकै गौतमग्रामदहासगुंददाद्वसिमे

४

(स्रो) तप्राप्य तथा उत्तरगौतमग्रामदहोसगुंददबिदिरगुंजेयत्रिसं-धीसि(मयर)
दगड्डे तथा उत्तरगौतमग्रामदबिदिरुगुंजे यद्वेसिमेक्षिरकोलतथाउ-त्तरगौ
तमग्रामदबिदिरगुंजे यत्रिगर्थापोललत्रिसंधीसिमे स्रोतप्राप्यतथा-उत्तरग्रौ
मावायाब्यगौतमग्रामदत्रिगथापोललद्वेमसंधीसीमे डरियहोले तथा
पुर्वमवलोके गौतमग्रामदत्रिगर्थापोललद्वेसिमे केदगेयकेट्टुबिलिय-मत्रि
तथा पुर्वगौतमग्रामदत्रिगर्थापोलल्द्वेसिमेकेंगोल तथा पुर्वगौतम-ग्रामदत्रिग
○थापोललबिलिडरत्रिसंधीसीमेकंण्णगुड्डे तथा पुर्वगौतमग्रामद-बिलि
डरद्वेसिमे गिरीप्राप्य तथा पुर्वगौतमग्रामदबिलिडरमडबदत्रिसंधी
सीमगीरीउत्तरसुरकोल तथा पुर्वगौतमग्रामदमडबादाबंनीडरत्रिसं-धी
सीमे बिदिरसरु तथा पुगौत्तमग्रामदबंनीडरद्वेसिमेमोरडिपुर्वसंन्चरी-सोतप्रा
प्य तथा पुर्वईसान्यसिमासमाप्तः ॥ सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतु त्रिपाणां कालेकाले पाल
(नि)यो भवद्भिः सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भुयोभुयोयचतेरामचं-द्र ॥ दानं वा(पा)
(लनावा) पीदानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं दानात्स्वर्गो मवाप्नोति पालनाद-च्चुतंपदं ॥ ग्रा (मे)
( ) °भामारुपो । ° एलंवर पोतिया सं° ⌒

I

II

III

IV

From Photographs.

THE AJANṬÂ CAVES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Ajanṭâ caves are situated in the Indhyâdri or Ajanṭâ range of hills, which supports the north side of the table-land of the Dekhan, and forms the great watershed of the feeders of the Godâvari and of the Tâpî. From the northern face of the hills the streams run into the Arabian Sea, but from the plateau to the south they flow to the Bay of Bengal. Among these hills, 220 miles north-east by east from Bombay, is the small town or village of Ajanṭâ,* about 24 miles north of the famous field of Asâi. The caves lie about four miles WNW. of this, but to reach them the traveller must descend the ghâṭ to Fardâpur, about four miles to the NNW. From the ghâṭ some magnificent views are obtained of the plains of Khândesh. The wild beasts that used to be so abundant hereabouts have nearly disappeared, partly, no doubt, from the frequent visits of the European *shikâri;* but apparently the bears, and perhaps the tigers too, partly before the intrusions of grass and wood-cutters, whilst the panther still holds his place in the ravines.

About three and a half miles south-west from Fardâpur is the ravine of Lenâpur—so named from the caves. The road leading to them from Fardâpur, at best only a bridle-path, lies at first in a southerly direction but—after crossing the river Bâghora or Wâghûr, a small stream that rises some five or six miles to the south-west of Ajanṭâ, near its junction with a rivulet of the same name which comes down from the south past Ajanṭâ—we turn more to the south-west, up the ravine, gradually narrowing as we follow the windings of the river, which we cross twice. The scenery now becomes more wooded, more lonely, and more savagely grand; and as we next descend into the bed of the stream, we see to the right a wall of almost perpendicular rock, about 250 feet high, sweeping round to the left in a curve of more than half a circle, into the hollow of which a wooded promontory—surmounted by a coronet of rock—juts out from the opposite side of the stream. The caves are excavated in the lofty wall of the outer bend or concave scarp of the *cul de sac* thus formed. Above them the glen terminates abruptly in a waterfall of seven leaps, known as the *sât kund*, the lower of which may be from 70 to 100 feet in height, and the others 100 feet more.†

The perfect seclusion of this wild ravine, with its lofty walls of rock, had attracted to it the devotees of Buddhism, perhaps nineteen centuries ago or more, as a fitting solitude in which to form a retreat from the distracting cares of an overbusy, soul-contaminating world. Here, alone with nature, the venerated *bhikshus* might devote their time to contemplation and self-restraint and instruct their novices, until the long-yearned-for *nirvâṇa* should extinguish life's flame, and, releasing them from the power of matter, permit them to enter upon the enjoyment of perfected knowledge and *nirvṛitti*—everlasting repose—undisturbed, as they pictured it, by feeling, or care, or dream. Here, amid scenes of nature's primeval activity, where, through long ages, water had been exercising its potent energies in cutting a way through the solid rock, leaving on each side giant scarps—lofty perpendicular walls of rock—puny man, fired with a longing for true Rest, with untiring perseverance and astonishing boldness, chiselled out of the living rock these spacious pillared chambers, these long-deserted retreats and temples, that so excite our wonder and curiosity as monuments of ages whose history is shrouded in the mists of the remote Past.

The caves extend about a third of a mile from east to west round the concave wall of amygdaloid trap that hems in the stream on its north or left side. They vary in elevation from about 35 to 110 feet above the bed of the torrent, the lowest being about a third along from the east end, and the highest and most difficult of access being those near the western extremity. The series consists of twenty-nine in all, namely, five Chaityas or temples and twenty-four Vihâras or monastery caves; and for purposes of reference, instead of calling them by the names by which, when first known to Europeans, the Bhills of the neighbourhood designated them, but seemed to vary at pleasure, they are generally distinguished

* In Lat. 20° 31′ N. and Long. 75° 4′ E. Dr. J. Wilson conjectures it may be the Sazantium of Ptolemy.

† The pool at the foot of the fall is said to be bottomless, and to contain a concealed treasure.

by the numbers attached to them by Mr. Fergusson, beginning at the eastern end of the series, or that farthest down the stream. The first cave is about 80 feet above the river, and faces WSW.; Nos. X. and XIII. are from 60 to 70 feet up the cliff, and both face south; and No. XXVI. is nearly 100 feet up, and faces ENE ½ N. Caves XXVIII. and XXIX. are inaccessible: the first is an unfinished Vihâra—the verandah only having been fashioned out with six rough-hewn pillars and two pilasters; the other is a Chaitya of which nothing but the upper portion of the great arch of the window has been completed. Chaitya caves are places of worship, and at Ajaṇṭâ are usually about twice as long as they are wide, the back or farther end being almost always circular. The roofs are lofty and vaulted. Some of them have been ribbed with wood, and in others the stone has been cut in imitation of wooden ribs. A colonnade runs round each, dividing the nave from the aisles. The columns in the most ancient caves are plain octagonal shafts without bases or capitals, but in the more modern ones they have both capitals and bases with highly ornamented shafts. Within the circular end of the nave stands the Dahgoba*—a solid mass of rock, in its simplest form, consisting of a cylindrical base supporting a cupola or dome (*garbha*) generally somewhat higher than a hemisphere, which is surmounted by a square capital (*toran*) or tee. Both on the base and cupola of the more enriched forms, sculptures are introduced, generally of Buddha and cherubs, with small arched recesses and rows of frets; whilst over the capital was placed a large wooden umbrella, as at Kârlâ, Beḍsa, Bhâjâ, and elsewhere, and as was probably also the case in Caves IX. and X. here; but in Caves XIX. and XXIV. three small hemispherical canopies or umbrellas rise over one another, the uppermost uniting with the roof at the junction of the ribbings of the apse of the cave.

The front of the cave is formed by a wall or screen rising to the level of the top of the entablature over the columns inside. It is pierced by three doors, or a door and two windows, the larger and central opening entering the nave, and the two smaller ones being at the ends of the aisles. Springing from the top of the screen is a large open arch having a span usually of one-third the total width of the cave. There is a verandâ in front of one of the Chaityas (No. XXVI.), and a portico in front of another (No. XIX.), over which are terraces not quite so high as the bottom of the great arch; from the terrace springs a second and outer arch, somewhat larger than the inner one, which then has at the foot of it a parapet wall from three to four feet high. These terraces may perhaps have been for musicians.

The Vihâra caves were monasteries containing *griḥas* or cells, and are usually square in form, supported by rows of pillars either running round them and separating the great central hall or *shâlâ* from the aisles, or disposed (as in Cave No. VI.) in four equidistant lines. Opposite the entrance is the sanctuary, almost invariably occupied by a figure of Buddha seated on a *siṅhâsana* or kind of throne. In front of the shrine there is generally an antechamber, having on each side a pilaster and two pillars in a line with the back of the cave. In the back wall and in each of the side walls are cells for the cloistered inmates. All the Vihâras have verandâs in front with cells at the ends; and some consist of a verandâ only with cells opening from the back of it.

Very few of the caves seem to have been completely finished; but every part of nearly all of them appears to have been painted,—walls, ceilings, and pillars, inside and out; even the sculptures have all been gorgeously coloured.

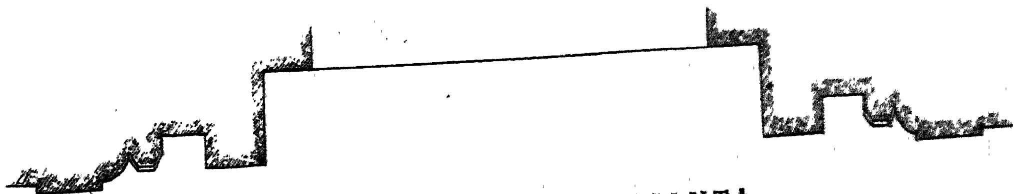
Beautiful and varied sculpture covers the whole façade of Cave I., but, with this exception, the sculptures in the vihâras are found chiefly round the doorways and windows and about the entrances to the sanctuaries, and are almost exclusively restricted to representations of conjugal endearment, with beautiful frets and scrolls. As a specimen of these doors, that of Cave I. is given in the illustration:† it will give a clearer idea of their general character than any description, however detailed, could convey.

* Dahgoba, written also *Daghopa*, *Dehgop*, &c. is derived from the Sanscrit *deh* 'the body,' and *gup* 'to hide,' or from *dhâtugarbha*—the holder of a relic or elementary principle. They seem meant for cenotaphs in imitation of the monumental receptacles built over the relics of Buddha.

† The drawing is to a scale of half an inch to the foot, and was made by Mr. J. Smeaton of the Bombay Dockyard, during a visit I paid to Ajaṇṭâ in May 1873.

J. Smeaton. delt.

W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.



DOOR OF CAVE 1, AT AJANTA.

In the chaityas the sculpture is confined, in the more ancient caves to the façades; in the more modern ones it is found covering the walls of the aisles, the columns and entablatures, and on the dahgobas. It consists chiefly of representations of Buddha, or Buddhist teachers, in every variety of attitude, instructing *chelas* or disciples. The sculpture generally shows but little knowledge of art, indeed none beyond the commonest rudiments of proportion. The paintings have much higher pretensions, and have even been considered superior to the style of Europe in the age when they were probably executed. The human figure is represented in every possible variety of position, and displaying some slight knowledge of anatomy; and attempts at foreshortening have been made with surprising success. The hands are generally well and gracefully drawn, and rude efforts at perspective are to be met with. Besides paintings of Buddha and his disciples and devotees, there are representations of streets, processions, battles, interiors of houses with the inmates pursuing their daily occupations, domestic scenes of love and marriage and death, groups of women performing the *tapasya* or religious austerity on the *asan siddha* or holy bed of the ascetic; there are hunts, men on horseback spearing the wild buffalo; animals, from the huge elephant to the diminutive quail; exhibitions of cobra di capello, ships, fish, &c. The small number of domestic utensils depicted is somewhat remarkable:—the common *châṭṭi* and *loṭâ*, a drinking-cup, and one or two other dishes, a tray, an elegantly-shaped sort of jug having an oval body and long thin neck with lip and handle, together with a stone and roller for grinding condiments, are all that are observable. The same lack of weapons of war, either offensive or defensive, is also to be noticed. Swords, straight and crooked, long and short, spears of various kinds, clubs, bows and arrows, a weapon resembling a bayonet reversed, the *chakra*—a missile like a quoit with cross bars in the centre,—and shields of different forms, exhaust the list. There is also what bears a strong resemblance to a Greek helmet, and three horses are to be seen yoked abreast, but whether they were originally attached to a war-chariot cannot now be determined.*

The paintings have been in the most brilliant colours; the light and shade are very good; and they have been executed upon a thick layer of stucco, but whether whilst it was wet or dry is difficult to say: in many places the colour has penetrated it to a considerable depth. But for further information on these interesting remains of ancient art we must refer to the reports of Mr. Griffiths already given (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 152, and vol III. p. 25).

At first sight there seems to be a want of harmony in the styles of the pillars of the colonnades, both of the Chaityas and Vihâras; but closer examination reveals a certain regularity of system,—thus in the Chaitya caves the columns over against one another on each side of the nave correspond in order; and in the Vihâras the two central pillars in each face of the colonnades are alike, then those to the right and left of them, and so on to the corner ones, all of which, in some cases, are of one pattern.

There are a number of inscriptions about the caves, both engraved and painted,—the painted ones all inside, and, with one exception, all the engraved ones outside; but they are mostly in so damaged a state that but little information has hitherto been derived from them. Of the eight rock inscriptions, the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî states that two of the five shorter ones are in Mâgadhî, the rest in Sanskṛit: the painted inscriptions are seventeen in number, mostly very short, in several instances only proper names. With little other variation than in the names, seven or more of them seem to have read in this fashion:—

'The charitable assignation of the Śâkya Bhikshu Bhadanta Dharmadatta. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings!'

In Cave XVI. is a rock inscription, much damaged, which gives the names of Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena Varâha Deva, and other kings of the Vâkâṭaka dynasty mentioned in the Śeoni copperplates, and in Cave XVII. there is an inscription on the right of the veranda of about the same length as that on Cave XVI. Dr. Bhâu Dâjî's translation begins,—"..obeisance to the Muni, the great lord of the three *Vidyas*, whose most charitable act is

* For many of the details given here I am indebted to Major R. Gill.

the gift of Vihâras, their qualities and names are described: The king who has obtained life and by . . . the umbrella is held, had a son named Dhritarâshṭra, who had the white umbrella...This king's son, whose countenance was beautiful like the lotus and moon, was Hari Sâmba—his son of spotless wealth was Kshitipâla-Sâuri Sâmba . . . was Upendragupta, very famous and illustrious. Afterwards, his son, well known as Skâcha," &c.; and towards the end, though it is much defaced, we find the following phrases:—"The stupendous Chaitya of Munirâja (*i.e.* Śâkya Muni or Buddha), this monolithic temple-jewel." . . . "having given plenty, constructed a Chaitya here, difficult even to be imagined by little minds" . . . "delightful in every way, at the extremity of the hill, towards the west constructed the great Gandha-kuti (cave)."

The names of Dhritarâshṭra, Hari Sâmba, Sâuri Sâmba, Ravi Sâmba, Upendragupta, Skâcha, Nilapasa, Skâcha, and Kṛishṇadâsa, which occur here, are probably those of petty chiefs. To the left of Cave XXV. is another inscription. After the first line, which is defaced, it proceeds:—"the lord of Munis who was relieved from the round of deaths obtained, the state of freedom from decay, and of immortality, and, being of fearless mind, obtained the state of eternal happiness and excellence, which still makes the worlds a city of peace. To him who is fruitful, plentiful, and substantial, obeisance and praise are becoming; to him the offering of a single flower leads to the attainment of the fruit known as heaven and *moksha* (beatitude). For this reason, in this world, the reasonable being, intent on doing good, ought to pay intense devotion to the Tathâgatas (*i. e.* Buddhas), who are distinguished for praiseworthy attributes, who show great compassion to mankind, and whose heart is full of tender mercy. The gods, being liable to misery, are not glorious; Sâmbhu, by a curse, had his eyes agitated by fright; Kṛishṇa also, being subject to another, fell a prey to death. Therefore the Sugatas, relieved eminently from fear, are glorious. Even the grateful and good Muni, who was the chief of the elders, who propounded the institutes, and who meritoriously discharged the several duties of human life, caused to be constructed a mountain-abode of the Lord. It is becoming in Bodhisatvas who have great opulence, and who are anxious both for worldly and for final eternal happiness, that they should first perform glorious deeds. (*It is said that*) as long as its fame lasts in this world, so long does the spirit enjoy delight in heaven: therefore glorious works, calculated to last as long as the sun and the moon, should be constructed in mountains. For the spiritual benefit of Bhavvirâja, the minister of the very glorious Aśmakarâja, whose good-heartedness has existed in various lives,—who is firm, grateful, of good intellect, learned, eminently learned in the doctrine of the Achâryas and of the Suras and Asuras,—who knows people thoroughly; who is the patron of the zealous followers of the very compassionate Samantabhadra (Buddha); who is of good speech and great by qualities; who is the image of humility; who is renowned in the world for good acts;—this great minister of the king, who gets works of immense labour, which may be exacted by force, performed by mild measures, whom resembled his son, the clever Devarâja, who, after his father's death, did credit to his dignity by his good qualities, also for the good of his own mother and father did Buddhabhadra cause this Saugata's abode to be constructed (*by Devarâja*), having first called the good disciples and Bhikshus, Dharmadatta, and Bhadra-bandhu, who completed my house, may the merits of this be to them and to the worlds for the attainment of the great Boddhi fruit, renowned for all the pure qualities..."

The rest is defective, but may be seen in the Doctor's version.*

But there has been nothing yet discovered yielding a date for any of the caves.

It was in the time of Aśoka—B.C. 263-226—that Buddhism spread most rapidly over India. In the 18th year of his reign a great council was held at Pâtaliputra to revise and settle the doctrines and formulas of the religion. At the conclusion of this synod the *Mahâvaṅśa* tells us that,—"The illuminator of the religion of the vanquisher, the 'thero' (or *Sthavira*) Maudgaluputra, having terminated the third convo-

* See 'Ajaṇṭâ Inscriptions,' by Bhâu Dâjî, in *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII. pp. 53-74; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. V. pp. 343, 554, 729.

cation, was reflecting on futurity. Perceiving (that it was time) to establish the religion of Buddha in foreign countries, he despatched severally, in the month of Kârtik, the following 'theros' to those foreign parts. He deputed the 'thero' Madhyantika to Kâśmîra and Gandhâra (Kandahar), and the 'thero' Mahâdeva to Mahîśamaṇḍala (Maisûr). He deputed the 'thero' Rakshita to Waniwâśi (the north of the Karnâṭak), and similarly the 'thero' Yona-Dharmarakshita to Aparantika (*possibly N. Sindh*). He deputed the 'thero' Mahâ-Dharmarakshita to Mahâraṭṭha (the Marâṭhâ country), and the 'thero' Mahârakshita to the Yona (Yavana or Baktrian) country. He deputed the 'thero' Madhyama to the Himâwanta (or Himâlayan) country; and to Suvarnabhûmi (Burma) the two 'theros' Sona and Uttara. He deputed the 'thero' Mahâ-Mahendra (*the son of Aśoka*), together with his (Maudgala's) disciples Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasâla (to Ceylon), saying to these five *sthaviras*,—'Establish ye in the delightful land of Lañkâ the delightful religion of (*Jina*) the vanquisher." The religion had, no doubt, been already widely spread, and these missionaries are represented as having made incredible numbers of converts; thus—"the sanctified disciple Mahâ-Dharmarakshita repairing to Mahâraṭṭha, there preached the *mahâ-nâradakassapo jâtako* (*of Buddha*). Eighty-four thousand persons attained the sanctification of *mârga* (*the way*), and thirteen thousand were ordained priests by him."*

From this era vihâras were multiplied. Aśoka was indefatigable in their erection. In the 4th year of his reign, the *Mahâvaṅśa* tells us† that numerous parties, "in different towns, commencing the construction of splendid vihâras completed them in three years. By the merit of the sthavira Indragupta, and that of the undertaker of the work, the vihâra called Aśokarama (*at Pâtaliputra*) was also completed in that time. At the places at which the vanquisher of the deadly sins had worked the works of his mission, the sovereign caused splendid chaityas to be constructed. From eighty-four thousand cities (*of which Pâtaliputra*) was the centre, despatches were brought, on the same day, announcing that the vihâras were completed." This may be exaggerated in details, but there is no reason to doubt that Aśoka did erect many Buddhist buildings.

The Buddhist bhikshus thus soon became very numerous, and possessed regularly organized monasteries or vihâras, in which they spent the rainy season, studying the sacred books and practising a temperate asceticism. "The holy men were not allowed seats of costly cloth, nor umbrellas made of rich material, with handles adorned with gems and pearls; nor might they use fragrant substances, or fish-gills and bricks for rubbers in the bath, except indeed for their feet. Garlic, toddy, and all fermented liquors were forbidden, and no food permitted after mid-day. Music, dancing, and attendance upon such amusements were forbidden."‡ And though seal-rings or stamps of gold were prohibited, they might use stamps of baser metal, provided, as Csoma de Körösi informs us, the device were "a circle with two deer on opposite sides, and below the name of the vihâra." Inscriptions at Kârlâ, Nâsik, and elsewhere show that the cave-temples were excavated by kings, princes, and men of opulence, and that the vihâras were largely endowed with neighbouring lands and villages. The Ajaṇṭâ caves must have been executed at a time when the religion enjoyed the highest patronage, and from their architectural style and the subjects of sculpture, we are led to assign some of them at least to an early age,—possibly one or two centuries before Christ, while none of them can date later than the seventh, and possibly not after the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era.

From the difficulty of access to them, these caves were but little visited till comparatively lately. Some officers of the Madras army saw them in 1819.§ Lieut. J. E. Alexander of the Lancers visited them in 1824, and sent a short account of them to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1829,|| but it is far from satisfactory. Captain Gresley and Mr. Ralph were there in 1828, when Dr. Bird was sent up to examine them for Sir John Malcolm. Mr. Ralph's lively notice of the paintings appeared in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* in 1836.¶ Dr. Bird's account was published in 1847, in his *Historical*

* Turnour's *Mahawanso*, pp. 71, 74.
† *Ibid.* p. 34.
‡ Mrs. Spiers' *Life in Ancient India* (1856), pp. 317.

§ *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bomb.* vol. III. p. 520.
|| *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pp. 62-70.
¶ Vol. V. pp. 557-561.

Researches,* a work in which the erroneousness of the author's opinions on Buddhism is only matched by the inaccuracies of the drawings that illustrate it. An interesting and trustworthy description of them appeared in the *Bombay Courier* in 1839 by Lieut. Blake, and in 1843 Mr. Fergusson laid before the Royal Asiatic Society his *Memoir on the Rock-Cut Temples of India*, about a dozen pages of which are devoted to a critical architectural description of the Ajaṇṭâ caves.† This memoir was republished in 1845 with a splendid volume of plates, and nearly all that relates to Ajaṇṭâ and Elora reappeared in the descriptions to Major Gill's beautiful photographs of the *Rock Temples* and of *Architecture, &c. in Western India*,‡ volumes which illustrate exceedingly well the architecture and extent of the caves: indeed they are the only illustrations now procurable. There is also a good description of the principal caves in Dr. John Muir's *Account of a Journey from Agra to Bombay in* 1854.

These caves are entirely Buddhist, and, as a characteristic of Bauddha sculpture, the figures represented both in the sculptures and paintings are, almost without exception, natural,—not monstrous with many arms or faces. Figures with four arms are found, as mere architectural brackets, in two or three of the caves, and Gandharvas and Kinnaras—human-headed birds and horse-faced beings, are introduced in some of the later caves. The appearance of a colossal Buddha in the cell behind almost every vihâra, as well as his frequent representation in other positions, must at first sight appear at variance with the spirit of Bauddha doctrine, which dispenses with all idolatrous forms. We must remember, however, that the Buddhist idea of Deity as that supreme and untroubled Intelligence, the blessed serenity of whose eternal calm is undisturbed by any echo from a world of change and decay and sin, might please the intellect of the philosopher, but it was too abstract for the common mind, and too far removed from man's sympathies and spiritual wants to satisfy from age to age the cravings of his inner being; and so it was but natural there should again be a recoil first to the use of idols,—and finally to the old idolatry, which, though it had long ago failed to yield any comfort to the yearning spirit,—still offered representatives of Deity more accessible at least than the philosophical abstractions of Śâkya Muni and his immediate successors.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 192).

VII.—*A Toda "Green Funeral."*

At pp. 93 *et seqq.* some account was given of a Toda "Dry Funeral;" it was an oversight not to have prefaced that account by a description of the "Hase Kedu," or Green Funeral, which takes place immediately after death, and is a preliminary to the "Bora Kedu," or Dry Funeral, already described, at which the final rites of perhaps three or four green funerals are consummated. The ceremony has been graphically and minutely described by Col. Marshall, in his work *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, previously referred to; but every ceremonial appears to be accompanied by some slight differences, and perhaps readers may not be displeased to have the former account of the closing ceremonial supplemented by an independent description of the observances that precede it.

Two or three days after the death of a Toda, the body is placed upon a sort of bier or stretcher, formed of boughs lashed together, and carried to the spot where the dead of that section of the tribe have been immemorially burnt. This may be at a considerable distance from the *mund* where the death took place: in the instance now described, the space to be traversed was about two miles. The body was decked with a new cloth, with all the ornaments worn in life, and laid on the bier, which was raised on the shoulders of four men and carried away at a brisk pace: the dead man's relatives, male and female, young and old, followed behind in a

* *Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Bauddha and Jaina Religions* (Bom. 1847), pp. 13-18.

† Conf. also Dr. J. Wilson's *Memoir on the Cave Temples, &c. of Western India*, in *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pp. 71, 72.

‡ Published by Cundall and Downes, Lond. 1864.

long straggling procession, *keening* as they went, with a long wailing lamentation, now rising, now falling, with a very mournful effect. It was understood that they were recounting the deeds and qualities of the deceased, and at times reproaching him fondly for leaving them. As the procession went on, Todas from other *munds* joined and fell in, adding their lamentations to the dirge. On arriving at the burning-ground, the bier and body were carried into a rude hut made of boughs, leaves, and grass, which had been previously constructed, and grain, sugar, and sweetmeats were laid in the folds of the new cloth enveloping the corpse, thus showing that the idea of providing the soul for its journey into the unknown land, which the tombs and rites of all races show to have existed in all regions and ages, is strong even in this wild, sequestered tribe. Four long Toda staves and several skeins of thread ornamented with bunches of small white cowries were laid across the body, and the great toes tied together with blue thread; meanwhile the women sat without the hut, lamenting and moaning incessantly. A number of rough stones were then laid upon the grass in a circle, with an open space for entrance on one side, and the body was lifted from the bier, and laid outside the circle, and the Priest of the tribe (not the *Pâlâl*), who was present, handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to a stick, with which they turned up some earth, and, with heads mantled, threw three handfuls into the middle of the circle, and three upon the body, which was then carried back into the hut. I regret not having ascertained the meaning or symbolism of this, especially of the circle of stones. Col. Marshall considers it analogous to the "dust to dust" of English funerals, and his as well as other accounts represent the throwing of earth as well as of grain on the body as being joined in by the general assemblage, and continued longer; the connection of the circle of stones with the ceremonies is also remarkable as showing a thread of relation between this primitive people and similar pre-historic remains, though at the present day they pay no attention to the few ancient circles existing on the Nilgiris. The body was then lifted back into the hut, by which the women sat wailing, whilst a large funeral pile was built of dry logs, of which a stack seemed to be kept in readiness in a neighbouring tuft of trees. The dead man's herd of buffaloes, which had been driven to the spot, was then brought up, and two old and worthless cows seized and dragged to the hut, and the body lifted up three times to the side of each; both were then killed by a blow between the horns with the back of an axe, and the bodies laid, one on each side of the dead man, and his hands made to clasp a horn of each, amid redoubled lamentations from all present, who sat in groups with foreheads pressed to foreheads, sobbing violently and streaming with tears. This solemn leave-taking—for such it seemed meant to symbolize—between the dead and the herd that was his dearest earthly care, was not a little imposing. When the pile was completed, fire was obtained in the immemorially primitive savage way, by rubbing two dry sticks together; this was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred, and I regret not having endeavoured to ascertain the exact method. The pile was then lit in several places; more grain, sugar, and some tobacco were sprinkled over the corpse and tied in the cloth; some pice and two or three two-anna pieces were put in the small bag that had served him as a purse, and the nearest relative cut some hair from his head. The pile was now beginning to blaze, and half-a-dozen men lifting up the body, still arrayed in its new cloth and ornaments, swung it thrice, rather roughly, to and fro, with the face downward, over the flame, and laid it in that position on the pile; why in that position is not clear, the only reason assigned being custom. As the burning went on, the relatives drew their mantles over their heads and wept loudly; dry wood and fagots were continually added, and a great fire and heat maintained. When the body was judged to be consumed, and the pile allowed to sink into a mass of glowing embers, water was thrown on it, and a search made for any piece of bone, especially of the skull, that remained unconsumed; these were picked out, tied in an old cloth, and reserved for the Dry Funeral. I understood that the younger members of the deceased's tribe would shave their heads and faces, and the women clip their hair, and that the *mund* where he died would be deserted for a certain period. It does not appear that the same order of ob-

servances is followed strictly on every occasion. The symbolical lifting up and breaking of a *chāṭṭî* over the ashes, with which, in my experience, the Dry Funeral was concluded, seems to have been witnessed by Col. Marshall at the Green.

In my account of the Dry Funeral I remarked that, from the number of children present, the Toda race did not appear to be diminishing, to which the Editor has appended an opinion of Mr. Metz that the Todas were fast declining in numbers, and likely soon to die out. The authority of Mr. Metz on all matters pertaining to the tribes of the Nilgirîs is unquestionable, but I venture to think that when he made that statement Toda statistics were not so well ascertained as subsequently. From Captain Ouchterlony's *Memoir of a Survey of the Nilgirîs* it appears that in 1847 they numbered 337 souls; and Col. Marshall, in his latest and most carefully compiled statistical work on the Todas, published in the present year, reckons them at 704, and gives reasons for anticipating an increase. Mr. Metz, who accompanied and aided Col. Marshall in his researches, would now probably revise his statement; and indeed, so far from being a perishing race, the Todas seem to offer a striking and almost unique instance of a peculiarly primitive tribe, tenaciously adhering to very peculiar and primitive customs, living beside and amidst an extending and enterprising European community, without decreasing, but actually augmenting in numbers.

VIII.—Etruscan and Indian.

Few recent books have excited a keener controversy in the antiquarian and philological world than the Rev. Isaac Taylor's *Etruscan Researches*. Such weighty authorities as Prof. Max Müller and Captain Burton have condemned its speculations with marked asperity, but the battle is by no means decided yet. The origin and affinities of that mysterious Etruscan race, whose cities were immemorially ancient when Rome was built, and which, in language, appearance, customs, and religion, differed as much from the surrounding Italian nationalities as a boulder drifted from unknown regions does from the formation on which it lies, were subjects of dispute and wonder in the ancient world. Its literature has perished, and the few words remaining on tombs, vases, and objects of domestic use discovered in the tombs, could be ascribed to no known language. Many have been the attempts to explain and affiliate them, but all have been exploded.* Mr. Taylor now claims to have resolved this ancient puzzle, affirming that on the hypothesis of the people of old Etruria—the Rasenna as they called themselves—being of Ugric or Turanian origin, wanderers in ages immeasurably beyond the ken of history from Northern or Central Asia, and offshoots from the Tartar or Mongol family of man, the mystery of their origin, and the meaning and connections of the few remaining words of their tongue, can be satisfactorily explained. With this view he has minutely analysed and compared every Etruscan word that has come down to us—with what result, in view of the dissent of so many "learned and approved good masters," it would be presumptuous indeed to hazard an opinion; though, without laying too much stress on the philological argument, I know there are men of such eminence and learning who regard the general hypothesis favourably, as to embolden me to follow humbly with them.

My present object is to notice two or three of the very scanty remnants of Etruscan speech that seem to have Indian affinities. There are four words written over figures in the sepulchral paintings, of which, alone amongst Etruscan words, Mr. Taylor considers the meaning *certain*, the figure incontrovertibly showing the signification of the name written above it. These four words Mr. Taylor declares to be pure Etruscan, foreign to all Âryan languages, and certainly Ugric or Turanian. One of them is *nathum* written over a Fury-like figure, menacing a soul at its entrance into the other world.† Mr. Taylor connects this with *Natagai*, a great god whom Marco Polo describes as worshipped by the Mongols, and also with *Natha*, a lord or ruler; one cannot but also connect this with *Nâth*, bearing the same meaning, so often entering into the title of Indian deities, as Jagannâth, especially of deities of non-Vedic and non-Brahmanical origin, as in the names of all the 24 semi-gods of the Jaina faith.

* One of the most recent theories is that of Alex. Lord Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who, in his *Etruscan Inscriptions Analysed* (J. Murray, 1872), attempts to prove that these inscriptions are written in an old form of German. The attempt is an utter failure. See also Ellis's *Armenian Origin of the Etruscans*.—ED.

† The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (p. 260) regards this name as compounded of *nôt*, 'necessity,' and *tôm*, 'judgment' or 'doom.'—ED.

"*Eka Suthi*" are the first words of an inscription frequently written over doors leading to tombs, and Mr. Taylor, with great probability, interprets them as meaning "Here is the tomb" of so and so, and observes, "It is probable that the Turanian word which underlies *suthi* will mean either to burn or to bury; hence *suthi* meant originally 'place of cremation,' and, next, 'a tomb.'"* The word "*suthina*" is also frequent on statues, dishes, and votive offerings found in the tombs, and meant, Mr. Taylor thinks, originally a burnt-offering, a *sacrifice*, and, next, any object put in a tomb. It is difficult not to see some connection between this and *sati*, the famous Indian widow-burning custom once so general, the origin of which has never been distinctly traced. The Vedas know nothing of it: it is not an Âryan rite, and the Brâhmaṇs, when pressed for authority for it, had to forge texts. There are instances of superior conquering races adopting and even consecrating some of the worst customs of inferior peoples subdued by them, from policy or the corruption of manners engendered by conquest, and this may be one. Mr. Taylor has some remarks on "*eka*," which he interprets, and no doubt correctly, to mean "here:" in the Drâviḍian or Turanian language Telugu, spoken in the northern districts of Madras, *here* and *there* are *ikkăda* and *akkăda*, not distantly analogous to the Etruscan word.

A thread of connection is also found in a different field of research. Although pre-historic megalithic remains are scattered more or less abundantly over all other European countries, in Italy only one group has hitherto been discovered, and as that country has long been explored by antiquaries it is not probable that more will be found. At Saturnia, in the midst of the old Etruscan territory, there is a large assemblage of dolmens or kistvaens, and from the account given of them in Mr. Denniss's *Ancient Cities of Etruria*,† it is evident that they closely resemble the kistvaens, which, singly, in groups, or in great cemeteries, exist so profusely in Central and Southern India, and have been often described, by Colonel Meadows Taylor and others. From Mr. Denniss's description, it is plain that the Etrurian group, just as the Indian, consists of sepulchral chambers, generally more than half underground, formed of four huge slabs, one at each side and each end, set upright, covered with vast capstones, and, as in India, often divided lengthwise at the bottom into two compartments. Mr. Fergusson gives a woodcut of one of them from Mr. Denniss's book, but lately I had an opportunity of seeing a careful pen-and-ink drawing of a large portion of the Etruscan group by Captain S. P. Oliver, the distinguished archæologist, who has minutely examined the Mediterranean antiquities. The drawing was on a large scale and very elaborate, and I was struck by the complete coincidence of the remains represented with remains I have been familiar with in Southern India. The Saturnian megaliths are in a forest, and the drawing might very well have stood for many a group existing in my mind's eye in jangles on the Koimbatur and Maisur frontier, in Salem,‡ and elsewhere. It was not mere general resemblance,—it was identity. There were the tombs, some half-sunk in the earth, some rising higher: on some the capstones undisturbed, on others tilted or awry; and they appeared to be in just the same stage of antiquity and dislocation as the tombs in India. I could learn nothing of their contents. Though calling the group Etrurian, of course there is nothing to connect it with the Etruscans except situation. Here, however, in their ancient territory, is the only example known in Italy of remains distinctively Turanian; existing in Asia only where Turanian or Mongol peoples have existed, and one might speculate whether, on the hypothesis of an Asiatic origin of the Etruscans, the earliest settlers might not have brought with them their rude megalithic tomb-building habits, which may have developed into those wonderful sepulchral chambers, filled with exquisite objects of art, which have been discovered around the famous old Etruscan cities, as the arts in their myriad forms and applications have widened upwards from the flint knife, the clay bead, and the rough wooden club.

IX.—*Holed Dolmens.*

The holes or apertures so frequently observed in the end slabs of kistvaens or dolmens have

* Dr. Donaldson (*Varron*, p. 209) translates *ekaśuthi* as 'This is the mourning,' connecting *śuthi* with the Icelandic *sut*, 'grief.' The Earl of Crawford connects it with Suio-Gothic *kaette* and *ketti*, 'a grave,' the *hethis* or 'bed' of Ulphilas, and the Greek κοιτη, 'a sleeping-place'; and suggests a similar derivation for 'Kit's Cotty'—or Coity-house.—ED.

† Quoted by Mr. Fergusson at page 391 of his work *Rude Stone Monuments*.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 223 *et seqq.*

excited much perplexity and speculation as to their use or intention. They are almost invariably found in the larger Indian kistvaens, and are shown in drawings by Col. Meadows Taylor in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* for January 1853,* and also occur in European dolmens.† Sometimes round and only large enough to admit an arm, sometimes oblong and big enough for a child to pass through, they have remained a puzzle to antiquaries, and have suggested to the natives the myth that the tombs were the habitations of the pigmy race, to which the holes served as doors. In a paper by myself on the Megalithic Monuments of Koimbatur, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. VII. at p. 25), the subject has been discussed, and the suggestion thrown out that, supposing the graves were family sepulchres, used by successive generations, as the numbers of vessels containing bones, &c., in them might seem to betoken, the apertures may have been intended as means for introducing fresh sepulchral urns when occasion required. No other conjecture seemed plausible, but a new idea has lately suggested itself. Some remarkable discoveries have recently been made in Egypt. Great cemeteries of what may be supposed to have been the well-to-do middle classes have been laid open, a principal feature of which are subterranean or excavated closed sepulchral chambers or tomb-closets, closely built and blocked up, except one small aperture, the use of which seemed very problematical till some paintings were observed in the chambers themselves, representing the tombs and apertures, *into which persons were blowing incense through long tubes.* The inscriptions and paintings left no doubt of this, and it was plain that one of the regular ceremonial rites of that great dead-reverencing and tomb-building race was, at stated times, to offer incense to the dead in their solidly-built and closely-shut chambers through an aperture left for the purpose. The idea immediately arises whether the mysterious holes so carefully pierced in the massive slabs of pre-historic dolmens may not have had a similar use and purpose. The ancient Egyptians were of the tomb-building Turanian race, and these lately-explored cemeteries, which are at least 4000 years old, may contain traces of the survival amongst them of still more primæval and pre-historic customs. Evidence for the enormous antiquity of communication between Egypt and Southern India continually grows stronger, and the forests of the latter country abound with fragrant gums, notably the ancient Olibanum, which to-day are principally gathered by the wild jungle tribes, who are looked upon, with much probability, as the descendants of the pre-historic cairn-building peoples.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TOWN OF GOGHÂ.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ASSIST. POL.-AGENT, JHÂLÂWÂR.

The bandar of Goghâ was in ancient times one of the ports of Gundigaḍh, which was during the reign of the Gehlot dynasty of Valabhî a place of some importance. Goghâ, a few miles from Gundigaḍh, is said to have derived its name from Goghlâ गोघला, a shell commonly found on the sea-coast of Saurâshṭra; and this does not appear an unlikely derivation, as the name Goghlâ is not uncommon, and is always associated with bandars: thus there is a Goghlâ near Delwârâ, and another near Dholerâ. Goghâ soon became famous for its hardy seamen, called Goghars and Goghârîs (as were the Gohels at a later date). At this time the whole of the coast population were daring pirates, and the Goghars were second to none. Even at the present day, in a great portion of Gujarât, such as the towns of Surat, Bharoch, Bhâonagar, etc. a very common lullaby to a fractious child is सुओ सुओ बावा गोघर आव्या, "Sleep, sleep, baby: the Goghars have come." After the fall of Valabhî, and the rise of the kingdom of Ânhalwâra Patan,‡ the port of Goghâ rose into notice, and an entire quarter was allotted to the Goghars in the city of Patan, and the men of Goghâ were so famed for their prowess that from this sprung the saying, well known throughout Gujarât, लंकानी लाडी अने गोघानोवर, "Bride of Lankâ, and bridegroom of Goghá." After the rise of the Gujarât monarchy founded by Muzafar Shâh, Goghâ became one of the ports of the Gujarât kingdom. Goghâ had previously fallen

* See, too, Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 469, 473.

† *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 344.

‡ Tod's *W. India*, p. 250.

under the power of the Gohels, and eventually was conquered by the Peshwâ, from whom it was acquired by the British Government. After the fall of Châmpâner, it is said that the emblem of Kâlkâ Mâtâ (a trident) which was sculptured on a large stone, in disgust at the desecration of Pâwâgaḍh, left that fortress, and sailing down the Dhâdar river landed near the spot now known as the Pâghadshâ Pir. At this time there was a Sonî in Goghâ devotedly attached to the Hindu religion and a worshipper of the Kâmnâth Mahâdev, whose shrine still exists about 1½ miles to the south-west of Goghâ. He was wont daily to worship at this shrine fasting, and before performing his adorations used to bathe. Near the shrine was a large pit, and the Sonî used every day to carry away a basketful or two of earth from this pit, thus enlarging it. After the monsoon was over, this pit used to hold water for three or four months. One day the Sonî dreamed that Kâlkâ Mâtâ was pleased with him on account of his devotion to the Hindu religion, and he was commanded to build a tank and erect on its banks her symbol, and was directed to repair to the sea-shore, where in a named spot he would find a long stone marked with a trident. On the next day, accordingly, on his way to the shrine of Kâmnâth, the Sonî went to the spot on the sea-shore pointed out to him in his dream, and there found the stone whereon was sculptured the Mâtâ's trident. Now the Sonî was a pious Hindu, one who cared more for religious exercises than for the cares and anxieties of worldly affairs: he therefore went to the city of Gundigaḍh or Gundi, which was then still a large and populous city, in which were Nâgars, Brâhmaṇs, Wâṇiâs, and the like. In Gundi resided two Wâṇiâs, named Ângo and Gângo, who were pedlars, and who were wont to repair daily to Goghâ to sell their wares, resting at the Sonî's house, and returning in the evening to Gundi. The Sonî and these Wâṇiâs were great friends: the Sonî therefore related to them his dream and the injunction therein contained, as well as the subsequent finding of the stone, and asked Ângo and Gângo whether they would undertake the excavation of the tank on his account. Ângo and Gângo agreed to do this, but requested the Sonî to furnish them with funds for so vast an undertaking. The Sonî begged them to wait, and that night the Mâtâ appeared again to him in a dream and said, "On a certain day there will be a mighty tempest early in the morning: on that day go to the sea-shore in such a spot, and you will see a ship in its last extremity; the crew, anxious to escape the perils of the sea, will offer to sell you the ship and its cargo. Purchase it from them, and in it you will find vast wealth." On the day fixed, the Sonî repaired to the appointed spot, accompanied by Ângo and Gângo, and immediately they became aware of a noble bark buffeted by the waves within easy distance of the shore, the crew of which were making their escape in boats to the spot where the three friends stood. On their landing, the Sonî and Waṇiâs offered to buy from them their ship and cargo; and the crew, joyful at having escaped alive from the storm, and feeling doubtful whether they would ever recover ship or cargo, willingly assented, and accepting a very small sum departed. Meanwhile the tempest abated, and the Sonî with the aid of some of his customers, sailors of Goghâ, brought the vessel to a safe anchor. On examining the cargo they found it to be dried dates, but, trusting to the Mâtâ's prophecy, they felt convinced that treasure must be concealed in it. They accordingly brought all the packages to shore, and stored them in a spot then covered with jangle and bamboos adjoining the Kânthiâphaliu or shore-street, and a little to the north of the present bazâr. Here they gave out to the towns-people that they had withdrawn to fulfil a vow, and accordingly no one visited them: thus, without exciting suspicion, they contrived each day before dawn to unpack some of the packages, and in each package they found two gold bars. When the packages were landed, the Sonî returned to his house, and Ângo and Gângo watched the packages and discovered the gold bars, and while one would watch the treasure, the other took the gold bars one by one to Gundi, where they buried them in their house. As soon as all the gold bars were safely stowed away, the brothers invited the population to carry away the dates gratis, and the villagers gladly did so, and the spot where the dates were stored is still called the Khajurio Chotro. This *chotro* is situated in the bazâr near the Śrâvak temple.

Ângo and Gângo, though they had thus become rich through means of the Sonî and the favour

of Kâlkâ Mâtâ, yet gave him no share in the treasure; they, however, thought it would be but fair to construct for him the tank he had requested them to excavate. They accordingly went to Rânder (opposite to Surat), and procured from thence able and experienced artizans, and commenced the work on an auspicious day. The artizans, however, told the Wâṇiâs that until some fortunate and holy man should point out on which side to leave an open space for the ingress of the water, it was useless to continue the construction of the tank. There being no one in that neighbourhood so virtuous and holy as the Sonî, Ângo and Gângo came to him and consulted him. The Sonî entreated the Mâtâ to herself solve the question, and she again appeared to him in his sleep and pointed out the proper direction for the feeders to the tank. The Sonî accordingly told the Wâṇiâs, and the feeders were constructed as directed. The tank was now finished, and the stone with the trident of the Mâtâ was installed on the bank with much solemnity, and a masonry *kund* or reservoir was built in its vicinity, and the tank received the name of Ângâsar or Ângâ sarowar. The monsoon set in and the tank speedily became filled with water; but the water, instead of being pure, was of the colour of blood. Distressed and alarmed at this unusual circumstance, and dreading that it portended some dire calamity, the Wâṇiâ brothers sought out the Sonî and entreated him to inquire of the Mâtâ the reason of this. Accompanied by the brothers, the Sonî went to the spot where her symbol was installed, and prayed her earnestly to explain this extraordinary circumstance. After he had made many prostrations, a voice issued from the stone saying, "The Wâṇiâs are ungrateful wretches, and though they have prospered through your kindness they have named the tank Ângâsar, after one of them. It is on this account that I have turned the water into blood." On hearing these words the Wâṇiâs trembled exceedingly and vowed repentance. Shortly afterwards they assembled the inhabitants of Goghâ, and in their presence revoked the name of Ângâsar, and called the tank Sonâriâ, after the Sonî. When Goghâ came into the possession of the British Government it was thought necessary to fortify the town, and during the Collectorship of Mr. H. Borradaile the stone-work of the Sonâriâ tank was pulled down, and the present fort constructed. After the construction of the Sonâriâ, Ângo and Gângo dug out afresh the Meghâsar Tank, and sunk in it several wells, of which several yet remain. They then commenced to excavate a third tank, since called the Âlâsar, but died before its completion. From their constructing these works of public utility arose the couplet so common in Goghâ—

सोनारियु सरोवर मेघेसरना कुवा ;
आलासर खोदावतां आंगो गांगो मूवा.

The Sonâria Lake and the wells of Meghâsar,
And whilst excavating Âlâsar, Ângo and Gângo died.

As soon as Goghâ was thus supplied with sweet water it rapidly rose to be an important port, and attracted the notice of the Gohels, whose chief seat then was at Umrâlâ. Gohel Mokherâji, then Chief of Umrâlâ, conquered Goghâ in about A.D. 1325, and taking possession of the island of Pirambh established there the seat of his chiefdom. At this time it is said that Pirambh, or Piram as it is now called, was inhabited by a ferocious lion. Mokherâji slew the lion single-handed, and assumed the title of Pâdishâh of Piram, which title is still applied by the bards to the head of the Bhâonagar house. It is this title which Colonel Tod has mistaken* for the title Purab-kâ-Pâdishâh, or King of the East. Mokherâji, after his acquisition of Piram and Goghâ, became a noted pirate, and but few vessels could pass to the ports of Khambhât, Surat, or Bharoch without paying toll to the Chief of Piram. The ruin of Mokherâji is said to have been on this wise:—A rich merchant with seven ships laden with gold dust was sailing for the port of Khambhât. As he drew near Goghâ, stress of weather compelled him to take shelter in that port, and as the season was now far advanced he determined to unload his vessels at that place: with this view he visited Mokherâji at Piram and requested permission to be allowed to store his cargo in the Chief's godowns at Goghâ, agreeing to pay any rent that might be demanded. The merchant represented his cargo to be simple dust, and made no mention of its being gold dust, and, on Mokherâji giving his consent, unloaded his ships and stowed the gold dust in the Chief's godowns. At this time an agreement was made by the Wâṇiâ to pay

* Tod's *W. India*, p. 266.

a fixed sum as rent, and he engaged to come within a stated time to remove his cargo. Mokherâji, on the other hand, took the Arabian Sea to witness that no injury should be permitted to be done to the merchant's goods. The Wâṇiâ then locking the store-room departed, taking with him the key. Now it so happened that behind this store-room was a blacksmith's shop, and his furnace was immediately against the store-room wall. In this wall a rat had made a hole, and through this hole a small quantity of gold dust would drop into the furnace from time to time, and this becoming melted the blacksmith found one day a small piece of gold amongst the ashes of the furnace. At first he did not pay much attention to it, but when in the course of a few days he found several other pieces he began to consider that this gold must come from the Darbâri storehouses. Fearing the Râja might punish him if he did not at once represent the matter, he took one of the pieces of gold and showed it to Râja Mokherâji, telling him at the same time all that had occurred. Mokherâji at once accompanied the smith to his house, and, finding that he had said the truth, ordered the storehouses to be opened, and removing the gold dust, which he had melted into bars, substituted sand in its place. He then caused the store-rooms to be locked as before. When the rainy season had expired, the Wâṇiâ returned and sought permission to remove his cargo, which Mokherâji granted; and he accordingly opened the store-rooms, and there, to his grief and surprise, found that sand had been substituted for his gold dust, and as Mokherâji refused to do him justice he sailed away empty-handed. On, however, reaching his home, he proceeded to Dehlî and besought Muhammad Toghlak, who was then reigning, to avenge him on his enemy. Accordingly, when in A.D. 1347 Muhammad Toghlak marched to Gujarât, he sent an army to Goghâ, which place fell without resistance; Mokherâji, however, was safe in the fort of Piram, and had withdrawn all the boats from Goghâ, and the King's army could get no transports. On this the Wâṇiâ went to the sea-shore and fasted for three days successively, and adjured the sea to perform his guarantee. At the end of the third day the sea appeared to him and asked him why he fasted. The Wâṇiâ replied, "You are witness to the promise of Mokherâji, and as he has broken that promise you should cause the water to retire in the creek between Goghâ and Piram." The sea consented, and the waters retired, and the next morning the troops of the Pâdishâh crossed over to Piram and beleaguered the walls of the fortress. Mokherâji made a gallant resistance, but was slain after performing prodigies of valour. It is said that his corpse fought after his head had been severed, until one of the Musalmâns bethought himself of throwing a dark blue string on the ground. Then the body fell. The body is said to have fallen at Khadadpur, and the head at Goghâ. This fight is celebrated in the following bardic verses :—

धाह सांभळ्य गोहेल धणी, नर पिरमरा नाथ;
आवे दळ असराणरा, सब्य भारथ समराथ.
पतशाहरा दळ पलटवा, अळ राखवा अख्यात;
सेजक हरे सांभळी, बादर मोखडे बात.
बाहादुर मोखडे सुणि बात, अडप्यो राखवा अख्यान;
रूठ्यो भूप त्रांब करोड, मारू बोल्य मुछ्यां मरोड.
नरहु नर धरांको नाथ, सांमो कोणहे समराथ;
अमशुं कोण झीते आज, लोपुं सात पातशाह लाज.
भडहु मोखडो अण भंग, झटके मचाडुं रणजंग;
दुशमन वढे जोरहुं देख, लाजे सालीवाहन लेख.
मोरे अभेवन कुळ महि, चडीयो चक्रावो लगचहि;
सूरा बरद एह संभाळ्य, तरकस मींडीया ततकाळ.
बंको रांणरो दहीवांण, पक्षा झटकी उठ्यो पांण;
लशकर सर्व कर ललकार. तळसब तोपखांनां त्यार.
राजा कीध मंडी राड्य, पेले मोरचे गज पाड्य;
सूरा वीर हरमत सोए, हर हर करी मेळा होए.
खेले खाग धारा खेल, ठेले असुर दळ अठेल;
भालां झीक वागे भाइ, तिबां जवन मांमे नांइ.
सिद्धर पाड्य होदा सोत, मींटे शाह दीठुं मोत;
पाडे इरांनी पठांण, खाली पालखी खुरसांण.
दहितां देत ज्युं म्रतदांन, एपण मोखडो हनमांन;
हुंटे हुंद दीधां ढाळ, खळके रगत वहती खाळ.
वेढक वजाडी अणवार, त्रीजा पोहोर लग तरवार;
चोरंग उड बाटाकुट, तेगां झाल बंगल्ट त्रुट.
झुझे मोखडो रणजंग, असमर उडीयो अनवंग;
राजा शीस पडीयो रांन, मारू धड वध्यों असमांन.
सतव्रत भीष्मरा सरखोज, फारक करी आवी फोज;
शरवण वाहतो समशेर, जवनां दीध दुनां जेर.
पेरम नाथ थरकर पग, लडीयो सात कोसां लग;
लशकर सरव मरती लाग, तरके नांख्य गळियल त्राग.
धड त्यां धरण ढळीयो धींग, सेजक हरो भड नरसींग;
माथो पड्यो गोघा महि, धड गयो खदडपडलग धाये.
सूतो पिंड मेली सूर, निरंजन नूर भळीयो नूर.
निर्मळ चाड्य परिये नीर, धनधन सरळके रणधीर.
तुं नरलोक धन अवतार, धनधन सूरलोक सधार;

गरज्यो अम्मगा आगि प्रेम, अधिपती पुग्यो सुरपुर एम. ॥
ए पतशाह तणो दळ आधो, सोई काप्यो तेगसधीर;
शाह तणो भाणेज समेतो, अणपर घायो हेक अमीर.

List to the noise, Gohel Prince, Lord of the men of Piram :

The forces of the Asuras draw near; make ready for battle,

To repulse the Pâdishâh's army and preserve undying renown.

When Sejak's grandson, the gallant Mokherâ, heard the news,

When brave Mokherâ heard the news, he became exceedingly desirous of gaining immortal fame.

The King became angry and beat the Nagâra, and curled his moustaches, saying "Slay!

I am a man, and lord of a world of men. Who is so powerful as to oppose me?

Who is there now who can conquer me? I could stain the honour of seven such kings.

I am the undaunted and invincible Mokherâ, and in the battle I will deal many sword-strokes.

Should I look on when the enemy fights, think how I should shame Śâlivâhana.

Abhimân was of my race, he who essayed to break the Chakrâvin.

Act up to this heroic resolve." (So saying) he immediately bound on his quiver,

The tough (son) of the powerful Rânji, shaking his skirt, raised his arm on high,

And, encouraging his army to fight, he prepared his fortress and arrayed his cannon.

The Râja commenced firing, and at the first discharge an elephant fell.

The hero with honour joined his men shouting Har! Har!

He played the game with the sword's edge, and the immoveable army of the Asuras retreated,

Brother, the spears resounded on all sides, and the Yavanas cried for quarter.

An elephant and his howdâh fell, and the Shâh saw death face to face.

The Pathâns of Irân were discomfited, and the *pâlki* of Khorâsân empty.

Mokherâ was like to Hanumân dealing death to the Daityas;

He hurled their corpses to the earth, and made streams of blood flow in the trenches.

At this time the warrior fought with the sword until the afternoon.

Blows rained on all sides, until their shoulders were wearied of holding the sword.

Mokherâ fought in the battle until his head was riven from his body;

The head of the Râja fell on the battlefield, and the body of the Mâru seemed to reach up to heaven.

A truth-teller like Râja Bhîshma, he annihilated half the army; without a head he wielded the sword and extirpated the Yavanas' army:

The lord of Piram, planting his feet firmly, fought for seven *kos*;

The army all were dying, when the Turks threw down the charmed* blue string.

Then fell on the ground the mighty corpse, the lion-like grandson of Sejak.

The head fell at Goghâ, while the trunk went near to Khadadpur.

The hero dying mixed his own funeral cake, and his bright soul was absorbed in the light of the Infinite.

He increased the unspotted fame of his ancestors, and the inhabitants of Sorath cried "Bravo, brave warrior!

Thou glorious incarnation in this mankind world, now glorious visit the heroes' heaven!"

Filled with love he wedded the Apsara, thus the great monarch reached the city of Surpur.†

Half the army of the Pâdishâh was mown down by this steadfast sword.

Together with the Shâh's sister's son, and thus this one Amîr fell.

Eventually the Muhammadans, after much carnage, gained the day and destroyed the fort of Piram. The second son of Mokherâji, named Semarsinghji, was carried away by a maid-servant to Bhagwâ while the battle was raging, and from thence was conveyed to Nândod, where his maternal uncle ruled. His uncle, having no male issue, adopted Semarsinghji, and his descendants rule at Nândod and Râjpipla to this day. The elder son, Dungarji, fled to Hâthasni, in Und Sarveyâ, until Muhammad Toghlak had left Gujarât, and then returned to Goghâ and ruled there. In 1532 and 1546 Goghâ was plundered and burned by the Portuguese, and

* A charmed blue string laid on the ground is supposed to stop a corpse which continues to fight after losing its head.—J.W.W.

† Surpur is the city where Indra rules in Swarga.—J.W.W.

many of the inhabitants were slaughtered. Dungarji was succeeded by Vijoji, Vijoji by Kânji, and Kânji by his brother Râmji Goghâri, who, however, after a few years' tenure of power, resigned the *gâdî* to his nephew Sârangji. Sârangji was a minor when his father died, and his paternal uncle Râmji was regent on his behalf. The Ahmadâbâd tribute being in arrears, an army came from that capital to collect it and enforce its payment. Râmji gave Sârangji as a hostage for the amount of tribute due, and reigned without care for Sârangji, who remained in the hands of the Muhammadans. A potter* of Koliâk, near Goghâ, named Pâncho, determined to rescue Sârangji, and, entering into a secret correspondence with him, contrived to conceal him in his donkey's panniers, and afterwards transferring him to Bâwâ Partâpgar's charge conveyed him to Pâwâgaḍh,† where his uncle by marriage, Râwal Patâi, reigned. It was agreed between Sârangji and Râwal Patâi that if Sârangji recovered his throne he should assume the title of Râwal, and Sârangji marched upon Umrâlâ, the old Gohel capital, together with an army furnished him by the Râwal. Râmji Goghâri, hearing of Sârangji's arrival, solicited the aid of the Gohel Chiefs of Gâriâdhâr and Lâthi, and promised to grant them each twelve villages on condition of their assistance. At first these chieftains assented, but finally, feeling that Sârangji was the rightful heir, they proceeded to Umrâlâ and presented the *patâs* to Sârangji. Sârangji confirmed the grants, and the Chiefs joined him with their forces. On hearing of their junction with Sârangji, Râmji, seeing that resistance was hopeless, made submission to Sârangji, and said, "While you were young I guarded your interests, but now that you are of fit age ascend the *gâdî:* I will be content with what you may allot me." Sârangji then granted him the *tapâ* of Agiâli, and granted to the Gâriâdhâr and Lâthi Chiefs the *tapâs* of Trâpaj and Wâlukar respectively. Sârangji was succeeded by his son Shivdâs, Shivdâs by Jetâji, Jetâji by Râmdâsji, Râmdâsji by Satoji, and Satoji by Visoji, who acquired Sihor and removed thither the Gohel capital. After the conquest of Gujarât by Akbar, Goghâ became an imperial port, though the Gohels of Sihor still held certain rights there. There is an inscription in the Khâri Wâv at Goghâ, which, though in some parts illegible, shows that Visoji was a contemporary of Akbar. The inscription is as follows:—

: ॥ संवत १६३४ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदी २ रवौ पातशा श्री ५ अकबर विजय राज्ये हवाली राज्यश्री कल्याणराय श्रीलन्ना राजा विसाजी आर आखं घायंतीनी वाव्यूती वाडी छे त्यांहा हांहु तथा जशल कोमर मझामति थइ– नेहनी गधेडियालि. ॥

Saṁvat 1634, Kârtik Shudi 2nd, Sunday, in the glorious reign of Pâdishâh Śrî Âkbar, Râjeśrî Kaliânrâi being in charge (of the port) . . . . . . in the reign of Visoji . . . . the *wâv* of Ghâyanti in the Puti Garden . . . . and Jesal Komar . . . .

This inscription finishes with the *gadhâ gâl.*

Goghâ became an imperial port, it is said, in the following way:—When Muhammad Toghlak conquered Goghâ and Piram, Harishankar Iśwarji, the ancestor of the Goghâ Desâis, came from Unâ with a body of men to the assistance of the Emperor, and from his local knowledge made himself exceedingly useful. The Emperor accordingly conferred on him a *desâigirî* allowance, also some fields and other rights in the then flourishing port of Gundi. Gundi was shortly afterwards closed, owing to the silting up of the creek, and Goghâ was made a dependency of Khambhât, and large vessels destined for Khambhât were wont to unload at Goghâ, whence their cargo was sent in small craft to Khambhât. In aftertimes the Nawâbs of Khambhât acquired power in Goghâ, but were gradually ousted by the Desâis, whether by means of the Gohels or the Peshwâ. When the Gundi port was closed, and when Goghâ rose into notice, these rights were transferred to Goghâ; and the Desâis contriving, with much ability, to keep on good terms both with the Goghâri Gohels and the Ahmadâbâd Sulṭâns, managed always to increase their rights, and eventually established a right to *sukhri* over the villages subordinate to Goghâ. When Âkbar conquered Gujarât, Desâi Somji, perceiving the strength of the imperial power, persuaded the Gohel chieftain to offer Goghâ as a *nazarânâ*. For this he (Somji) was rewarded by a grant of some villages and an increased allowance, while he was allowed rights in all the harbours of Gohelwâr. Desâi Somji, having no sons, repaired the temple of the Nilkanṭha Mahâdev at Hâthab, which village was the port of Gundi,

* This story of the potter is also in *Râs Mâlâ*.—J. W. W.

† The *Râs Mâlâ* says Dungarpur.—J. W. W.

and besought the deity to grant him sons. He married again when fifty years of age, and begat four sons :—(1) Mahâdev (so named out of gratitude to the god), (2) Lakshmidâs, (3) Purshotam, (4) Karsanji. His son Mahâdev is mentioned in an inscription in the temple of Kâlkâ Mâtâ at Goghâ. This *lekh* is dated S. 1672, when Dhunâji was reigning at Sihor. Mention is made of Grâsiâ Akhirâjji. This was probably Dhunâji's second son, who may have held lands near Goghâ. The inscription is as follows :—

श्रीगणेशायनमः श्रीमहाकालि महालक्ष्मी महासरस्वती प्रसादा स्वस्ती श्रीजयामँगल्लाभयोदये श्रीपातशाह श्रीमणीहोत्र शाह श्रीसलेमशाह विजयराज अेवं श्रीगोघापालं अमल हयाली-वजीरखात श्रीकासमखात, तवरणशेवक थोभण, शेठ श्रीउधव-दास काजीशाह महमद गराशीया राजश्री अखेराजजी; देसाई श्रीमहासोमजी तथा विठल, आहमीर वहोरा वीसा कल्याण तथा एवं पंचकुलव्रती प्रतौ प्रथायतः प्रसादे इक्षायेनादं राणी लिख्यते संवत् १६७२ वर्षे संवत शालीवाहन शाके १५३७ प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरायण गती श्रीसुर्य शशिरऋतौ महामंगल्यप्रदौ महामासे शुक्लपक्षे दशमियायां तीथौ गुरूवासरे। अत्र दीने श्रीमंगलराताय सोनीवेजा तं सुत सोनी हरदास तस्य भार्या बाई कीकिकेत्यरंय प्रसादस्थापीता; बाईकीकि,माता बाई विरबाई पीता सोनीरांम, भ्रातृ सोनी थोभण। अस्मीन् प्रासादे हयषतने संक्षांनी जयशाई १६०७ सोळशेसात एतत साक्षीप्रमाण अस्मीन् प्रासादे श्रेष्ठपाषांणसेवकोस्मी श्रीरस्तु। लेखकवाचक्यो कल्याणं॥

"Adoration to Śrî Gaṇesh. We invoke the grace of Śrî Mahâ Kâli, Mahâ Lakshmi, Mahâ Sarasvatî, from whom happiness, success, prosperity, and good fortune proceed. In the reign of Pâdishâh Śrî Manihotra Shâh Śrî Salim Shâh, protector of Śrî Goghâ. Vazir Khât Śrî Kâsam Khât being in charge of the Government, His servant Thobhan. Sheṭh Śrî Udhavdâs, Kâzi Shâh Mahmad, Grâsiâ Râj Śrî Akherâjji, Desâi Śrî Mâhâ Somji, and Vithal Amîr Vahorâ Visâ Kalyân, the heads of such families being in existence, and in their presence, this stone was inscribed. In the Saṁvat year 1672 and Śâlivâhana Śake 1537, when the sun was in the tropic of Capricorn, during the cold season, on Thursday, the 10th day of the bright half of the auspicious month of Mâgha. On this day Bâi Kiki, wife of Soni Hardâs son of Soni Vejâ, of good intelligence, established this temple. Her mother was Bâi Virbâi, her father Soni Râm, her brother Soni Thobhan. In constructing this temple 1607 *Jâmshâi* (*koris*) were expended. In witness thereof are the excellent stones of this temple. May Śrî (Lakhshmi) look favourably on me her adorer (*i.e.* the engraver), and may peace rest on the writer and reader of this inscription !"

Bhâosinghji founded the present city of Bhâonagar on the site of the ancient Wadawâ in A.D. 1723. At this time Desâi Surji II. was alive, and was one of the leading politicians of this part of Saurâshṭra, and mediated between Bhâosinghji, the Nawâb of Surat, the Ahmadâbâd Subah, the Marâṭhâs, and the Junâgaḍh Faujdârs. Desâi Surji assisted Bhâosinghji in the founding of Bhâonagar, and managed at the same time to obtain a grant of certain rights in that port. Bhâosinghji, however, was apprehensive of Surji's influence, and, though outwardly friendly to him, determined to get rid of him on the first opportunity. Bhâosinghji accordingly entertained Surji and others at a feast given by him near the Châdika Dhâr, near Bhâonagar; on this occasion (it is said) poison was mixed in Surji's food, so that he died immediately after eating. Bhâosinghji now plundered Surji Desâi's house, and obtained possession of all his papers. In 1731 the Peshwâ defeated Trimbak Râo Dhâbâre, Dâmâji Gâekwâḍ, and other chieftains, and obtained a cession of half of the revenue of Gujarât, while in 1729 he had obtained from Sarbuland Khân, the imperial viceroy, the cession of the *chauth* and *sardeśmukhî* of Gujarât. In the division of Gujarât with Dâmâji, the port of Goghâ and the Goghâbârah fell to the Peshwâ's share. Nâhânâ Desâi, therefore, taking with him Surji's son Wâghji, repaired to the Peshwâ's court at Puṇâ, and entreated the Peshwâ to redress his wrongs. Nâhânâ Desâi died shortly afterwards, but Wâghji obtained a renewal of the *sanads*, and other rights destroyed by Bhâosinghji, under the Peshwâ's great seal, and also obtained orders on the Peshwâ's representative at Ahmadâbâd and the Kamâviśdâr of Goghâ to ensure his rights being respected, and established his power on so firm a basis that Bhâosinghji was utterly unable to encroach. Wâghji died in 1786, leaving two sons, Rupji and Somji II. The Bhâonagar Darbâr, ever anxious to extend their influence, finding that during Wâghji's lifetime they could do nothing, now offered the post of Divân to Rupji. Rupji accepted, and, unlike his father, did all that he could to extend the Bhâonagar influence, and to lessen that of the Peshwâ and Gâekwâḍ. During Rupji's

tenure of the Bhâonagar Divâṇî the power and influence of the Bhâonagar Darbâr was much extended, and on Rupji's death in 1806 the Bhâonagar Darbâr were so alive to the advantages they had obtained during his tenure of office that they conferred the Divâṇî on his brother Somji II., who followed the policy of Rupji, and died in 1814. This concilation policy had become the more necessary as by the treaty of Bassein, concluded on the 31st December 1802, the Peshwâ had resigned to the British Government his rights in Goghâ, and the Bhâonagar Darbâr were among the first to perceive the permanent character of the British rule. The permanent settlement of tribute of the Kâṭhiâwâḍ States effected by Col. Walker, Resident of Baroda, in conjunction with Bâbâji Âppâji on behalf of the Gâekwâḍ, in 1807-8, established the British influence throughout Gujarât, and afterwards on the fall of the Peshwâ in 1818 the British Government succeeded to the entire power and rights of that government. Since 1802, then, Goghâ has been a British port, and the Goghâbârah district has from that date passed under British jurisdiction. The prosperity of this port depends very much on the state of trade at Bhâonagar: when trade is slack at Bhâonagar, then Goghâ flourishes, and *vice versâ*. The name Goghâ is spelt in many different ways, thus Ghoghâ, Gogâ, and Gogo; but Goghâ is correct, and old *lekhs* bear out this view. The form Goghâ is borrowed from the Persian historians, who invariably spelt the name of this port as Ghoghâ or Khokhâ. The principal representatives of the Desâi family of Goghâ at the present day are (1) Ranchoḍdâs Viṭhalji, (2) Dharnidhardâs Harjivandâs, (3) Santukrâm Śevakrâm, and (4) Chaganlâl Śivprasâd.

THE CONCLUDING VERSES OF THE SECOND OR VÂKYA-KÂṆḌA OF BHARTṚIHARI'S VÂKYAPADÎYA.

BY Dr. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE.

It was, I believe, the late Professor Goldstücker* who first drew attention to certain verses of Bhartṛihari's Vâkyapadîya which are of considerable interest for the history of Sanskṛit Grammar. As the London MS. made use of by him is unfortunately very incorrect, Professor Goldstücker was obliged in many cases to have recourse to conjectural readings, and it is therefore hardly strange that his translation of the passage in question should have been open to objections. By comparing the Berlin MS. of the Vâkyapadîya, Professor Weber† was enabled to publish a more correct and reliable text of the same verses; in proposing, however, a translation of the latter, he, like his predecessor, laboured under the disadvantage of being destitute of the assistance of any native commentary. Two Sanskṛit commentaries appear to have been accessible to Târânâtha Tarkavachaspati,‡ but in republishing the passage published by Professors Goldstücker and Weber he omitted some of Bhartṛihari's verses, and mixed up the remainder with other verses that do not belong to Bhartṛihari himself, but were composed by his commentator Puṇyarâja, and occur in the *résumé* which that scholar has given of the contents of the second kâṇḍa of Bhartṛihari's work.

As I have at last succeeded in procuring considerable portions of both Puṇyarâja's and Helârâja's commentaries, I propose to republish below the last ten verses of the second or Vâkya-kâṇḍa of the Vâkyapadîya, together with Puṇyarâja's gloss. The latter appears to me generally so clear and intelligible as to render an English translation for Sanskṛit scholars unnecessary.

I have no means of ascertaining whether Puṇyarâja and Helârâja have either of them composed separate commentaries on the whole of the Vâkyapadîya: my fragments of Puṇyarâja's work refer only to the second kâṇḍa; those of Helârâja's commentary only to the third or Pada-kâṇḍa, of the Vâkyapadîya. Nor have I, up to the present time, been able to learn anything regarding Puṇyarâja beyond his name and the fact that he commented on Bhartṛihari's work. Helârâja was a son of Bhûtirâja, and a descendant of Lakshmaṇa minister of the king Muktâpîḍa§ of Kâshmîr; this is clear from

* See his *Pâṇini*, p. 237.

† See *Indische Studien*, vol. V. p. 159, and also Professor Stenzler's notes, *ib.* p. 447.

‡ See *Siddhânta-Kaumudî*, vol. II. p. 2 of the Introduction.

§ Also called Lalitâditya: see *Râjataranginî*, IV. 42, 43.

the following verse which occurs towards the end of my MS. of his work :—

मुक्तापीड इति प्रसिद्धिमगमत्काश्मीरदेशे नृपः
श्रीमान्ख्यातयशा बभूव नृपतेस्तस्य प्रभावानुगः ।
मन्त्री लक्ष्मण इत्युदारचरितस्तस्यान्ववाये भवो *
हेलाराज इमं प्रकाशमकरोच्छ्रीभूतिराजात्मजः ॥

Punyarâja writes as follows :—

अथ महाभाष्यस्यावतारान्वाख्यानपूर्वकं टीकाकारो महत्तामुपवर्णयन्स्वरचितस्य ग्रन्थस्य गुरुपूर्वकममभिधातुमाह ।

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान्संग्रहे ऽस्तमुपागते ॥ १ ॥

इह पुरा पाणिनीये ऽस्मिन्व्याकरणे व्याड्युपरचितं लक्षपरिमाणग्रन्थं संग्रहाभिधानं निबन्धनमासीत्। तच्च कालवशात्सुकुमारबुद्धीन्वैयाकरणान्प्राप्यास्तमुपागतम् । तस्मात्केशभीरुत्वात्संक्षेपरुचयस्ते जनाः । अत एवाल्पो विद्यासु परिग्रहः स्वीकारो येषां ते तथा । ततस्तैः संग्रहाध्ययनमुपेक्षितमित्यस्तंयातः संग्रहः ॥

साधुत्वज्ञानोपायिकतया धर्मसाधनत्वेनोपजातोपयोगाया व्याकरणस्मृतेरविच्छेदाय करुणाप्रयुक्तेनाथ भगवता पतञ्जलिना वार्त्तिकव्याख्यानपुरःसरं महाभाष्यनिबन्धनमुपरचितमित्यभिधातुमाह ।

कृते ऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥२॥

गुरुणेति भाष्यकर्तुः पूजापदम् । तीर्थान्यागमविशेषास्तान्पश्यति विजानातीति तीर्थदर्शी । अनेन गुरुत्वनिबन्धनः प्रभावातिशयो भगवत उक्तः । तच्च भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निबन्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां बोद्धव्यमिति । अत एव सर्वन्यायवीजहेतुत्वादेव महच्छब्देन विशेष्य महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लोके ॥

अथ महत्त्वमेव विशेषणद्वारेणास्योपपादयितुमाह ।

अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् ।

गाधो निष्ठापरिच्छेद इयत्तेति यावत् । असावलब्धो यस्य । कस्मादित्याह । गाम्भीर्यादिति । गाम्भीर्यं गहनता प्रमेयबाहुल्येन दुरवगाहत्वम् । अतिगम्भीरं हि भाष्यमुपरचितं भगवता पतञ्जलिनेति । न तस्याभिधेयं व्यवच्छेत्तुं केनचिच्छक्यत इति । किमेवमेकान्तगहनमिदं भाष्यम् । नेत्याह । उत्तान इवेत्यादि । उत्तानं स्पष्टम् । सौष्ठवं परिपाटी । यस्मादेतद्भाष्यं परिपाटीलक्षणादत्र सौष्ठवादुत्तानं स्पष्टप्रायं यत एवं प्रतिभात्यतो नेदमसेव्यम् । सज्जनमानसमिव निसर्गसुकुमारमतिगम्भीरं चैतदत एव महाभाष्यमित्युच्यत इत्यर्थः । एतेन संग्रहानुसारेण भगवता पतञ्जलिना संग्रहसंक्षेपभूतमेव प्रायशो भाष्यमुपनिबद्धमिदमित्युक्तं वेदितव्यम् । तदेवं ब्रह्मकाण्डे कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये ऽमला इत्यादिश्लोकेन भाष्यकारप्रशंसेक्तेह चैवं भाष्यप्रशंसेति शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रकर्तुश्च टीकाकृता महत्त्वोपवर्णिता ॥

अत एवेदं महाभाष्यमकृतबुद्धयो नैव बोद्धुमलमित्याह ।

तस्मिन्नकृतबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः ॥ ३ ॥

कृता व्युत्पत्त्या प्रकर्षं प्राप्ता महती बुद्धिर्येषां ते तथा तद्रूपवैकल्येनाकृतबुद्धयः स्वल्पप्रज्ञा उच्यन्ते । तेषां निश्चयो निर्णयपर्यन्तो बोधो नैवात्रावास्थित । न प्रतिष्ठामलभत । न तेनास्मद्गुरोस्तत्रभवतो वसुरातादन्यः कश्चिदिमं भाष्यार्णवमवगाहितुमलमित्युक्तं भवति ॥

तथा च संग्रहप्रतिपक्षभूतैराचार्यैस्तर्कविद्यामात्रवेदिभिर्बुद्धिपाटवादिदमाप्लावितमाभासीकृतमित्याह ।

वैजिसौभवहर्यक्षैः[1] शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।
आर्षे विप्लाविते ग्रन्थे संग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुके ॥ ४ ॥

शुष्कतर्को ऽन्यशास्त्रपरिमलरहितः केवल एव भण्यते । तमेवानुसरन्ति प्रमेयनिर्णयायेति तदनुसारिणः । महाभाष्यं हि बहुविधविद्यावादबहलमार्षं व्यवस्थितं ततश्चान्वीक्षिकीमात्रकुशलः कथं तन्निश्चिनुयादिति तर्कमात्रानुसारिभिस्तैस्तद्विप्लावितम् ।तर्कश्च पुरुषाणां स्वबुद्धिमात्रनिर्मितविग्रहो ऽव्यवस्थित एव । यदुक्तं

यत्नेनानुमितो ऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यत इति ॥

इत्थं च परस्परवैमत्यादागमसंत्यागाच्च यथावस्थितो व्याकरणागमः पातञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यः कालपरिवासाद्भ्रष्टः सन्ग्रन्थमात्रे पाठमात्र एव व्यवस्थितो दाक्षिणात्येष्वित्याह ।

यः पातञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः ।
काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ ५ ॥

तदेवमुत्सन्नकल्पः संजातो व्याकरणागमः ॥

अथ कालान्तरेण चन्द्राचार्यादिभिरागमं लब्ध्वा तेन चोपायभूतेन सकलानि भाष्यव्यवस्थितानि न्यायवीजानि तान्यनुसृत्य व्याकरणागमः पुनरपि स्फीततां नीत इत्यभिधातुमाह ।

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यवीजानुसारिभिः ।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥६॥

पर्वतात् त्रिकूटैकदेशवर्तिनो लिङ्गकदेशादिति । तत्र ह्युपलत्तले रावणविरचितो मूलभूतव्याकरणागमस्तिष्ठति केनचिच्च ब्रह्मरक्षसानीय चन्द्राचार्यवसुरातगुरुप्रभृतीनां दत्त इति तैःखलु[2] यथावद्व्याकरणस्य स्वरूपं तत उपलभ्य संततं च शिष्याणां व्याख्याय बहुशाखत्वं नीतो विस्तारं प्रापित इत्यनुश्रूयते ॥

अथ कदाचिद्योगतो विचार्य तत्रभवता वसुरातगुरुणा ममायमागमः संज्ञाय वात्सल्यात्प्रणीत इति स्वरचितस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य गुरुपूर्वकममभिधातुमाह ।

न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गांस्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनम् ।
प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ॥ ७ ॥

न्यायस्य प्रतिष्ठा प्रस्थानं तस्य मार्गान् न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गान् । न्यायप्रतिष्ठितैर्बहुभिर्मार्गैरिति यावत् । न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गांस्तान्स्वं च दर्शनं व्याकरणसिद्धान्तलक्षणमभ्यस्यायं प्रणीतः । अनेन गुरुणा संज्ञाय न तथा ममायमागमसंग्रहः प्रणीतो येन संदेहो

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* MS. भुवो.

भवेदपि तु सावधानेनेत्युक्तं भवति । अस्माकमिति बहुवचनादन्येषामपि सहाध्यायिनां ग्रहणसामर्थ्यं बोधितम् । मया तु तदनुच्छेदायायमुपनिबन्धः कृत इत्यात्मनो बहुमानः प्रकटितः ॥

नन्वेतावानेवायं काण्डद्वयप्रोक्तो व्याकरणागम इत्याशङ्क्याह ।

वर्त्मनामत्र केषांचिद्वस्तुमात्रमुदाहृतम् ।
काण्डे तृतीये न्यक्षेण भविष्यति विचारणा ॥ ८ ।

अत्रास्मिन्वाक्यकाण्डे काण्डद्वये वा केषांचिदेव न्यायवर्त्मनां वस्तुमात्रं बीजमात्रं प्रदर्शितमवशिष्टे तु तृतीये ऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य पदकाण्डे काण्डद्वयनिष्यन्दभूते[२] न्यक्षेणादरविशेषेण स्वसिद्धान्तपरसिद्धान्तवर्तिनां विचाराणां युक्तायुक्तविचारपूर्वकं निर्णीतिर्भविष्यति । ततो नायमेतावान्व्याकरणागमसंग्रह इति ॥

ननु तत्तन्न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गाभ्यासेन किं कृत्यं स्वदर्शनमेव सुनिश्चितं किं न विचार्यत इत्याह ।

प्रज्ञा विवेकं लभते भिन्नैरागमदर्शनैः ।
कियद्वा शक्यमुन्नेतुं स्वतर्कमनुधावता ॥ ९॥

नानाविधैरागमदर्शनैरागमसिद्धान्तैः खलु प्रज्ञा विवेकं लभते वैशारद्यमाप्नोति । ततश्च निःसंदिग्धं स्वसिद्धान्तमेव[४] स्पष्टीकर्तुं भिन्नागमदर्शनैः शक्तिर्जायते । अदृष्टपरकीयागमस्वरूपेण प्रतिपत्त्रा स्वोत्प्रेक्षामेव तेषु[५] चावस्थानेष्वनुसरता कियच्छक्यमुन्नेतुं प्रतिविधातुम् । कदाचित्परमर्षयो योगजधर्मोत्पन्नसामर्थ्याद्यथावदर्थान्पश्यन्तः[६] सिद्धान्तमभिधातुमलमिति शोभते ये त्वारुरुक्षवः प्राथमकल्पिकाभ्यासमलिनचित्तवृत्तयः शास्त्रादेवानीतानागतव्यवहितपदार्थस्वरूपं निश्चिन्वन्ति तेषां नानागमोपसेवयैवानुप्रसीदति भगवती प्रतिभेति ॥

युक्तमेतदेव निरूपयितुमाह ।

तत्तदुत्प्रेक्षमाणानां पुराणैरागमैर्विना ।
अनुपासितवृद्धानां विद्या नातिप्रसीदति ॥ १० ।

प्रतिष्ठामुपगतैः पूर्वैरागमैर्बहुविधैर्विनाश्रयमेव तत्तादित्ययथार्थमेवोत्प्रेक्षमाणानां विकल्पयतां प्रतिपत्तॄणां शास्त्रोपज्ञमेधाविरहिणां पण्डितंमन्यानामभिमानाग्रहावृतानां तेषां भगवती विद्या विशुद्धप्रज्ञा प्रतिभालक्षणा न प्रसीदत्यत्यर्थम् । किं तर्हि । वृद्धोपसेवाशालिनामागमजुषां विगलिताभिमानानामभिजानानामेवैषां भगवती प्रज्ञा प्रसादमुपयातीति सिद्धम् ॥

१ The London and a Benares MS. which I have both compared read वैजिसौभव०.

२ MS. तं खलु.

३ MS. न्यंक्षेणा०.

४ MS. सपरीकर्तुं.

५ MS. तेनु.

६ MS. पश्यन् सि०.

NOTES ON CASTES IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY J. A. BOYLE, M.C.S.

There are some extraordinary instances among the castes of Southern India of the self-insulating tendency, which, beginning it may be with the eccentricity of an individual, passes into the distinctive habits of a family, and thence into the social status of a race or tribe. It may be instructive to note one mode in which, in special circumstances, new castes may form themselves almost before our eyes; and so to catch a glimpse through the past of the manner in which old castes split themselves off from the mass, and become fossilized into insulated units. I will begin with the case which shows the most complete caste-insulation that has come under my notice.

In the centre of the town of Śrîvâiguntam, in the delta of the Tâmbrapûrni river, in Tinneveli, there is a small fort, enclosed by a wall about 150 yards square and 10 feet high. Though called a fort (*koṭṭei*), it has no strategical strength, and is simply a mud enclosure, containing the houses of about thirty families, known as 'Koṭṭei Vellâḷar,' or the Vellâḷar who live in the fort.

These people constitute a caste completely separated from social intercourse and from intermarriage with other families of the great Vellâḷar caste, perhaps the most numerous caste in Southern India.

The traditional origin of this tribal or family settlement is dated 950 years ago, when the ancestors of the Koṭṭei Vellâḷar were driven by a political revolution from their home in the valley of the Veigay, to settle in the far south, where Parâkrama Pâṇḍya offered them a home and protection.

Under the Pâṇḍya dynasty of Madura these Vellâḷar were, they allege, the chamberlains or treasurers, to whom belonged the hereditary dignity of crowning the newly succeeded king; and this traditional dignity is still commemorated by an annual ceremony, performed in one of the Tinneveli temples, whither the heads of the family still repair, and crown the head of the Svâmi. Parâkrama Pâṇḍya is represented to have been a local chieftain, and was probably the political suzerain of the fief of Korkhei, hard by, who welcomed industrious and well-equipped settlers to his remote valley. But however much of

truth or of fiction there is in the dates and the particulars of this emigration and settlement, the special interest of the K o ṭ ṭ e i V e l l â ḷ a r consists in this, that, differing in no way from their brethren of the V e l l â ḷ a r tribes, they have resolutely, as it were out of mere whim, shut themselves out from social intercourse with their kinsmen, and have established the most singular customs, absolutely unknown to the rest of the tribes; and that it was a personal or family institution, and not one of the hereditary caste-usages (*kulâśâram*), is proved by the fact that until lately they housed within the same fort certain prædial slaves, K o ṭ ṭ a r—smiths, of inferior social status, who worked for their masters, and lived in the same rigid seclusion as regards their women. These slaves, partly from the changed social atmosphere of the time, which made them rebel against their servitude, and partly from want of sufficient space within the fort, have within the last generation been turned out to live beyond the enclosure, but they still work for their hereditary masters at rates fixed far more by custom than the competition of the market.

It may be doubted whether any credence can be given to the extreme antiquity claimed for this colony, since the habit of secluding their women can scarcely have been formed until the Musalmâns had arrived in Southern India to suggest and set the fashion of this practice. If this be so, the colony can hardly have been settled in its new home for more than half the time that is claimed for it.

I have gathered from the head of the K o ṭ ṭ e i - V e l l â ḷ a r the following sketch of their mode of life, and need only add that they bear an excellent local reputation for peaceable and inoffensive ways, industry, and simplicity, which form a pleasant contrast to the restless intriguing spirit of common V e l l â ḷ a r. Their women never leave the precincts of this mud enclosure—a rule which it is certain death to break, and it is never broken. After seven years of age no girl is allowed to pass the gates; and the restriction is supported by the tradition of a disobedient little girl who was murdered by her own father for a thoughtless breach of this law. The men pass freely in and out, and engage in the ordinary occupations of their station; but into the fort no male stranger can enter on any pretence, though there is no hindrance to women of other castes to enter.

This custom of female seclusion extends even further than this: for after marriage no woman of the K o ṭ ṭ e i V e l l â ḷ a r may be seen by man's eyes except those of her husband, father, brothers, and maternal uncles. The strict observance of such a rule must within so narrow a space be physically impossible; but the theory is preserved, and is believed in by all outsiders. This seclusion is maintained even in death, for when a death occurs, and the dead body has to be carried forth to be burned, it is carefully shrouded from all eyes, and the men alone accompany it, and sit beside the pyre until every vestige is consumed.

The men are distinguished by no sign of social superiority from their neighbour V e l l â ḷ a r of other sects. Their skin is as dark, and their appearance as homely, as that of any other Tinneveli *râyat;* so that not only has seclusion of their women failed to whiten their skins, but there is little ground for supposing that their proud isolation is based on nobility of rank in old times. And yet it is difficult to form any other theory of the foundation of such a colony than that the proud patriarch of an illustrious family which from high position and influence had fallen on evil days, and had been exiled from their ancestral home, must have established himself and his kinsmen in a new settlement, and shut them in by these restrictions and these ramparts from contact of the outer world. How else would the in-dwellers have invented such a scheme of life? Why else should their neighbours have respected it? There is something positively dreadful in the idea of these wretched women immured their lives long in this narrow enclosure, forced to submit to any cruelty, and denied all protection, even of life. The law cannot reach these people, for no officers of the law may pass their gates. When the census was taken their families were not numbered, for they refused to say how many women there were inside the fort; and infanticide is not only possible, but most probable; for there is a suspicious absence of increase in the colony, which suggests some mode of disposing of the 'useless mouths' unknown to health officers and policemen.

Here is a family that has passed into a caste,

and is now isolated by the most rigid social restrictions from their old caste-brethren and from the whole outer world.

Another such caste or tribal group of Vellâḷar I met with in Râmnâd. They are known as the "Aram-pû-kuṭṭi Vellâlar," *i. e.* the Vellâḷar with wreaths of the *âram* flower. This flower is one of the decorations of Śiva; but I have heard no explanation of the name. This family group has established itself in twelve villages on the north-east frontier of the Râmnâd territory, a tract bounded by the two rivers, the Uppâr on the north, and the Veigay on the south.

There are said to be seventy families of them, who occupy a tract of about twenty-five square miles; but this numeration of the group represents rather a traditional than the actual number, which must be far larger.

The family traditions record that they emigrated five centuries ago, in the time of Varaguna Pâṇḍya from the Tonda-mandalam, of which Kânchipuram was the capital. The migration was made—so runs the tale—in 'devendra vimânam' or covered cars; and still this form of vehicle is invariably used in marriage ceremonies as the peculiar vehicle for the conveyance of the bride and bridegroom around the village. Physically the members of this tribe of Vellâḷar differ in no way from other sub-divisions of the tribe. But their social customs are in many particulars remarkable and distinctive. The women never wear a cloth above the waist, but go absolutely bare on breast and shoulders. The two rivers which bound their district on north and south are rigid limits to the travels of the women, who are on no pretext allowed to cross them; and it is said that when women, as they sometimes will, make vows to the deity of a celebrated temple, Avudiar-kovil, in Tânjor, which lies to the north of the Uppâr, they have to perform their pilgrimage to the temple in the most perfect secrecy, and that if detected they are fined. Intermarriage is also prohibited with "those beyond the rivers," as all of the outer world is called. The men, too, have some peculiarities, of which one is invincible aversion to emigrate to Ceylon, as half the population of Râmnâd do from time to time. They never leave the mainland, and adhere solely to the cultivation of the soil. It is also a tradition with them never to eat the salt of the Sirkâr, nor to take any service under Government, whether as soldier or writer or policeman. The head of each village is of course a recognized official: but this duty he fulfils rather to the village as patriarch than to the Government as magistrate.

The cause of their original migration is forgotten, if it was ever recorded; but it is mentioned as one of the results of their coming to the southward that they first established the worship of Śiva in the district in which they settled. The name of Śiva's flower, the Ârampû or Âttipû, may have some bearing on this connection of the tribe with the Śiva-creed.

It would be rash to generalize from two such instances as to any principles of caste-formation. But one thing may be noted, and that is that the vulgar explanations of caste demarcations as arising from differences of religion on the one hand, and from diversities of trade or occupation on the other, are wholly inadequate to explain such caste-units as I have described. Socially these Koṭṭei-Vellâḷar and Ârampû-kutti-Vellâḷar are perfectly distinct from each other, and from the main body of the Vellâḷar tribe. They certainly will not intermarry: I doubt whether they would eat together; but their occupations and creeds are identical. What then made them separate into distinct castes, and cut themselves off from all the world? Mainly, if not wholly, this arose from purely physical causes: from their originally settling as a family in a strange country, where they recognized no kin, and proudly avoided all connexion with the former settlers. Partly, too, because the ground was unbroken and the country unpeopled, so that the new settlers lived alone, and while they forgot the ties that bound them to the home they had left, they grew up "between the rivers" as it were, and knew nothing of their new neighbours, who were often distant and always hostile. Thus, in the two cases I have quoted, the one family shut themselves up within narrow walls, and the other between two rivers; but the result of insulation was the same, and the method similar, and they now have succeeded in developing themselves from small families into small but perfectly distinct castes.

Tinneveli, 9th July 1874.

SOME PERSIAN WORDS IN ARABIC DISGUISE.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. Br. R. A. S.

The Arabs justly boast of the antiquity and purity of their language. In later times, however, some Persian words have crept into it unchanged, in non-classical writings, and can easily be recognized; but as an evidence that their number is not considerable it may be mentioned that the *Alf lailah wa lailat,* which consists of four bulky volumes, contains scarcely more than fifty or sixty of them. The case, however, is different with the words which have undergone considerable change, and, although rather scarce, occur in ancient books, and even in the *Qorân.* Some of these, which I consider curiosities, I give here, especially as their disguise is not always easily discoverable, and they generally pass for genuine, pure Arabic words, even with learned *Maulvis,* in this country. I shall also adduce, in confirmation of my statements, reliable authorities, admitting of no doubt in the matter :—

استبرق *Vestis serica crassior* (Freytag).—This is derived from P. استبر implying thickness, heaviness, grossness.

اسطوانة which has retained the same meaning as the P. استون—column, cylinder, portico.

اسوار pl. اساورة the same with P. سوار—rider, and taken from it.

اوج is explained in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, No. 58, p. 46) as—اوک بمعني العلو اوج لغة معرب An arabized word from P. اوک—meaning height. The same occurs also in Dr. A. Sprenger's *Masudi's Meadows of Gold,* notes pp. 157-8, as الاوج derived from اوک or اوره—*apogeum.*

بريد *Courier;* from بريده—*docktailed,* the mules used for carrying the post in ancient times in Persia being of that description. See Sprenger's *Masudi's Meadows of Gold,* p. 331, note *. This *Buredeh* has given origin also to the Latin *Veredarius.* It may be interesting to insert here the following line from the *Hamasa* :—

خيال لام السلسبيل و دونها مسيرة شهر للبريد المذبذب

"The image of Omm Alsalsabil [a woman], although a courier, requires a month's journey to reach her [has paid me a visit]."

The commentator observes that in this place the word بريد means a horse, though he also explains the phrase ابرد الى فلان to mean that, "Such and such a one sent a courier to me," and admits that the root has many significations. He also states that those who desire to derive the word بريد from the Arabic mean by it—a distance after performing which the heat of a traveller's speed becomes cooled. Freytag gives the following footnote to the above, in his translation of the *Hamasa,* 328 :—

Vox بريد equos aut mulos aut camelos in magnis viis dispositos, quorum ope principum mandata perferantur, significari notum est. Vocabulum autem a Persico بريده quod talium equorum caudæ amputatæ sint et rex Persarum Dara tales equos instituerit, derivant. Makrizius in descriptione Aegypti, a quo modo beatus De Saciyus (*Magasin Encyclopédique,* p. 61) recessit, vocem a latino veredus (cui nostrum *Pferd* cognatum est) derivandam esse censuit.

بنج ex. Pers. بنك i. q. سيكران—*hyoscyamus, soporificae herbae species nota.* (Freytag.) The word is *bhang* in Hindustâni; and some would also derive the English beverage *punch* from it, whilst others consider it more suitable to take it from the P. پنج or Hindustâni *pânch,* because it is said to consist of five ingredients.

بلاس from P. پلاس—*sackcloth,* &c. Freytag, *Einleit. in d. Stud. d. Arab. Sprache;* Bonn, 1861.

بوستان *Garden,* pl. بساتين composed of P. بو—*smell* and ستان—*place,* which latter word never occurs as an affix in Arabic in any other instance; whereas it is frequent in Persian, and is moreover referable to the Sanskrit स्था—*to stand.*

بيذق is taken from پيادک—*a little footman,* which is the diminutive of پياده and is the chess-figure called in some European languages *Peon* or *Pawn,* in French *Pion.* In later times the Persians themselves have reborrowed the word from the Arabs in its

arabized form, and use it thus in the locution بيذق بردن—which is analogous to the Latin *palmam ferre*, and to the English 'to gain an advantage, to take the shine out of.'

تاريخ On this word the following note occurs on p. 59 of No. 58 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* تاريخ . . . . . وقيل هو ليس بعربى فانه المصدر المورمخ وهو معرب ماه روز *Tarikh* . . . . . is said not to be Arabic, because it is the Maçdar of *Murmakh*, which is arabized from *Mah rúz*.

جاموس *buffalo*, is arabized from P. گاوميش

جُمَانٌ Coll. a Pers. كمان *Margarita, vel Res rotunda margaritae similis ex argento.* (Freytag.)

جوارش Of this not merely the noun گوارش, but also the verb from which it is formed, occurs in the P. گواريدن—*to digest.* The meanings differ when pronounced *guwariden* or *kuvariden*. To digest a thing means to cook it in the stomach; hence the analogy of the word with the E. *cook*, L. *coquere*, G. *kochen*, &c.

جوبان fr. P. شوبان Freytag, *Einleit*, &c. p 49. This word is also spelt شبان and چوبان both meaning at present a herdsman, but the one spelling is connected with *night* and the other with *wood*, as any Persian scholar may easily perceive.

جوهر This is taken from P. گوهر *essence*. Hamasa P. جوهرالشي اصله فارسي معرب The جوهر is the essence of a thing; it is Persian arabized.

دارِع *Loricam habens, indutus vir.* (Freyt.) This is from درع—which again is from P. زره—*coat of mail*, originally *shirt of mail* composed of little *rings*.

زِيبَق—Quicksilver, where "quick" is to be taken in the sense of "living," as in *Argentum vivum*, whence it will appear that it must have been taken from the P. زيوه—the origin of which is evidently Sanskrit, and also implies *life*.

ساذج derived from P. ساده *plain* (Dr. Sprenger, *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 76, Transl. of *Risálah Shamsyyah*, p. 2). This termination occurs only in one other word in the language نموذج from P. نمونه—specimen, pattern.

سِجِّيل *Lapides argillae similes; vel Lapides ex argilla igne infernali indurata, in hominum quorundam nomina inscripta.* This word occurs thrice in the *Qorán*, i.e. xi. 84:—

فلما جاء امرنا جعلنا عاليها سافلها و امطرنا عليها حجارة من سجيل

"And when our decree came, we turned those [*cities*] upside down, and we rained down upon them stones of baked clay, &c."

فجعلنا عاليها سافلها و امطرنا عليهم حجارة من سجيل (xv. 74.)

"And we turned [the city] upside down: and we rained upon them stones of baked clay."

ترميهم بحجارة من سجيل (cv. 4.)

"Which hurled down upon them stones of baked clay." In a life of Muhammad, written about the middle of the second century of the Hejirah by Muhammad Ben Es-hâq, which I translated from the Arabic and sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the following words occur after the quotation of cv. 3, 4 on p. 37 of Wüstenfeld's edition:—

و ذكر بعض المفسرين انها كلمتان بالفارسية جعلتهما العرب كلمةً واحدةً و انما هو سنج و جل يعني بالسنج الحجر و الجل الطين يعنى الحجارة من هذين الجنسين الحجر والطين

"Some commentator mentions that these are two Persian words of which the Arabs have made one, namely, *sanj* [for *sang* سنگ] and *jil* [for *gil* گل] the former meaning *stone*, and the latter *loam*, implying stones of these two kinds, stone and loam." There is no doubt that the Latin *sigillum* is the first European derivation; whence G. *siegel*, E. *seal*, &c. It must have been common in Persia to make cheap signets, simply by writing characters on a piece of clay and baking it, for use as signatures, stamps, and for various other purposes.

زِيج *vox Pers.* Amussis, funis ad quem dirigitur structura. *Kam.* Tabula astronomica. The author of the *Burhán Dictionary* is of opinion that the word is arabized from the P. زيك. The word زه means *inter alia*, also a string, and Dr.

Sprenger gives it as the origin of زيج in *Masudi*, pp. 157-8, and زيجة he derives from زاش—birth.

سَرَاب *Vapor, qui meridici tempore apparens in deserto iter facientibus é longinquo aquae speciem habet.* Kam. Djenh. Among other definitions the *Burhân*, which, as is well known, does not give any Arabic words, contains also the following :—

زمین شوره را گویند که از آفتاب می درخشد و از دور آب نماید

"This is said to be marshy ground illuminated by the sun and having the appearance of water."

سماء *Heaven*, in the Arabic *Tashrih utlaflâk*, astronomy, this word is said to be derived from the P. آس and P. مان; both these words were also melted into one in the P. آسمان, and the *Burhân* states that آس is synonyme with آسیا—*a mill* turned by the hand, water, or animals, whilst مان is a *house*, accordingly the literal meaning would be *mill-house ;* apparently not an inappropriate expression for the sky, which with its hosts of stars seems to be constantly turning.

سُنْبُك pl. سَنَابِك *Ungula equi, ejusve anterior pars.* This is the P. سنب—the diminutive whereof is the same with the arabized word, *i.e.* سنبك On this word we read in the *Hamasa*, p. ٦٢—

السنابك اطراف الحوافر الواحد سنبک فارسي معرب

"*Alsanabiku*, sides of hoofs : the singular is *sunbuk*, Persian arabized.

فَانِيذ Pers. پانید *Species dulciorum, proprie videtur saccharum purissimum.* Kam. The *Burhân* states that the arabized form of this word is فانیر.

فرجار *Compasses.* This is arabized from P. پرکار

هندسه *Geometry*, is derived by F. Rosen, in his ed. and transl. of Muhammad Ben Musa's *Algebra*, on p. 198, from P. اندازه and in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, No. 58) we have (p. 46) the words :— .

الهندسه معرب اندازه فابدلت الالف الاولى بالهاء والزء بالسين وحذفت الالف الثانيه فصار هندسه

"*Hindiseh* is arabized from *Andazeh* by changing the first *a* to *h*, the *z* to *s*, and omitting the second *a*, whereby it became *Hindiseh*." As, however, most of the Mathematics came first from *Hind*, i.e. India, some would prefer to derive the word from the name of this country, and to translate it "Indian science."

In conclusion it may also be remarked that there are a few words in Arabic and in Persian belonging to both languages and differing very slightly from each other, the common origin of which will perhaps for ever remain shrouded in mystery. One of these words is A. ورق P. برک, both meaning *lèaf.*

WORDS AND PLACES IN AND ABOUT BOMBAY.

BY DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

(*Continued from page* 249.)

Another reason for supposing that the present designation of Bombay cannot be ascribed to the Boa Bahia or "good bay" of the Portuguese, but is derived from the word *Mumbâ*, of pure Marâṭhi origin, is the fact that the natives always write in their vernaculars मुंबई (Mumbâi), and not Bombay, which last is evidently a corruption by foreigners.

This supposition has been, moreover, corroborated by such writers as Briggs and Sykes, the former of whom, in a note to his excellent translation of Firishtah's *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, states that it appears to him the shrine of Mumbâdevî may have been the occasion of the appellation ; while the latter asserts that Mumbâi is the name of Pârvatî, the wife of Mahâdeva, a compound of *Mum*, from Mumbâ, the demon slain by her on the island,* and *bâi* (बाई), which is a term of courtesy employed for dignified or noble Marâṭhâ women. Again, Tod is of opinion that Mumbâdevî is a corruption from Mâmâdevî, "*mater dea*," the divine mother, or *alma mater*.

I am not aware that any early writer, European, Arab, or Chinese, mentions the name of

* See page 249.

Bombay or Mumbâi before the arrival of the Portuguese. Ovington, * however, who wrote in 1689, makes Bombay known to the Greeks and described by Ptolemy under the designation of Milizigeris. †

Bombay, notwithstanding its ancient pagodas, its sand-liṅgas of yore, and its glorious wars with the terrible Mubâraka, can lay no claim to ancient political distinction, nor can it boast of any royal charter or parchments of nobility. Of heraldry it has hardly any, except perhaps a little dark-greyish slab with the arms of Portugal engraven on it, which, according to Portuguese travellers, used to adorn, some years ago, one of the gates of the Fort. It was left for British intelligence and enterprise to raise Bombay from its humble condition to that of a capital of one of the great Presidencies of India. But of this hereafter.

If we turn our attention to the times when the Portuguese took possession of Bombay, we shall find, both from the indigenous *bakhars* (chronicles) and tradition, as well as from a few manuscripts left by the Portuguese themselves, that Bombay, properly so called, was simply one of a cluster of rocky and mountainous islets scattered in the waters of a muddy estuary. Such a group of parched and desolate islands as they then appeared to be, although worthy of the study of a geologist, could not have at all excited the ambition of a conqueror, and consequently their political history has from the beginning merged in that of the adjacent mainland, with which, and with the more important islands lying to the north, it has shared the vicissitudes of conquest, and the rule of numerous dynasties and chieftains.

During the Portuguese period, although Bombay could boast of a fine castle ‡ commanded by a petty Governor, a couple of churches under the pious Franciscans, and about 400 huts said by early writers to contain 10,000 inhabitants,§ it was still a mere dependency of the great "Court of the North," or Bassein, ‖ and one of the eight divisions subject to its jurisdiction under a military government whose head was named the "Capitaõ Môr," or General, of the North.

From the annals I have been able to collect and peruse, as well as from tradition, it is to be concluded that the primitive condition of Bombay was that of a sandy and uncultivated island circumscribed within very narrow limits, traversed by innumerable creeks, and partly overflowed by the sea, to such an extent that even so late as the time Fryer wrote (1675) about 40,000 acres of the island were under water.

* See *A Voyage to Suratt by* F. Ovington, M.A., page 129.

† No faith can be placed in the Greek nomenclature of Indian towns and places, for, besides numberless mutilations undergone in the mouths of the Greeks, they are not unfrequently made victims to the caprice of copyists. (*De Saint-Martin, Etude sur la Géographie grecque,* &c. p. 4.) If Ptolemy, from his depending altogether on the journals of early navigators and itineraries of caravans, was liable to frequent error, his commentators have unfortunately erred still oftener. As an instance, Mr. R. H. Major, in his introduction to *India in the Fifteenth Century,* has identified the *Musiris* of Ptolemy and Arrian with the modern Mangalur. Now this I fancy is a grave mistake. Every student of the ancient geography of India is, or at any rate should be, aware that about the beginning of the Christian era a commercial port of some importance, by name Masurî (मसुरि), was existing on the western coast of India, a little to the north of Malwân, the vestiges of which, in spite of all changes, are even yet visible. This was the place with which the ancient Egyptians used to carry on an active trade; a port distinctly mentioned by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,* where the famous Hippalus (who first discovered or practically tested the use of the Monsoon, or South-West winds, in navigation, and gave it his name) landed after a perilous passage from the Arabian Gulf. When writers so erudite and careful as Mr. Major expose themselves to correction, I should infer that the identification of such places under classical names is a matter of almost insuperable difficulty, and Ovington's theory, I am afraid, must be rejected.

‡ This castle was built by the Portuguese soon after the conquest, and its description is given by Fryer in his *New Account of East India and Persia,* pp. 68, 64.

§ At the rate which Mr. Peile adopts, viz. 4 souls to a house, this population appears too large for the estimated number of huts.—ED.

‖ The eight divisions that were under the jurisdiction of the "Court of the North" are found enumerated in an official Portuguese document of the 16th century, which I append. It contains some words which have now become quite obsolete; while others, which were probably invented for the occasion, have even ceased to find a place in Portuguese lexicons:—

1st—Baçaim, the capital, called also the Saibana de Baçaim, including one town (villa), a *caçabé,* with 16 pacarias and 8 hortas. The caçabé of Agaçaim, with 20 pacarias and 10 hortas. The pragaṇa Salga, with 18 aldeas (villages) and 3 terras. The pragana Hera, with 20 aldeas. The pragana Cama, with 25 aldeas and two sarretores. The pragaṇa Anjor, with 18 aldeas and 7 sarretores. 2nd—The caçabé of Tanam, with 8 pacarias. 3rd—The isle of Salçete, consisting of one pragaṇa, with 95 aldeas. 4th—The isle of Caranja, with its caçabé and terra of Bendolac and 3 islands, viz. Nevem, Seveon, and Elefante. 5th—The isle of Bella Flor de Sambayo, with the pragaṇa Panechana of 30 aldeas. The pragaṇa Cairana, with 17 aldeas, and the pragaṇa of Sambayo, with 17 aldeas. 6th—The pragaṇa of Manora, with 42 aldeas and one sarretor. 7th—The pragaṇa Asserim, with 38 aldeas and 6 pacarias. 8th—The island of Bombay with the rocks near it.

It will not have escaped the attention of the reader that Mahim is not included in the above list; the reason is that the Portuguese at first, by a freak of transposition that cannot be easily accounted for, made Mahim a dependency of the city of Daman, passing over the court of Bassein, though almost contiguous; but at later times better sense seems to have prevailed, and it was afterwards, at the time of the cession, a dependency of Bombay.

Bombay was then scarcely one tenth part of what it has now attained to be. It extended in a central straight line from the pier of the Castle,* which was almost parallel to the modern Pâlava (Anglicè *Apollo*) Bandar, to its northern extremity, at the point now called the Pâyadhuṇi station, a distance of about one mile and a quarter. In the middle of this line, or about the grounds on the Esplanade now occupied by washermen, and called the Dhobi Lines, stood the Mumbâdevî temple, subsequently transferred, as before stated, to the spot reclaimed for the purpose just north of Pâyadhuṇi. The tanks now used to wash clothes in once belonged to the temple, and were held in high veneration: their desecration has been most distasteful to Hindu feelings.† The Western side of the island extended in a curved line along the shore of Back Bay, including Girgâṅw and Chaupati, from its southern extremity called Mendip's or Mendham's Point,‡ to a spot, facing the Bastum or "Tower of Silence" of the Pârsîs, which was then separated from Wâlukeśvara by a narrow creek of sea-water, which allowed the water of Back Bay to communicate with what once covered the flats below Tâḍḍeva (*Tardeo*), now reclaimed by the Breach Candy Vellard or dam which keeps out the sea on the west face of the island. On the eastern side the shore extended in a zigzag line along a wavy hill called the Dongarî, which extends from Fort St. George to the southern margin of another shallow creek, which used once to separate the island of Bombay from that of Mazagâṅw a little beyond Umarkhâḍî (*Oomercarry*). This hill was formerly quite arid in appearance, and wholly inhabited by fishermen.

Now the term Pâyadhuṇi means 'washing of the feet,' and plainly indicates that it was a place used for that purpose. People and cattle coming down to Bombay from Salsette, Mahim, and other islands lying northwards, used to wash their feet in a shallow stream of water, which became deeper by the tide, especially during the solstitial heats,§ before stepping into the more civilized soil of Bombay.

Another argument favouring the supposition that Bombay was an island quite distinct from Parel, Mazagâṅw, &c., is that the natives living in Kulâbâ, Wâlukeśvara, and Mazagâṅw say even in our time, from a traditional habit, that they are "going to Bombay," meaning the Fort, which to a modern writer would probably appear absurd.

At the time of the cession to the British crown, Bombay was given over for a very insignificant quit-rent to a lady by name D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto,|| who was called "a Senhora da Ilha," "lady of the island," and to a few others. It then, and for some time after the cession, consisted of one *caçabé*, which means a grove of trees and gardens (*hortas*), and three paddy-fields. These groves and gardens contained 40,000 cocoanut trees, out of which only 4,000 or 5,000 belonged to the E. I. Company. The value of each of these trees varied from 6 to 9 xerafins.¶ There was also one *bandrastal*, which means the right (*jus*) to extract

* A pretty good idea of the castle, built by the Portuguese, before its repairs and modifications by the English, may be formed from a "Delineation of His Maties Citadel and Fort of Bombay; April 2nd, 1668," given in Ovington's work above cited.

† See मुंबईचेंवर्णन, p. 91.

‡ Mendip's or Mendham's Point was a place where a cemetery was built in the time of Cook, and the early writers mention that it was named from the first individual buried there. The locality has been much disputed; some writers, such as Philip Anderson, in his *English in Western India*, think it was at the modern Cooperage; while others state that it was about 100 yards from the Lighthouse at Colaba. This however, seems to be erroneous from the fact of Alex. Hamilton writing:—"Mr. Aungier advised the Company to enclose the town from Dungaree to Mendham's Point . . . ," which certainly cannot be Kulâbâ. Others with some semblance of truth, believe it to be the plot to the west of Apollo Pier where the Saluting Battery is placed. I have adopted this latter theory. Murphy's "Remarks on the History of some of the Oldest Races now settled in Bombay, &c." (*Trans. Bomb. Br. R. Geog. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 128-39), with a map, though not quite precise in all details, will give the reader some idea of the former divisions of the island.

§ A writer in the *Monthly Miscellany of Western India* in reference to this has the following:—"And if tradition be at all consistent with truth, when carriages (excepting the Indian vehicles) were unknown, and Bombay Governors were wont to garb themselves in Salsetni starched caps, and to trust more frequently to their feet—they too, it is said, were accustomed to unhose themselves, and with shoes and stockings in hand march across, avail themselves of the foot-wash, rehose themselves—and proceed on their jaunt."

|| It was at the residence of this lady that Humphrey Cook and the Portuguese Commissioners signed the articles of delivery and the instrument of possession when the island was ceded to England.

¶ The xerafin is considered by Warden, in his *Report on the Landed Tenures of Bombay*, p. 7, to be equivalent to 20 pence; or that formerly they used to take thirteen *xerafins* for the sterling amount of £1-2-6. The Portuguese *xerafim*, however, which seems to have been adopted without any alteration in value by the early English governors, is only about half a rupee, or, strictly speaking, it corresponds more exactly to the French franc or Italian lira when the *xerafim* is in copper, and to about one-sixth more when in silver.

the sap of both cocoanut (*Cocos nucifera*) and toddy palms (*Borassus flabelliformis*) for the purpose of alcoholic fermentation, which right was eventually ceded to the said Company. The annual rent of this *bandrastal* amounted to 2,000 xerafins.

Bandrastal, it appears, was originally derived from the class of Bhaṇḍârîs, who eventually sank the latter name and assumed the warlike one of Bhangulîs or Trumpeter Chiefs. They were subdued by the Muhammadans, and when in 1533 the Portuguese took possession of the islands of Bombay and Mahim they were following the peaceful profession of toddy-drawers.

THE LIFE OF BÂBÂ NÂNAK, THE FOUNDER OF THE SIKH SECT.*

By R. N. CUST, B.C.S.

The life of a person, who by his actions and precepts has influenced the ideas and consciences of a large number of his fellow-creatures, both during his lifetime and for centuries after his death, can never be devoid of interest. When that influence has not been owing to his wealth, rank, or power, but simply to his own merits, that man must be called truly great; and when we find that his motives were unselfish, that after a long life devoted to the instruction of others in the paths of virtue and moral purity he died poor, and delegated his office, not to his children, but to that one of his disciples whom he considered most virtuous, *that* man must be considered truly good, as well as truly great.

Such was Bâbâ Nânak, the first teacher and founder of the Sikh tenets. However much we may differ with him in many of his doctrines, we cannot but admit that he was one of those on whom the Almighty has vouchsafed special blessings: for during a long life of seventy years he laboured unceasingly at one object, viz. to reform the lives and religion of his countrymen, to break through the tyranny of priestcraft, outward ritual, and caste. He taught that purity of thought, word, and deed, abstinence from lust, anger, and avarice, were better than feeding Brâhmaṇs or making offerings at temples. He tried to amalgamate the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and convince all that they were really brothers, descended from one Father. He lived long enough to see the seed which he had sown bring forth fruit: that in after-ages the plant has been choked by the thorns of worldly cares and corruptions is owing to the imperfection of all things human;—that he made the noble attempt, that he set the example in his own life, and partially succeeded, is his greatest praise.

There are some who have tried to impose upon the ignorant by asserting that Nânak was an incarnation of the Deity, and that he worked miracles...The same assertions are made in favour of every person who is renowned for sanctity or virtue.

In that province of British India which, from the circumstance of its being traversed by five large rivers, is called the Panjâb, in the division and district of Lâhor, in the parganah of Sharakpur, in the tract betwixt the rivers Ravi and Chenâb, called the Rechna Doab, near the banks of the Degh Nalâ, there was a village named Talwandi, the property, as it is still, of a tribe of Muhammadan Râjpûts who had emigrated from the sandy regions between the Jamnâ and Satlej, known as Bhattiânâ. The time of our narrative is the year 1469 of the Christian era, corresponding to Saṁvat 1526. This part of India was then governed by the dynasty of Lodhi Paṭhâns, whose name still lives in Lodhiânâ, on the Satlej. Four hundred years had elapsed since the first Muhammadans had invaded India, and their power was firmly seated in Northern India: the great Timur the Lame had sacked Dehli, and his great grandson Bâber, who was destined to be the founder of a line of emperors, was still a child in the countries beyond the river Oxus, and the valley of Kashmir.

The country round Talwandi was wild, badly cultivated, and covered with brushwood: it is at the edge of the great jangle waste or Bar which occupies the vast space betwixt the Ravi and Chenâb, containing many million acres of uncultivated land. Two religions appeared to meet here also, for the industrious and settled Jâts, who were Hindus, here came into contact with the idle and migratory Bhattiâs, who had adopted the new religion of Muhammad. In those days persecution on account of religion was very common, and many changed their faith from base motives; bitter feelings existed between the Muhammadans and Hindus there, as elsewhere. No roads traversed this savage region: it was then, as it is now, *in a corner*, and when, many years after, this neighbourhood passed into the hands of independent Sikh chiefs, they assumed the name of *Nakya* from this circumstance . . .

The Muhammadans were always desirous of making converts, and succeeded in so doing by force,

* Reprinted, with slight abridgment, from an educational tract published at Lâhor about fifteen years ago. It also appeared in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, Mar. Apr. 1868.

of Maulâ, of the Chanâ *got* of the Khatris, a resident of Lokhoki, Pargana Batâla, in the district of Gurdâspur: her name was Solakhnî. By her he had two sons, Śrî Chand and Lakhmi Dâs. From the latter descend the whole tribe of the Bedîs, who pretend to the sanctity, though they do not adopt the virtues, of their great ancestors: the former founded the sect of the Audasîs, who dwell in numerous convents, or Akhârâhs, all over the Panjâb. Nânak had no other children, and he gave no authority to his descendants to practise the wicked custom of killing their daughters: indeed it is contrary to the mild and benevolent principles which he taught. He appears to have anticipated that his descendants would make a bad use of the circumstance of his being their ancestor, for he was unwilling to marry, and had no wish to have children. In none of his travels did he take them with him, and he expressly excluded them from the succession to the position of spiritual teacher, which he had attained, and chose one of his disciples, as more worthy of that important office.

Soon after the birth of his children, he ceased to care for worldly affairs: his mind was more and more occupied with a sense of the vanity of wealth, rank, and power, and even of life. He went once to bathe in the Bâu Nadi near Sultânpur, and stayed there a whole day in the water: the tree is still shown where he used to sit, and is known as *Bâbâ-ki-Bir*, and the place where he bathed is called Sant-Ghâṭ. Even the shop where he used to trade is called *Hath-Sâheb*, and weights are shown stated to be those which he had used in his trade: so great is the reverence paid to his name. He now abandoned his home, and took up his abode in the jungles: his friends tried in vain to dissuade him: many went out to talk him over, and among others his father-in-law, Mulâ, who was naturally very much annoyed at seeing his daughter and her children deserted without any provision. Nawâb Daulat Khân was persuaded to send his commands to him to return, but in vain. Nânak replied that he was the servant of God alone, and knew no earthly master. It may be remarked that all his replies are given by the narrator in the form of short pithy verses: this may or may not have been the exact form in which they were delivered.

The tendency of all Nânak's remarks had been that there was one God, one true faith, and that the divisions of religion and castes were but the work of man. This led the Nawâb to persuade him one day to accompany him to the mosque at the hour of prayer. When all the Muhammadans knelt down to pray, Nânak alone stood up: when the Nawâb remonstrated, he said "O Nawâb, you were not praying; your thoughts were occupied in the purchase of a horse at Kandahâr." The Nawâb, who was an honest, truth-loving man, confessed that his thoughts had wandered. The Qâzi was much enraged, and asked Nânak why he did not pray with him. He replied, "You, O Qâzi, were not praying; you were thinking of your daughter's illness, and wondering whether your colt had fallen into a well." The Qâzi's countenance fell, and he was obliged to confess that the Guru had truly read his thoughts.

Nânak now finally abandoned the world, and adopted the life of a Faqir. His wife and children were sent to his father-in-law: he took leave of his sister Nânakî, who remained always warmly attached to him, and started on his travels from village to village and from country to country. His companions were Bâlâ, who had accompanied him from the earliest day, and is thence called "Bhai Bâlâ," and Mardhânâ, a Muhammadan Rabâbi or musician, who voluntarily joined him, and who used to play to his master on his harp, while he was abstracted in thought and prayer.

Bhai Mardhânâ is described as a strange companion, who was always hungry, and getting into scrapes, from which Nânak had to extricate him. When he played on the harp it was always in the praise of the Creator:—

"Tuhi Narankâr, Kirtar,—Nânak Bandah terâ."

Nânak used to be whole days rapt in meditation, with closed eyes, and thoughts fixed on God, and unconscious of what was going on, while Mardhânâ suffered much exposure, hunger, thirst, and a desire to return to his family.

One day he went to Aminâbâd, then as now an important city in the Rechna Doab, in the district of Gujârânwâlâ. He put up in the house of Lalu Thakâr, whom he knew to be virtuous and honest, and refused to eat the food of Wazir Malak Bhâgu, because he was an oppressor of the poor, and had collected his wealth as an unjust ruler of the people. The name of Naushirvân still lives by justice after the lapse of many centuries. So does the name of Misr Rûp Lâl in the villages of Jhalandar Doab; while the memory of the evil ruler and of his family is cursed, and his ill-gotten wealth is the cause of strife among his descendants, and is soon squandered. The place where Nânak slept at Aminâbâd is still venerated under the name of Rori-Sâheb, from the circumstance of the Guru having spread gravel on the spot. While he was residing here, the great invasion of India took place under Bâber. Aminâbâd was taken by storm and plundered, and the Guru and his companions were seized to carry bundles as Begârs: he submitted, and was carried to the Emperor's tents, accompanied by Mardhânâ playing on the *rabâb*.

persuasion, and the offer of worldly advantages. But the new converts rarely abandoned their Hindu customs, or comprehended fully the simple tenets of Muhammad. Among them the system of castes was partially introduced; the Sayyid was considered as powerful as a Brâhmaṇ; Pîrs and Shahids were as much venerated as Jogîs and other Faqirs; pilgrimages to tombs and shrines were held to be meritorious. The true meaning of the *Qorân* and *Vedas* was unknown to the multitude; wild stories of miracles and supernatural beings were believed . . . Many abandoned the duties of life in the hopes of obtaining purity by escaping from what they could not but admit to be deception, and in different parts of India different sects had been formed under Râmânand, Gorakhnâth, Kabir, and the ascetic orders of Bairâgis, Gosâvîs, and Jogîs had come into existence.

It was at this period, and at the place above mentioned, that a son was born to one Kâlu, a Khatri of the Bedi *gôt*, a poor but respectable man who occupied the post of Dulwai, or village accountant. The father and mother of Kâlu were named Śivarâm and Bânasi; and he had one brother named Lâlu, and his wife came from near the village of Kânâkacha, halfway betwixt Lâhor and Feruzpur; her sister was the mother of Râm Tamon, a person of great celebrity at Kasur. Kâlu had one daughter, who was named Nânaki, and who was married to Jayarâm, a corn-dealer at Sulṭânpur, now in the territory of the Râja of Kâpurthalâ, in the Jhalandar Doab. Kâlu named his son Nânak, and when he afterwards became famous he was called by Muhammadans—Nânak Shâh, and by Hindus—Guru Nânak, Bâbâ Nânak, and Nânak Nirankâr.

Many wonderful stories are told about the birth, the infancy and childhood of Nânak . . . The nurse who assisted at the birth stated that she heard, at the moment of his entering the world, sounds as of a crowd welcoming with joy the arrival of a great man: the spot is shown, and a temple built over it, called Nânakânâ. Close by is another place where he used to play with other boys, called Bâlkvida, on the banks of a magnificent tank. Nânak acquired a knowledge of Persian and accounts in a very short time, but he was disinclined to any worldly pursuit, and one day while in charge of cattle he fell asleep, and by his carelessness the crops were destroyed. He was one day found sleeping exposed to the rays of the sun, but a snake had spread its hood over his head to shade him.* The place is called Kiara Sâheb, and a handsome building has lately been erected there. Kâlu then tried to employ him in mercantile pursuits, and sent him on a journey with Bâlâ, a Jât of the Sindhu tribe, and gave him forty rupees to trade with. On his road he met a party of Faqirs, and entered into conversation with them. Surprised to find that they had neither home, clothes, nor food, he learnt from their mouths the vanity and uselessness of these things, and the danger of living in cities and being engaged in worldly matters. As they refused his offer of money, and asked for food only, he went to the neighbouring village, and invested all his money in flour, and fed the whole party. He returned home and was found by his father concealed under the wide-spreading boughs of a tree; he told him what had happened, and justified himself by stating that his father had directed him to do a good business, and he had done so by laying up treasures in heaven, the fruit of works of charity. His father was very angry, and was proceeding to beat and ill-use him, but Râi Bholâr Bhati, the Muhammadan zamindâr of the village, interfered; he had been struck by the wonderful stories current in the village with regard to Nânak, and by the purity of his character, and the nobility of this last action: he repaid Kâlu the money, and forbade him ever to ill-use or constrain his son. The place where Nânak fed the Faqirs is called Kharâ Saudâ or "Real Profit," and the tree where he lay concealed is still shown—its branches sweep down to the ground on every side—and is known as Mâl Sâheb.

As he would not settle down to any regular trade, to the great sorrow of his father, though his mother always took his part, Kâlu sent him to visit his sister Nânaki at Sulṭânpur, on the Bain Nadi, in the Jhalandar Doab. This was a city of some note situated on the great imperial road from Lâhor to Dehli, as can still be traced by the numerous Kos Minârs and the Serâis at Sarâi, Ameanat Khân, Naurangâbâd, and Dakhnî. At that time the Governor of the province, Daulat Khân Lodhi, a relation of the Emperor of Dehli, resided there; he was at that time a person of great importance, but soon after, being defeated by the Emperor Bâber, he lost his possessions, and died. Jayarâm, the brother-in-law of Nânak, had sufficient interest with this Nawâb to get him appointed to the charge of the supplies of the household. Nânak received a large advance, but he gave away so much to mendicants that he was accused to the Nawâb of having behaved dishonestly; when, however, accounts were taken, a large balance was found in his favour.†

At this time Nânak was married to the daughter

* The usual story told of Buddha and other reformers.—ED.

† Compare the story of Basava, *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 77.—ED.

The Emperor was struck by his appearance, and still more by his words, and held a long conversation with him and ordered his release; the Guru is said to have told the Emperor that his descendants to the seventh generation would sit on the throne of Dehli, which came true. It is also narrated that while the Guru was talking with the Emperor the servants brought bhang, an intoxicating drug, in which the latter too freely indulged. Bâber offered some to the Guru, who declined, stating that he had a supply which never failed him, and of which the effects were never exhausted. Upon being asked to explain, he replied that he alluded to the name of God, the consideration of which occupied his faculties: at other times he made similar remarks, that he had no thought for food, that the name of God was his only food; and, when urged by his relations to return home to Talwandi, he replied that he had no parents, brethren, or family, that God was all in all to him.

Among other places in the Panjâb that he visited was Hasan Abdal, in the Râwalpindi district, where they show the impression of a hand in marble, which the inhabitants are good enough to call *Panjah-Sâheb*, as the hand of Nânak: how it came there, when it came there, what good it does there, is not explained. The Guru also visited Siyalkoṭ; and the tree under which he sat is still shown as *Bâbâ-ki-Bir*. He also visited Pak Paṭṭan in the district of Gugara, and Chuhar Chuar Khâna, in the district of Gujodranwâlâ, at the last of which places is a building in his honour.

Once or twice he returned to his native place at Talwandi to visit his parents, who soon after died, and his kind friend and protector Râi Bholâr. Although Nânak lived to the age of seventy years, his uncle Lalu outlived him. After his return from his travels he settled down on the banks of the Ravi, the district of Gurdâspur, Parganah Shakargadh, in the Rechna Doab. He built a house there, and called the place Kirtarpur; there he gathered his family and his disciples around him, and there eventually he died.

With regard to his travels it is difficult to speak with precision, but that he visited all the chief cities and *tîrthas* of Hindustân is probable: mention of them all is made in the traditions, and wonderful stories connected with some. Nânak appears generally to have entered into discussions of a hostile nature with the Brâhmaṇs and Pujâris, pointing out the uselessness of works and rituals if there was no purity of mind or faith: at Hardwâr, on the Ganges, he told the people to beware of the Paṇḍits, who would infallibly lead them to perdition, and that, until the mind of man became pure, all *pujâpath*, or sacrifice, was vain. One day, as the Brâhmaṇs stood looking to the east, and pouring out water as a funeral offering to their ancestors, Nânak stood up and did the same looking to the west. When asked the reason of his so doing, he said that he was watering his fields at Kirtarpur, which lie to the west: they scornfully remarked that his water could never reach so many hundred miles; "how then," he replied, "do you expect that your water can reach to your ancestors in the other world?" He accused another Brâhmaṇ of thinking of a woman while he was apparently muttering his devotions.

With regard to his travels beyond the limits of Hindustân nothing certain is known: he kept no regular diary, and left no account himself. Bhai Mardhânâ died before him, and all that is known was collected from the mouth of Bhai Bâlâ, an ignorant Jât, who undertook to record, many years after, all that he had seen. The people who drew up the narrative were ignorant of geography and of the distances of one city from the other: all they could do was to enter at random the names of all the places of which they had ever heard from travellers or books. We thus meet with the names of Lankâ, all the Dvîpas of the Purâṇas, Sindh, Kâbul, Khorasân, and we find that the Guru availed himself of the easy mode of transport of flying through the air, or wishing himself at any place, or directing the place to come to him. This entirely prevents us from following him, and describing what happened to him at each place on his travels. We can only conclude that he travelled as Faqirs do now, putting up at night in roadside hermitages, and at times in the large convents, and preaching and conversing with all ranks of men. He came back as poor as he went, for he had no thought or care for wealth and luxury. . . .

Two places of great note were no doubt visited by him, namely, Makka and Medinah, in Arabia. In those days, as now, there was a constant flow of pilgrims from India to Arabia, and the communication was easy. Nânak was described as having assumed the garb of a Muhammadan Faqir, and with him was Mardhânâ, an undoubted believer in Muhammad. At Makka he entered into discussions with the Muhammadans in charge of the Kaaba, and when he was reproved for sleeping with his feet turned towards that building, which seemed disrespectful, he inquired in which direction he could turn his feet where the same disrespect would not be offered, for God is everywhere. Many strangers, convinced by his words, asked what they should do to be saved: his answer was, "Worship God."

He died in the year of the Christian era 1539,

and 1596 Saṁvat, at the advanced age of 70 years, He selected Lehna, a Khatri of the Tihaṇ *gôt*, to be his spiritual successor, and named him Angad, which is fancifully derived from the word *Ang Khud*, as if the Guru considered him to be his own body. He considered his own sons to be unworthy of the succession, because they were undutiful; and when expostulated with on the subject by their mother he tried their obedience in the following way:—A cat had flung a half-dead mouse at his feet: the Guru ordered his sons to remove it; they drew back, and refused; Lehna without a moment's hesitation obeyed the order. Nânak blessed him and said that he was the real son, who obeyed his father. Another miraculous story is told to the same effect. One day they had found a dead body in the adjoining jungle: Nânak said to his followers, "Whoever is my disciple let him eat of that dead body." They all drew back in horror, but Lehna at once stooped down to obey the order, and behold! the body was gone, and a plate of excellent food was in its place. The real truth is that Nânak in his wisdom foresaw the tendency of all hereditary appointments to become abuses: his object was not to found a family who, under a false pretence to sanctity, might lord it over their country, while they practised abominable crimes. He wished to provide for a succession of wise and good teachers of the doctrines which he had himself taught. His intentions have not been carried out; and his sect, as a separate form of the Hindu religion, will soon cease to exist.

Nânak had never abandoned the Hindu nor adopted the Muhammadan religion, but his disciples were of both faiths, and when he died a discussion arose as to the mode in which his body was to be disposed of—the Hindus desired to burn, and the Muhammadans to bury it. They were commencing to fight, when happening to look under the sheet they found that the body was gone, having, no doubt, being removed by some of his disciples. The sheet was cut in half, and one portion was burnt with the usual ceremony, and the other buried with the usual prayers. Both the tomb and the *maṭh* have since been swept away by the waters of the Ravi.

Angad succeeded him, and lived and died at Khudur, in Pargaṇah Taran Taraṇ, of the Amritsar district. He elected as his successor his pupil Amardâs, of the Khatri caste and Bala *gôt*, who lived at Govindwal, on the Bias River, at the point where the Imperial Road from Dehli to Lâhor crosses that stream; this is marked by a Kos Minâr on the high bank. To him succeeded his son-in-law Râmdâs, Sodhi *gôt* of the Khatri caste, in whose family the office of Guru, or, as the followers now began to style it, Pâdishâh, became hereditary, till it finally ended in the person of Guru Govind Singh, who converted the peaceful Sikhs into warlike Singhs, and established a state of things deadly hostile, instead of being conciliating, towards the Muhammadans.*

The descendants of Nânak are known as the Bedîs, and when the Sikhs became powerful this family became rich and arrogant, living in luxury on the jâghir lands bestowed by the Government, and the collections made from the Sikhs. This last item used to be very considerable, and members of the family travel long distances to Shikârpur and Kâbul to collect their *Sikhi Sewaki*. They reside chiefly at Derah Bâbâ Nânak, on the Ravi, near the spot where their great ancestor died, and have in latter years taken very much to trade.

Lives of Bâbâ Nânak, called *Janam Sakhîs*, are very common, but they are so full of fable and invention, displaying such intense ignorance, that they are more calculated to deceive than instruct. The whole life of the Guru has been depicted in a series of pictures, which are often found on the walls of shrines. Every act of his life, true or fabulous, is there narrated. He himself is generally represented as a white-haired venerable old man, with Bâlâ fanning him, and Bhai Mardhânâ playing on the *rabâb*. From these pictures and oral tradition all the details of his life are well known to the people.

His sayings and his precepts were collected by his successors, and written in the volume called by the Sikhs the *Adi Granth*, or first volume, to distinguish it from the *Second Granth*, composed one hundred years later by Guru Govind Singh. This book is written in the dialect used

* "In a paper read before the Lahore Missionary Conference, the Rev. W. Keene, B.A., gave some interesting information regarding the Sikhs. The teaching of Nânak, their founder, is at variance with the popular belief of the Hindus on the Godhead, idol-worship, caste, and the immolation of the Hindu widow. The writers of the *Granth* acknowledge only one Creator, styled 'Kartapurkha;' at present some of the Sikhs, although they do not discard the teaching of the *Granth*, have returned to the Hindu belief of many creators, and since the taking of the country by the English several have gone back to idolatry. Of caste Nânak says—'What power has caste? Know the truth. It is as poison in the hand; eat it and you die.' The ancient Sikhs ate together in common. To do so with those of a different creed, and also with Mashi Sikhs, was, however, never their practice. In the time of Ranjit Singh indiscriminate marriages were not contracted; but Brâhmaṇ Sikhs married with Brâhman Sikhnis, and so with the other castes. Now, the Sikhs do not even eat in common, much less contract indiscriminate marriages. Nânak assails *sati* in the following lines:—'Those women are not called Sâtis who burn on the funeral pile. Nânak says those are Sâtis who die from the blow of separation.' As the influence of Nânak's teaching was for good, so was that of Govind for evil. He abused the principles of Nânak to lay the foundations of Sikh independence; but in so doing he roused the very worst passions."—*Friend of India*, 1863.

by the people of the Panjâb at that period, and difficult to understand now, and in that variation of the Nâgari character which is common in the Panjâb, but which, having been used for these sacred books, is called the Gurmukhi, the words having been uttered by the Guru.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

STRICTURES ON PROF. WEBER'S KṚISHNÂ-JANMÂSHṬAMI.

SIR,—I have read with great care Prof. Weber's article on the Hindu festival of Kṛishṇa's Birthday; but the special argument is imbedded in such a mass of irrelevant matter that I cannot feel sure that I have thoroughly apprehended the writer's intention. Concisely stated, his reasoning appears to be as follows:—

1st. The similarity in several striking incidents between the Gospel narrative and the legends related of the deified Kṛishṇa suggests the idea of some connection between the two. This is granted on all sides; and if the connection could be proved there would be nothing in it to shock the most scrupulous Catholic theologian.

2nd. The idea is strikingly confirmed by the Indian tradition that the doctrine of salvation by faith in the one god Kṛishṇa was brought by Nârada from the northern region of Śveta-dvîpa, which may be interpreted to mean 'white man's land,' or Europe. This again is no novel discovery.

3rd. If any European country is really intended, it would probably be Egypt; as the connection with Alexandria was easier than with any other place. This also is an obvious sequence.

4th. The popular pictorial representation of Kṛishṇa at his mother's breast, assumed to be a copy of a picture of the Madonna and Child, must have been borrowed—if from Alexandria—before the Muhammadan occupation of that city in 640 A.D. Granted.

5th. It may have been borrowed so early as the second century, since there are frescoes of the Madonna and Child of that date in the Catacombs. Admitted.

6th. Between the two limits of the second and seventh century the most probable period would be from 350 to 431 A.D.: because till 431 the Alexandrian Church celebrated not the birth of Christ, but his baptism, on the 6th of January, and after that time observed, as now, the festival of his birth on the 25th of December, in the same way as the Hindus observe the festival of Kṛishṇa's birth in the month of July or August.

This last step in the argument, the only one of any individuality, is difficult to follow. I fail to detect the slightest parallelism in the two facts that are brought together. A birthday is an anniversary in almost every nation, and is as naturally observed by Hindus as by Christians; while *primâ facie* the fact that one birthday is celebrated in mid-winter and the other in midsummer does not seem a very valid reason for connecting the two.

The essay displays unquestionably much learning and some ingenuity; but the Professor frankly admits that one-half of his subject, viz. Christian archæology, is strange ground to him, as is very evidently the case, otherwise he would scarcely refer the Rosary (a devotion instituted by St. Dominic in the 13th century) to Śiva's garland of skulls, and conceive that the name was a mistranslation, by early Christians of some very remote period, of the Sanskṛit *japa-mâla*. Again, what is stated about the variety of dates on which Christmas used to be celebrated requires some qualification: for St. John Chrysostom—in his sermon, quoted by Prof. Weber, preached in 386 A.D.—notes (it is true) that at Antioch the festival had only been in existence for ten years, but adds that at Rome it had been celebrated on the 25th of December from the first days of Christianity. The remark also that the Madonna-cult has some connection with the worship of Isis can scarcely have been introduced except from a wanton desire to give offence; since after discussing the point (which has no bearing whatever on the main argument) through several long columns, the writer is at last obliged—though showing a strong personal bias in its favour—to admit that the theory is unfounded, since the oldest picture in the Catacombs is distinctly classical, and has no leaning whatever to the Egyptian type.

F. S. GROWSE.

Mathurâ, N. W. P. April 23, 1874.

KANDHÂR AND SOMANÂTH.

SIR,—At page 445 of the Appendix to vol. I. of Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, Professor Dowson has fallen into an inaccuracy which you may think worthy of notice. The passage I allude to is:—

"About this time the Sindian Arabs engaged in a naval expedition against Kandahâr, at which place the idol temple was destroyed, and a mosque raised upon its ruins. Here, again, we have greatly to reduce the distance within which these

operations are supposed to have been conducted. M. Reinaud, in his earlier publication, in which he is followed by Dr. Weil, considered the place here indicated to be Kandhâr, near the Gulf of Cambay; but in his subsequent one he inclines to the opinion that Gandhâra, on the upper Indus, is meant, of which Waihind was the capital. There is little probability of either being correct, and we need not look any further than the Peninsula of Kâthiwâr, on the north-west angle of which is situated Khandadâr, one of the objects of our attack in 1809, when, unlike its neighbour, Mâlia, it surrendered to Col. Walker's detachment without resistance."

And again in Appendix to vol. II. p. 473, quoting from the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*: "When Mahmûd had concluded his expedition against Somnâth it was reported to him that Râja Bhìm, chief of Nahrwara, who at the time of the late invasion had fled away, had now taken refuge in the fort of Kandama, which was by land forty parasangs distant from Somnât." Professor Dowson adds in a note: "Firishta says Gandaba, which Briggs conceives to be Gandavi. Some copies read Khadâba or Khandâva. [Ibn Asîr has Kandahat, *supra*, p. 249. It is probably Khandadâr in Kâthîwâr. See vol. I. p. 445.]"

Now in the first place Khandadâr is incorrect, the correct spelling being खांडाधार, Khândâdhâr, literally, the edge of the sword. It belongs to a Gondal Bhayâd and is subject to that State, and is situated some eight miles to the north-east of Gondal, and is about the very centre of the province, being at least 80 miles from Mâlia, and 60 miles from Juria, the nearest seaport. Khândâdhâr has never been a place of any importance, nor has it claims to any high antiquity. The Resident of Baroda, in para. 6 of his letter to Government, dated 14th April 1809, speaks of "the small fort of Kundadhar, situated about 5 *kos* to the westward of Gondal, and the possession of Lakhâji, one of the Bhayad of the Gondal Chieftain," and in his letter to Government of June 17th, 1809, he describes the surrender of the fort. I think the position of Khândâdhâr is sufficient of itself to show that it cannot possibly be either the Kandahâr against which the Sindian Arabs directed their *naval* expedition, nor the Kandama of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. Khândâdhâr is neither on the north-west angle of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, nor is it the neighbour of Mâliâ. The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (Elliot, vol. II., Appendix, p. 473) goes on to say: "Mahmûd immediately advanced towards that place, and when his victorious flags drew near the fort, it was found to be surrounded by much water, and there appeared no way of approaching it. The Sultan ordered some divers to sound the depth of the water, and they pointed him out a place where it was fordable. But at the same time they said that if the water (the tide) should rise at the time of their passing, it would drown them all." Khândâdhâr is 60 miles from the nearest coast, and the insignificant little fort is not the sort of fortress which one might expect would have been resorted to by Bhîm in this extremity. I venture to think that Kandahâr is Gandhâr at the mouth of the Dhâdar river in the Gulf of Khambhât, खंभात. Gandhâr is evidently the same as the Kandhâr of M. Reinaud and Dr. Weil, and is always written Kandhâr by the Persian historians of Gujarât. Kandama might very probably be गणदेवी—Gandevi, as suggested by Col. Briggs, and Firishtah's rendering, Gandaba, makes this still more probable; possibly, however, it might be Gandhâr.

A still more extraordinary error occurs at page 468 of the Appendix to vol. II., where the Professor says, "though the position of Somnât is well known in the district of the Guzerât Peninsula, now called Bhâbrewâr, yet by some extraordinary mistake, in which he has been followed by Rampoldi, D'Herbelot considers it to be the same as Viziapur in the Dekhin."

But Somnâth is not in Bâbriâwâḍ; it is in the sub-division of Sorath called Nâgher, and 30 or 40 miles to the west of the Bâbriâwâḍ frontier. The error is probably borrowed from Bird, who says in his *History of Gujarât*, page 37: "The district of the Gujarât Peninsula, now called Bâbrewâr, of which Billâwal Patan is the chief town, was formerly known by the name of Patan Somnâth." Bird, though generally accurate, here (probably from want of local knowledge) has blundered. Verâwal is the port of Patan Somnâth, from which town it is about two miles distant, and both are in Nâgher, neither in Bâbriâwâḍ. Verâwal (called by the Muhammadan writers Bilâwal) is indeed usually called Verâwal-Patan, according to the usual native way of coupling places which have a connection with each other, whether near or far. Thus Gundi-Koliak, Koliâk and Gundi being close to each other; Râjkoṭ-Sardhâr, these towns being the principal towns of the Râjkoṭ estate, though 15 or 16 miles apart. Thus Chuḍa-Rânpur, Dhrol-Sarafdar, and many others. Billâwal or Verâwal Patan was never known by the name of Patan Somnâth, both being distinct places. Patan is still called Patan Somnâth, Prabhâs Patan, and Dev Patan; while Verâwal, from its connection with Patan, is called Verâwal-Patan. Somnâth, I may add, is usually called Sorathi Somnâth. Nâgher extends, roughly speaking, from Mâdhavpûr to the Bâbriâwâḍ frontier, which, roughly speaking, is the line of the Rupen

River; the coast line is called Nâgher, extending about six to ten miles inland, and thus forming a long narrow strip of coast. Nâgher is called Lîlî Nâgher, or the damp Nâgher, alluding to the high level of the water in the district. The following *duhá* is said regarding Nâgher:—

दुहो·

वाजा ठाकर नें अंबवन,
मइ पद मणी घेर;
रेंट खुटके वाडीयां,
भोंय लीली नाघेर·

(Where are) Wâjâ Thâkars and mango groves,
And Padmanîs dwell in the houses,
And Persian wheels groan in the gardens,
This land is Lîlî Nâgher.

JOHN W. WATSON.

Wadhwân, July 8th, 1874.

SIR,—From Mr. L. Rice's reply to my remarks on his rendering of the Nâgamangala plates, in the *Indian Antiquary* of May last, I perceive that he accepts the readings proposed by me with one important exception, viz. the name of the first king mentioned in this inscription, which he still insists on reading *Koḍgaṇi*, and not *Koṅgaṇi*, as I thought it should be read. Mr. Rice, however, admits this much, that in the photo-lithograph published in your journal "the word undoubtedly appears as *Koṅgaṇi;*" but this, he contends, is by no means the case in the original photograph from which the lithograph was obtained, and in which, he thinks, there is some defect in the disputed combination of letters, so much, however, as appears being in his favour. It therefore rests with me to show that the photo-lithograph has not been altered by me (whilst passing it through the press) so as to favour my own views, but that in this respect it faithfully reproduces the photograph which Mr. Rice himself supplied to you, and which is still in my possession. For this purpose I in the first place submitted both copies to Mr. Arthur Grote and Mr. James Fergusson, neither of whom could perceive any difference between the two. I have also sent the photograph and lithograph of the first two plates to Professor Max Müller, and received the following reply, dated July 23rd, which he has kindly allowed me to communicate to you:—

"MY DEAR PROFESSOR EGGELING,—I have carefully "examined the photographs of the first and "second Nâgamangala copper-plates. I can see no "'defect,' no 'large white spot on the *ṅga*,' in the "third line of the first plate. It is clearly *śrîmat-*"*koṅgaṇivarmma.* I am equally certain that the "letter *ṅg* in the third line of Plate I. is exactly the "same as the letter which occurs in the second "line of Plate II. in *uttamâṅgaḥ*. The combination "*ḍg* occurs in Plate I., line 2, in *svakhaḍgaika.* "Here the photograph, even when magnified, is a "little indistinct, and it seems to me as if the litho-"graph had not rendered the upper portion quite "faithfully.* But so much is clear from the "photograph, that the combination *ḍg* has a dif-"ferent character from the combination *ṅg*,—I "mean particularly the top part of the letter.— "Yours very truly, MAX MÜLLER."

Mr. Rice mentions that on a stone in Coorg, of which he took a hand copy, he found the form *Koḍgiṇi.* Until I have an opportunity of seeing a photograph or an impression of this inscription, I cannot help being sceptical on this point, the more so, as in the Haḷa Kannaḍa character *ḍgi* might easily be confounded with *ṅga.*

I cannot refrain in this place from expressing my opinion that the time has come when lithographs prepared from hand copies can no longer satisfy the requirements of Oriental philologists and antiquarians, or be adduced as historical evidence. Nor is it to be expected that lithographs prepared from photographs or squeezes can escape mistakes, often of a serious kind, unless they can be checked by their means by at least one independent competent hand.

As regards the passage eulogizing Bhû Vikrama, we must perhaps be satisfied with having got rid of *Daradana.* Whether or not the statement that the king 'bore the marks of wounds received from *kuliśa*—weapons and elephants which he captured [*i.e.* at the time he captured them]—in his many battles,' savours of puerility (as might perhaps have been said with more reason of some of the passages corrected in my former letter), or whether by straining the compound it may be found to yield a 'figure of much beauty,' is a point which I am not at present inclined to argue. Mr. Rice adheres to his reading *svâsthyad,* but does not tell us what form this is, and what it means. The first syllable is certainly *bhva* in the photograph, and not *sva.*

J. EGGELING.

22, Albemarle Street, London,
24th July 1874.

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* This is undoubtedly the case. The lithograph has *khaḍggeka*, having missed a second curved line beside the *e*, which is clearly distinguishable in the photograph.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—Allow me to say a few words with regard to the charge of misquotation brought against me by Mr. Fergusson.* He himself quotes the passage in my article, on which he founds the charge, in a mutilated form; for he omits an important clause at the end, which is calculated to throw light on my real meaning. The whole passage is :—" Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhî era, but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years, or according to the old reading 330 years, is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhaṭârka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, *supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Droṇa Sinha's coronation.*' The words in italics have not been given by Mr. Fergusson.

It would, I think, appear from this that my meaning is as follows:—On the supposition that the era of the Valabhî dynasty began with the founder of the dynasty, or with Droṇa Sinha's coronation,—the only rational suppositions that can be made,—it *would be necessary to assign* 272 or 330 years or thereabouts to the six reigns,—a period which is too long, if the dates in the Valabhî plates were taken to refer to the Valabhî era. This necessity has "escaped Mr. Fergusson's notice;" *i. e.* he has left out of sight the fact that the only rational hypothesis is that the era should have derived its initial date from either of those two events; and also the consequences of that fact, viz. that it would be necessary to assign too long a period, *i.e.* 272 or 330 years, to these six reigns. This is my meaning. I have not said categorically that Mr. Fergusson *assigns* 272 or 330 years to the six reigns. It was thoroughly immaterial to my argument how many years he actually assigned to those reigns, which assignment must be quite arbitrary. My object was to give reasons why the Valabhî dates should not be referred to the era of the dynasty, and this I have done in the sentence complained of by Mr. Fergusson. I think the gist of my paper as a whole, and the concluding clause I have italicized, ought to have saved me from being misunderstood; but since they have not proved adequate to the task, I see I ought not to have been so brief as I was at the end of the article. I have so little succeeded in making myself understood that Mr. Fergusson still says that no one has "given any reason why the Valabhî kings should use any other era than that that bears their name." I cannot say *why* they should not have used *their* era, but I believe they did not use it; for if they did, it would be necessary to assign 272 or 330 years to the six reigns on the only rational suppositions about its initial date, stated above. But if they did use the so-called Valabhî era, that era could not have been *theirs*. But of this more below.

The period of 120 years assigned by Mr. Fergusson to these six reigns appears to me to be too long; for though the reigns are six, the generations are really only three, for the sixth individual, Guhasena, was the grandson of the first, Bhaṭârka, and the usual average of twenty years is held applicable in these cases, in which the reigns represent so many generations. Bhaṭârka must have been a middle-aged man when he founded the kingdom; and the period between the time when a man arrives at that age and the death of his grandson is in very rare cases so long as 120 years. The tradition which Mr. Fergusson adduces in support of his view is very vague. Supposing it to be trustworthy in every way—which it is not, as I will give reasons to believe—Skandagupta may have reigned even for 20 or 30 years after 141, and Śrî Dharasena may have begun his reign even 20 years before 272, in which case the duration of the six reigns would be reduced to 91 or 81 years. But the tradition itself, though interesting as giving the truth generally, cannot be considered to be true in the particulars. For in the first place it makes Chakrapâṇi the son of Prândat, who is certainly the Chakrapâlita son of Parṇadatta of the Junâgaḍh inscription,† viceroy of the father of Kumâragupta and grandfather of Skandagupta, while the inscription represents Parṇadatta as Skandagupta's viceroy, and Chakrapâlita as governor of a certain town, appointed to that place by his own father. Again, Skandagupta is represented as a weak king in the tradition; while his inscriptions, magniloquent though they are, do show that he must have been a powerful monarch. Lastly, Bhaṭârka is mentioned as having assumed the title of King, while the Valabhî copperplates speak of him as Senâpati, and represent Droṇa Sinha, his second son, to have first assumed that title.‡ The tradition, therefore, is not entitled to any reliance as regards the particulars. It simply gives us what was known before, that the Valabhîs succeeded the Guptas.

Now as to the general question of Valabhî chronology, and of the era to which the dates in the copperplate grants are to be referred, I have recently seen reason to modify the opinion I expressed more than two years ago. Even then the

* Vol. III. p. 235. † *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII. pp. 122, 123.
‡ Mr. Wathen's plate, *Jour. B. A. S.* vol. IV. and another in my possession containing a grant by Guhasena, not yet translated.

mention of Valabhî by Hwan Thsang as a flourishing city, and of Dhruvapaṭṭa as its king, seemed to me not to harmonize with my view; but having brought the known kings of that dynasty up to 434 A.D.* I was in hopes that further researches might bring to light the names of other kings, so as to bring the dynasty down to Hwan Thsang's time. But three copperplates have since turned up, yet none of them goes beyond the last king of the former plates, Śîlâditya II. And the characters of the Valabhî grants are so different from, and so much more modern than, those of Gautamîputra's inscription at Nâsik, which I have recently translated, along with most of the other Nâsik inscriptions, that it appears that from two to three centuries must have elapsed between Gautamîputra and the Valabhis. Gautamîputra I have, in common with Mr. Fergusson, assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century. The Valabhî characters resemble very much those in the Châlukya grants of the early part of the eighth century.† For these and other reasons I have begun to think that the Valabhî dates must be referred to an era other than the Śaka. But that they cannot be referred to what is considered as the era of the dynasty I still maintain, for the reasons I have given in my paper and explained above. It appears to me there is some confusion about this era. Albiruni calls it the era of *Ballaba,* and Col. Tod's Somnâth inscription, the era of *Śrîmad Balabhî,* as if Ballaba or Balabhî were the name of an individual. But in the dynasty of Bhaṭârka there is no king of that name, so that it is doubtful whether the era was really of Bhaṭârka's family. If the era was not the era of the dynasty; but was in use in Surâshṭra before the foundation of the dynasty, the Valabhî dates may be referred to it. Or, more likely, since the Guptas, who preceded that dynasty, introduced their era into the country, the grants must have been dated in that era. But there is no difference in effect, since the initial dates of both are the same. I thus see much reason for the present to agree with Mr. Fergusson in the Valabhî chronology he has given in his paper, except in so far as he has adopted the dates misread by previous translators, ‡ though there is difference between us as to the era, which is rather of a verbal nature. I would therefore arrange the Valabhî kings thus :—

Guhasena (grant not yet translated), 250 G. or 568 A.D.

Dharasena II. (grant translated by Wathen), 272 G., or 590 A.D.

Śîlâditya I. (grant translated by me, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 45), 286 G. or 604 A.D.

Dharasena IV. (two grants translated by me, *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 14 and 45), 326 G. or 644 A.D.

Śîlâditya (two grants), 356 G. or 674 A.D.

R. G. BHÂNDÂRKAR.

Bombay, 24th August 1874.

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 45, and *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 75.

† *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. N. S.

NOTES.

A species of slow-worm, or amphisbœna, which I have not seen before, was killed in my compound on the 15th September. It was about 10 inches long, of a uniform diameter of ¼ inch, dark bottle-green, with a narrow seam of pale yellow on the belly. Can any reader of the *Antiquary* recognize it ?

The word Kilik signifies an anchor in the dialect of the Konkan bôatmen. The same word, under the form "Killock" or Killoch," is used by American boatmen. Query, *unde derivatur ?*

W. F. SINCLAIR.

INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.—The *Geographical Magazine* announces that the India Office has resolved to print the account of the recent researches of Mr. Burgess in the Bombay Presidency, together with its accompanying illustrations. The report contains an exhaustive notice of his discoveries at Belgâm, Konur, Badâmî, Paṭṭadkal, and Aiwaḷḷi, in the Kanarese districts. At Badâmi are some highly interesting sculptured caves of the sixth century, a complete delineation of which, with a few casts, would form a valuable illustration of Hindu art and Vaishṇava mythology—only to be rivalled by what Ajaṇṭâ affords of Buddhism. Mr. Burgess has brought home altogether fifty-four photographs, between twenty-five and thirty *fac-similes* and copies of inscriptions, about forty ground-plans, sections, and other drawings, and forty sketches of sculptures.

7. BADÂMI-INSCRIPTION IN CAVE III :-DATED ŚAKA 500.-A.D. 578.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM BADÂMÎ.

BY PROF. J. EGGELING, LONDON.

THIS Inscription of Maṅgalîśa is from a pilaster near the east end of the verandah of the largest of the three Brahmanical Caves at Badâmî, in the Kaladgi Zillâ. It measures 25 by 43 inches, but the letters have not been deeply cut, and are so injured and indistinct in places as to render it almost impossible to obtain a legible impression. In March last Mr. Burgess took two or three 'estampages,' and then made a careful tracing from the best parts of each, revising it from the stone, by which means a copy was obtained in which there is perhaps not a single doubtful word except the name of the village in the 13th line, the first part of which is probably Kanarese. The accompanying plate is a photo-lithograph of the tracing corrected again by the estampages.

The discovery of this inscription is of some importance, as determining not only the age of the temple in which it was found, but also that of the succession of a king about whom there was hitherto some doubt as to whether he did reign at all.

Mangalîśvara, the younger brother of Kîrttivarmaṇ, according to this inscription, ascended the throne in Śaka 488 (A.D. 566) and was reigning in Śaka 500 (A.D. 578).

The chronology of the Western Châlukyas before the establishment, by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, of the Eastern line, is still far from satisfactory. There exists a grant of Pulakeśi, father of Kîrttivarman and Mangalîśa, dated Śaka 411.* If these dates be correct, we should have to admit a duration of more than 77 years for the reigns of the two kings preceding Mangalîśa.

Transliteration.

Svasti || Śrîsvâmipâdânudhyâtânâm Mânavyasagoṭrâṇâṁ Hâritîputrâṇâṁ
agnishṭomâgnichayanavâjapeyapauṇḍarîkabahusuvarṇṇâśvamedhâva-
bhṛithasnânapavitrîkṛitaśirasâṁ Chalkyânâṁ vaṁśe sambhûtaḥ śaktitrayasaṁ-
pannaḥ Chalkyavaṁśâmbarapûrṇṇachandraḥ anekaguṇagaṇâlaṅkṛitaśarîras sa-
rvvaśâstrârtthatatvanivishṭabuddhir atibalaparâkramotsâhasampannaḥ śrî MANGALÎŚVARO raṇavi-
krântaḥ pravarddhamânarâjyasaṁvvatsare dvâdaśe Śakanṛipatirâjyâbhishekasaṁvvatsare-
shv atikrânteshu pañchasu śateshu nijabhujâvalambitakhaḍgadhârânamitanṛipatiśiroma-
kuṭamaṇiprabhârañjitapâdayugalaś chatussâgaraparyantâvanivijayamangali(*mangalai?*) kâ-
gâraḥ paramabhagavato layane mahâvishṇugṛiham atidaivamânushyakam atyadbhutaka-
rmmavirachita(*ṁ*) bhûmibhâgopabhâgopariparyantâtiśayadarśanîyatamaṁ kṛitvâ
tasmin mahâkârttikapaurṇṇamâsyâṁ brâhmaṇebhyo mahâpradânan datvâ bhagavataḥ prala-
yoditârkkamaṇḍalâkârachakrakshapitâpakâripakshasya vishṇoḥ pratimâpratishṭhâpa
nâbhyudaye *Nipinma?*lingeśvaran† nâma grâman nârâyaṇabalyupahârârthaṁ shoḍaśasaṁkhebhyo
brâhmaṇebhyaś cha satranibandham pratidinam anuvidhânaṇ kṛitvâ śeshaṁ cha parivrâjakabho-
jyan dattavân sakalajaganmaṇḍalavanasamarthâya rathahastyaśvapadâtasaṁkulâ-
nekayuddhalabdhajayapatâkâvalambita chatussamudrormminivâritayaśaḥpratâ-
nopaśobhitâya devadvijagurupûjitâya jyeshṭhâyâsmadbhrâtre KÎRTTIVARMMAṆE
parâkrameśvarâya tatpuṇyopachayaphalam âdityâgnimahâjanasamaksha-
m udakapûrvvaṁ viśrâṇitam asmadbhrâtṛiśuśrû(*sha*)ṇe yat phalam tan mahyaṁ syâd iti na kaiśchi(*t*)
parihâpayitavyaḥ || bahubhir vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś chânupâlitâ | yasya
yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam || svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ ya-
tnâd raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahîr mmahîkshitâṁ śreshṭhaṃ dânâch chhreyo 'nupâlanam||
svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yo hareta vasundharâṁ | śvavishṭhâyâṁ
kṛimir bhûtvâ pitṛibhir saha majjati || Vyâsagîtâḥ ślokâḥ ||

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* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. iv. (1837) p. 8, and N. S. vol. i. p. 251; and conf. *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. ix. p. cxcix.—ED.

† The inscription is indistinct and abraded here, and the traces of letters might also be doubtfully read *Tipilma*.

Translation.

May it be well! In the race of the Chalkyas* —worshippers of the feet of the lord (*Vishṇu*), members of the Mânavya-gotra, sons of Hâriti, whose heads are purified with sacred ablutions after the performance of the Agnishṭoma, Agnichayana, Vâjapeya, Pauṇḍarîka, Bahusavarṇa, and Aśvamedha rites—was born one who being endowed with the three (*regal*) powers and possessed of extraordinary strength, bravery and perseverance, is the full-moon in the firmament of the Chalkya race, his person being adorned by a numberless series of virtues, whilst his mind is imbued with the essence of the objects of all sciences,—Śrî Mangaliśvara who—victorious in battle—in the twelfth year of his reign,—five hundred years having passed since the coronation of the king of the Śakas,—having made his feet brilliant with the glitter of the jewels of diadems of kings whose heads he bent with the edge of the sword wielded by his own arm, and having, by the conquest of the earth bounded by the four oceans, become the (*sole ?*) receptacle of prosperity,—after having built on the site of the most holy (*Vishṇu*) a house of the great Vishṇu, surpassing all things divine and human, constructed by most marvellous labour and highly beautiful (*or* conspicuous) through the enclosing boundaries of the chief and the adjoining grounds [? *or*, beautiful on all sides on the chief, &c.]; † and having in this (*temple*) on the great full-moon of Kârttika, made a grand gift to the Brâhmaṇs, —has, at a festival held for the inauguration of the image‡ of the holy Vishṇu,—who destroys the hosts of his enemies with his chakra which has the form of the sun rising on the dissolution of the universe—arranged for (*the revenues of*) the village named Nipinmalingeśvara (?) to be applied for daily making offerings to Nârâyaṇa and giving charitable relief to sixteen Brâhmaṇs, distributing such food as remains to be eaten by mendicants.

This grant is made in the presence of the sun, the fire, and the people, after pouring out water, for the benefit, and to increase the religious merit, of my eldest brother Kîrttivarman, the lord of valour, and beloved of gods, twice-born, and gurus, who was equal to rule the multitudinous countries of the entire world, and who was adorned with creepers of fame dependent from the standards of victory gained in many battles thronged with chariots, elephants, horses, and footmen; and spreading to (*lit.* only checked by) the waves of the four seas.

By many land is given, and by many it is retained; whoever, at any time, is in possession of the ground, he at that time enjoys the fruit thereof. Guard thou diligently, O Yudhishṭhira, that (*land*) which is given by thyself or by another; land is the most valuable gift of kings; and better than giving is protecting. He who takes away ground given by himself or by another, together with his ancestors becomes a worm and is immersed in dogs' ordure.§ Verses composed by Vyâsa.

THE DOLMENS AT KONUR AND AIHOḶḶI.

It would probably be a great help to the right understanding of the origin of the Rude Stone Monuments of India to know accurately their geographical distribution, and the character and differences of the various groups of such remains. Within the last few years considerable attention has been directed to them, and though it is to be regretted that some of them have been so ruthlessly handled and destroyed by investigators, the amount of information we now possess, in scattered papers, is very considerable. Much, however, remains yet to be collected; many groups are entirely unknown except to individuals, and must remain so until such persons can be induced to give some notice of them.

Some years ago Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.S., made known to the writer the existence of dolmens at Konur, a village in the Belgâm Zilla, on the Ghâṭprabhâ river, about three miles W.N.W. from Gokâk, and much nearer to the justly famous falls of that name than Gokâk itself. The village of Konur is itself in no way remarkable: it has a Jaina temple

* So here and lower down for Châlukya.

† The estampage had distinctly *bhûmibhâgopabhâgopari*.

‡ This may possibly refer to a figure of Varâha to the left of this inscription, or to one of Vishṇu on Ananta, with the five hoods of the snake overshadowing his head, which fills the east end of the veranda of the cave.—ED.

§ A more common reading for *śvavishṭhâyâṁ* is *savishṭhâyâṁ*.



W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

DOLMEN AT KONUR.

of no pretensions; the shrine and antechamber of what has once been a pretty Śaiva temple built in the Dravidian style; and some *śilaśâśanas* or inscribed slabs. The falls, about a mile above the village, are truly grand,—the water plunging over a black perpendicular cliff 178 feet high, worn back by the action of long ages into a horse-shoe form. Right opposite to this, on the south side, is the temple of Mahâlingeśvara, and round it are several others, mostly in ruins, as are also those on the steep north bank. In the large temple is a śilaśâśana, apparently much older than the present temple, but so besmeared with white-wash, oil, &c. that it is almost impossible to obtain a satisfactory copy until it can be cleaned by chemical means,—for the incrustation is as hard as the stone, and any attempt to take it off mechanically could only be made at the risk of damaging the inscription.

The first group of dolmens is a little to the south-west of the village, but, like the other two, it has suffered sadly at the hands of the Waḍâris*—the worst enemies of ancient art,—who, without reverence, will break up the finest sculpture or inscription or level an old temple for the sake of a stone that will serve their purpose for a lintel or a door-post to a cow-shed. In this group, only one stands nearly entire—that represented in the illustration. It is not a very large one: the capstone is a conglomerate slab, about a foot thick, 8 feet long, and varying in breadth from 4 feet 2 inches to 8 feet; this is supported by five stones set on edge, namely two side-stones about 4½ feet long each and 3 feet 8 inches high, a back 4 feet 3 inches long, and two stones in front about 2 feet wide each. The cell within is thus 2 feet 9 inches wide in front, 4 feet 3 inches at the back, and 4 feet long by 3 feet 8 inches high. The entrance at the south end between the front stones is 18 inches wide; and from the door two lower stones extend outwards about 5½ feet, forming a sort of alley or passage up to the entrance. Other examples, in another group, show that this was a low covered passage by which the cell could be reached, when—as seems to have been the case with most of the dolmens here—the whole structure was covered over with small stones, and outwardly presented the appearance of a rough cairn. This covering of loose stones has, in most cases, been entirely removed, partly perhaps by cattle climbing over them, and by other accidental causes during the course of ages, but, to a large extent probably, by herdsmen and others from motives of curiosity or in search of treasure, or by Waḍâris to get at the capstones, which have nearly all disappeared. In the case of that just described, the stones are thrown in a heap just behind the dolmen; in other instances they are scattered all round; and, in some few, a part of the cairn still remains against the sides of the dolmens.

A dolmen beside this one is said to have been excavated by some European, and to have yielded bones, earthenware, pottery, and ashes or charcoal. But the hurried excavation of these remains by inexperienced amateurs is greatly to be deprecated: it deprives us of much information which only the skilled expert can be expected to elicit on the spot. Around the two just mentioned are several others, without capstones and otherwise damaged; and to the south-west of them, there crop through the sand two or three large slabs, probably the capstones of dolmens as yet undisturbed. The entrances are all to the south, or a little to the west of it.

Across two fields to the south-west is a still larger group of these structures, of which five or six still retain their capstones; others have them lying broken; two are apparently undisturbed; and of two others the covers still remain on the entrance passage; while thirty or forty have been ruined. All are surrounded by loose stones, with which there can be little doubt they were originally covered. One of the entire ones is 5 feet 9 inches high inside, 2 feet wide in front, and 4 feet 8 inches at the back, and 5 feet 10 inches long. The entrance passage must have been 2 feet 6 inches high.

On the west of the road close by is one with the capstone, but the east side slab is broken, and one of the front stones has been removed. The entrance passage appears to be undisturbed, and part of the cairn or mound still rests against a corner of it. Near this are also fragments of three others.

Still further to the west are twenty or twenty-five more, three of them with capstones; one with the cover quite recently chipped; and a fifth that must have been been smashed by the Waḍâris very shortly before, if not in, February last. One or two capstones here just show above

* *Vide ante*, p. 185.

ground, and it will be a pity if they and the few others that still remain entire in the first two groups cannot be preserved from destruction.

Twelve or fifteen miles east-south-east from Badâmi, in the Kaladgi zillâ, is the village of Aiwaḷḷi or Aihoḷḷi—the *Eiwally* and *Iwullee* of old maps, &c.—a place remarkably rich in ancient remains, with a Śaiva and a Jaina cave-temple, and many structural temples of the sixth and seventh centuries, better known to the destructive Waḍâri than to the archæologist. On the south-east of this village is a rocky hill, the top of which is covered with dolmens. These stand on the bare rock, while those at Konur are on a sandy soil. A large number of the Aiwaḷḷi dolmens still retain their capstones, but perhaps all of them want the stone that filled the entrance;—for here they do not seem to have been entered by a covered passage as at Konur, but through a round hole in the stone that formed one end of the cell. In one case, at least, this stone still lies beside the dolmen. They appeared generally larger than those at Konur,—one side-stone measured 11 feet 9 inches in length, and the capstones are proportionately large; but the cells are not high. Some are full of earth, inhabited by white ants; but though the surface of the hill-top is strewn with loose stones, there is not much evidence that the dolmens have ever been covered with them as at Konur.

To the west of Aihoḷḷi, on a rocky rising ground on the banks of the Mâlaprabhâ, are several small dolmens, mostly open at the sides; and among a group of very old temples in the same place is one raised on four rough unhewn pillars:—but this may have been the shelter of some devotee of bygone days, or otherwise appropriated to purposes quite different from those on the hill and at Konur, which were undoubtedly burying-places, and bear a strange unhewn resemblance to the table-shaped monuments, often also enclosed by side-stones, known in Scotland by the Saxon name of *Thruh-stanes* (Sax. *thruh*, *thurrue*—a grave or coffin).

J. B.

ON SOME PAHLAVÎ INSCRIPTIONS IN SOUTH INDIA.

(*Reprinted, with additions.*)

BY A. C. BURNELL, PH.D., M.C.S., TANJORE.

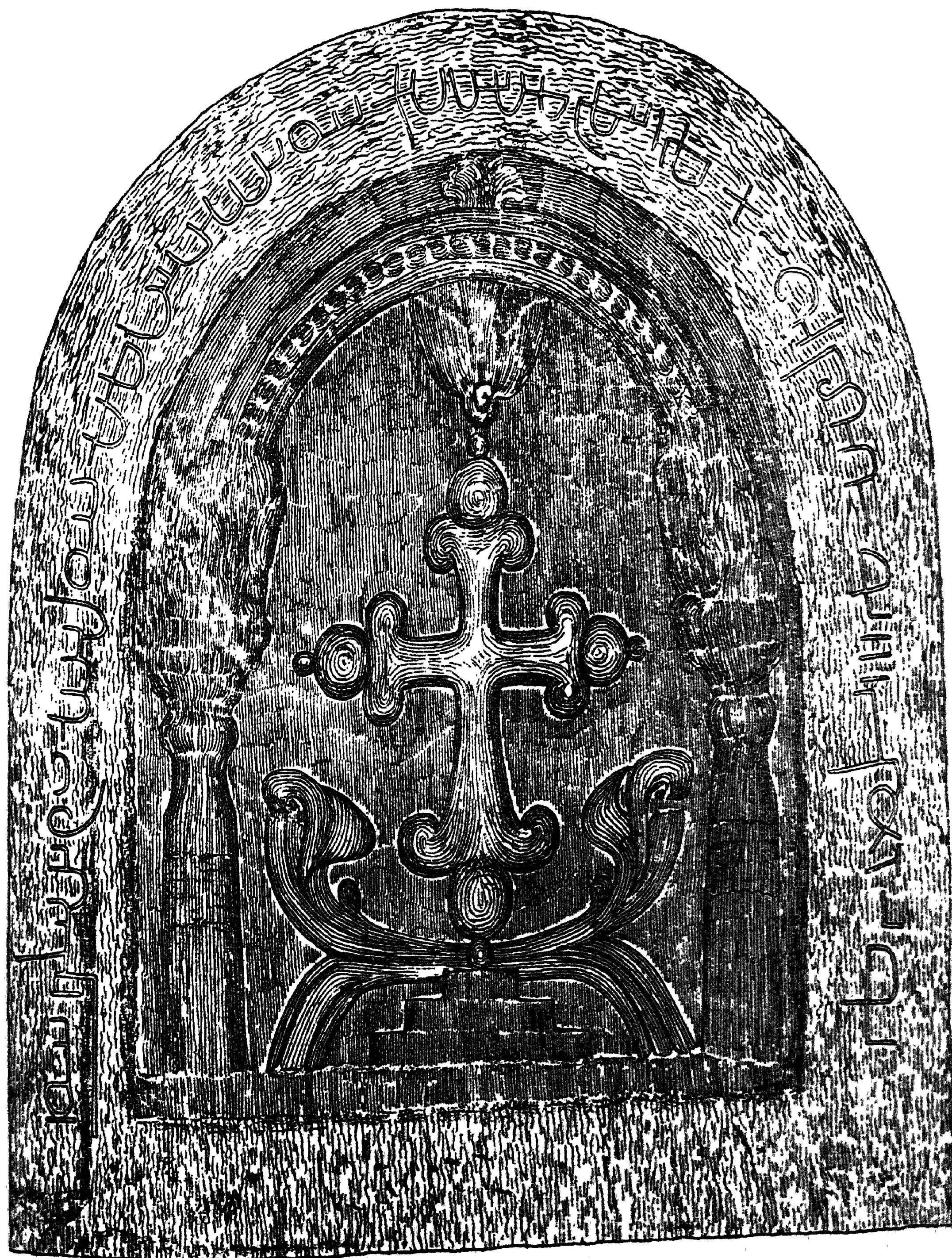
The Christian antiquities of Southern India have been as yet quite neglected; perhaps because the Brâhmanical system once seemed to promise more results, and therefore to be better worthy of attention, and perhaps also because of Dr. Buchanan's ill-considered books. His information was by no means new, for much had already been written on the subject by Portuguese and Italians, but he displayed so much credulity on his favourite subject* that no one would be likely, after reading his books, to consider their object worthy of serious notice. But as now the great age formerly attributed to a considerable portion of the Sanskrit literature is ascertained to be fabulous, and the originality of much is open to doubt, it is very necessary to collect all facts which throw light on foreign intercourse with India, as the possibility that Indian literatures and religions have been thus modified becomes an important question, and one which may not be neglected, especially since Prof. A. Weber's remarkable publications on the *Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî* and on the *Râmâyana*. I would therefore draw the attention of archæologists in India to the early settlements in Southern India of Persian Christians who preceded the Syrians, and to the chief records left by them—bas-reliefs of the cross with Pahlavî inscriptions, still existing in several places in Southern India. Though these tablets had been often noticed, I was the first to point out the true nature of the inscriptions.†

The origin of the Christian colonies in Southern India is very obscure, and rests upon native legends which, most likely, were first suggested by foreigners in the Middle Ages; for the narrations of the mediæval travellers afford numberless instances of the way in which the

* He asserted that the Syrians of Travancore are Christians of the pure primitive type, proof against the corruptions of the Jesuits; whereas if it had not been for the Catholic missionaries they would long ago have relapsed into heathenism. He grossly exaggerated the number of Israelites in Southern India, and relates with great *naiveté* his attempts to steal some documents from them.

† *Academy*, IV. p. 237 (June 2nd, 1873); also *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 183.

Fig. 1.



THE MOUNT CROSS.

mythology of one country is transplanted to, amplified, and localized in another.* The visit of St. Thomas (the Apostle) to India has long been a favourite legend, but it rested on the apocryphal *Acta Thomæ*,† which seemed totally devoid of an historical foundation till Reinaud pointed out that the king Gundopharus is probably the Gandophares of the Indo-Scythian coins.‡ The legend goes on to state that he was killed in another part of India.

This, however, is no warrant for supposing that St. Thomas visited Southern India, an idea which appears to have arisen in the Middle Ages, and has been since supported on fanciful grounds by some missionaries.§ It seems as if the early travellers finding some sect of Christians in India, and relying on the legend, called them Christians of St. Thomas, just as they called the Mandæans Christians of St. John. The Indo-Syrians tell a story|| that the Apostle Thomas founded seven churches in Malaṅkare (*i. e.* Malabar or S. W. India), but the names are given differently in different parts, and whereas in Travancore the legend excludes the Mount, intelligent Syrians of the Cochin territory, with whom I conversed, expressly included it. This legend cannot be worth any notice historically, as it is evidently based on the mention of the seven churches in Asia in the Apocalypse (i. 4), but the names are certainly those of old churches. They are usually given as Niraṇam̃, Châyal, Kollam̃, Pâlûr, Koḍuṅgalûr, Gôkkamaṅgalam̃, and Kôṭṭakâyal. Of these the second (in the Travancore mountains), and the fifth (*i. e.* Cranganore) are no longer existing; the rest are in the Travancore or Cochin territory.

Another Syrian legend mentions a Kanân Tômmâ (*i. e.* Thomas), a foreigner, as having preached in Malabar. This may be the disciple of Manes. After him the same source mentions a Mâr Śâphôr and a Mâr Aphrôttu as coming from Babylon: ¶ both of these are evidently Persian names. Of the date of their arrival in India nothing is however known, and were not their names so unlike forgeries, this legend would be of as little value as the last.

The first historical notice of a Christian Mission to India we have is that of Persians who were Manichæans. It is uncertain, though not improbable, that Mânî himself preached in India,* but one of his works was a *Greater Epistle to the Indians*,† and it also appears probable that one of his disciples came to this country.‡ As, after his execution, about 272 A.D., his numerous and influential followers were much persecuted in their native country,§ it is not unreasonable to suppose that many emigrated to India and Ceylon. Without some such event it is difficult to understand how the Christians became so numerous in Southern India during the Middle Ages as can be proved to have been the case; and there does not

* Everything strange that the mediæval travellers from Europe found in India was connected with the legend of St. Thomas. Elephantiasis was imagined to be a punishment on his murderers and their descendants; several trees and plants with remarkable flowers are still called after him, and are supposed to prove the legend.

† Attributed to a bishop of Babylonia named Abdias. These *Acts* state that the Indian king Gundopharus wanted an architect, and that Thomas was sent by Christ. This Syrian legend is copied in other documents: see *Z. d. D. M. G.* XXV. p. 321. The Syriac text has Gûdnpr or Gûdnfr (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, II. p. 147). It must be recollected that in the early centuries 'India' had a very extensive meaning; the importance of the story of Pantænus is therefore doubtful. So also that the Metropolitan of Persia and *India* attended the Council of Nice.

‡ Yule's *Cathay—Recollections of Travel in the East by John de Marignolli*, pp. 376-7 (notes). Since this paper was written, Col. Yule writes to disclaim all right to this identification (which I attributed to him), and points out that it was first made by the late eminent Arabic scholar the Abbé Reinaud.

§ Pater Paulinus à St. Bartholemæo—*India Orientalis Christiana*, p. 125 ff. He relies on the "*traditio Catholicorum et schismaticorum*," which he supports by distortion of Malayâḷam words and similar obsolete learning.

|| *Essay on the Syrian Church of Malabar* (in Malayâḷam) by Rev. I. Îppan (a Syrian), p. 3. There is another similar tract, also lately published, by another Syrian (Rev. G. Kuriyan), in which I do not find mention of this legend. Both these essays give an account of the Travancore Syrian Church in a brief compass, but they rely on little except English second-hand compilations. The Roman Catholic History of the Syrians in India (printed at Kunamâvu in 1872) gives ample quotations from Syriac and other original sources.

¶ Îppan, *ut supra*, p. 9. Aphrôttu is evidently Aphraates.

* Al Nadîm (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 52) says that Mânî "called on" Hind and Sîn and the people of Khorâsân, and "made a deputy of one of his companions in each province." The verb دعا (called on or preached to) does not appear to mean that he actually went to those countries.

† Flügel's *Mani*, pp. 73, 103, and 370. There can be no doubt as to what country is here intended by "Hind," nor consequently as to a Manichæan Mission to the peninsula of India.

‡ Flügel's *Mani*, p. 174. The authorities are Abû'lfaraj and Al-Nadîm.

§ About 277 A.D. Manichæism began to spread to a wonderful extent in the Roman Empire. Beausobre (I. pp. 122-3) says of the date: "Quant au tems où son hérésie commença d'être connue dans l'Empire Romain, il y a trop d'accord entre nos auteurs pour nier queee ne soit la première ou la seconde année de Probus." In the Theodosian Code (A.D. 438) they and the Gnostics are persecuted. They were also proscribed at Rome much about the same time.

appear to have been so extensive a persecution of any other Christian sect till the Nestorians got power, in the 6th century. As the navigation by the Red Sea to India ceased in the 4th century, on the growth of the Sassanian kingdom,* Christian Missions must have come, up to the 16th century, from or through Persia and viâ Mesene, and this is proved by facts also. The next historical mention that I know of is in the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Byzantine monk of the 6th century. He says: † "In the island Taprobane (*i. e.* Ceylon) there . . is a church of Christians, and clerks, and faithful. . . . . . . Likewise at Male where the pepper grows; and in the town called Kalliena there is also a Bishop, consecrated in Persia." 'Male where the pepper grows' is Malabar and Travancore beyond doubt, but it is not so easy to identify Kalliena. In the sixth century there were two, if not three, places of this name.‡ One was then the capital of the Châlukya kingdom of the Dekhan, the other a seaport on the west coast of India. At present there are two seaports which answer to the description of the last—one near Bombay, and the other near U ḍ u p i, and about 32 miles north of Mangalore. This last is now a mere village, but it seems most probable that it is the one intended by Cosmas.

About the middle of the 6th century we find the Indian *Pañchatantra* known by name in Persia, and a learned Persian named Barzûweh or Bûrzweh came to India to get a copy of it He is said to have been a Christian§; but Prof. Benfey doubts it.‖ This circumstance shows a considerable intercourse between the two countries. The next proofs of Persian settlements in S. W. India are the attestations to the Syrian grant B,¶ which is an endowment to the T a r i s s a C h u r c h* at Cranganore by one M a r v â n S a p i r I ś o; the church is said in the document to have been built by one *Is'ôdâtavîrâi*.

There can be no question that this deed is of the early part of the 9th century A.D., the date assigned by Dr. Haug; and though it was attested by Indians, Arabs, and Persians, there is not the least trace of Syrians anywhere to be found in it. The Israelite colony is associated in trusteeship of the endowment; a strange rebuke to the fanaticism of modern times, and to the reckless attempts at proselytism which have long since destroyed all good feeling between the different sects in India. †

About the year 916 A.D. we find the Arab geographer Abû Zaid (who completed the accounts of a traveller and merchant named Sulaimân who was in Southern India about 850 A.D.) writing of Sarandîb (*i.e.* Ceylon): "There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manichæans."‡ As the connection between Ceylon and S. E. and S. W. India has always been very close, this notice is very important, and it is

* Reinaud, *Relations politiques et commerciales de l'Empire Romain*, pp. 265-9.

† I am obliged to take P. Paulinus's extract from Montfaucon, as I am unable to consult the original work.

‡ *Kalliena* is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Red Sea* (p. 295, ed. C. Müller, in vol. I. of the *Geographi Græci Minores*, 1855), as a decayed port. The editor of this fine edition quotes a passage from Cosmas by which it appears that in the 6th century the articles of export from this place were chiefly steel (for by χαλκός this must be intended) and cotton cloth. This fact makes me think that the southern *Kalyâna* must be intended, as steel appears to have been made only in the southern parts of the Dekhan, in Maisur and Salem.

§ Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Arabischen Aertzte*, p. 6, says: "Er hatte ein frommes Gemüth, und es ist nicht unwahr scheinlich, dass er ein Christ war. Aus eigenem Antrieb oder im Auftrage des König's, reiste er nach Indien, um sich das berühmt gewordene Buch, die Fabeln Bidpai's, zu verschaffen; er war so glücklich, dasselbe mit mehreren anderen abschreiben zu können und übersetzte es bei seiner Rückkehr in die Pehlevi Sprache." This is based on Ibn Abu Oseibia's *Lives of Physicians*.

‖ Conf. Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, vol. I. p. 76.

¶ I place the three very important documents in possession of the Israelites and Syrians of Cochin and Travancore in the order given to them by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal*, vol. XIII.), and call them A, B, and C.

* The expression in the original Tamil-Malayâlam is *Tarisâ-* or (as it occurs again in the same document) *Tarussâ-paḷḷi*. *Tarisâ* or *Tarussâ* is obviously the modern Persian T a r s â, and also the same as *Terzai*, by which some sect of Christians was called in Tartary in the Middle Ages. It appears not to have been explained as yet. That the last part of the word represents some form of the name *Jesus* or Î s a is impossible. The concurrent use (in B) of *i* and *u* for the second vowel can leave no doubt that it was short, and it is most unlikely that the long *î* of Îsa should have been shortened and then lost in modern Persian. I am inclined to think that it is a corrupt form of a Semitic word *daras* (as it actually occurs in Arabic = study), which in the *Stat. emph.* would be *darsâ*, and as *paḷḷi* (a Malayâḷam word) = room for assembling, *darsâpaḷḷi* will thus be exactly translated by meeting-house (*i.e.* for study or prayer), and would equal the Jewish-German *Schul*. *Tarsâ* in Modern Persian has the sense of prayer (according to Richardson). *Drâśê* occurs in a title of a Mandæan book with apparently much the same sense; Euting translates it by *forschung*.

† There is a strong reason for believing that the Persian colony at Cranganore was Manichæan, in the name of their little principality—*Manigrâmam*. It is not likely that the natives would ever give a village such a name, for M a ṇ i in Sanskṛit = jewel or amulet, and we never meet with the word used in this way. It is therefore in all probability a foreign word, and if Persian, can only refer to the followers of Mani. This explanation already suggested itself to that profound Dravidian philologist Dr. Gundert in 1843.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I. p. 10.

probable, as I shall afterwards show, that the Mount colony was established near Madras about this time.

Thus all the trustworthy facts up to the 10th century that I have been able to find—Mânî's '*Epistle to the Indians*'—the Indo-Syrian legend of Śâphor, the testimony of Cosmas in the 6th century, the tablets now described, the Arab traveller Abû Zaid, and the Syrian grant B, all go to show that the earliest Christian settlements in India were Persian, and probably, therefore, Manichæan or Gnostic. It is not till we come to the mediæval travellers that we find Syrians mentioned as living in India.* The causes which transformed the old Persian church into adherents of Syrian sects seem to be that Christianity made but little progress in Persia except in the directions of Gnosticism and Manichæism; but these were much persecuted from the beginning, and, according to Al Nadîm (p. 77), barely existed in the beginning of the 10th century A.D., and were then much disliked and persecuted by the Muhammadan rulers of Persia. The more orthodox Syrian churches had meanwhile made immense progress in Babylonia, being patronized by the Khalifs, and were certainly not wanting in missionary fervour, and thus, both in Babylonia and elsewhere, took the place (with the exception of the so-called Christians of St. John or Mandæans, in reality Gnostics) of all the earlier Persian sects. No doubt it must have taken some time for the Nestorians to get complete influence over the Indian churches, and thus it is difficult to put the date of this event earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. The latest Pahlavî inscriptions in existence are attributed by Dr. Haug to the beginning of that century,† and as one of the tablets at Koṭṭayam has, in addition to the usual Pahlavî inscription, one in Syriac also, ‡ this may be taken as a confirmation of that date. The practices and belief of the Indo-Persians probably changed (like those of all Indian converts) but little, whatever their spiritual masters may have professed. Considering that, as far as we have any historical records, they have been nearly always the victims of priestly fanaticism and greed, it is perhaps a matter for surprise that anything remains to show their history,—we need not wonder at the nakedness of the land. That the Pahlavî tablets have been preserved is the work of ignorance and superstition only, and is not to be attributed altogether to the Indo-Syrians.

II.

The number of Pahlavî inscriptions which are known to have existed in Southern India, and the distance from one another of the places where they occur, is sufficient to prove the importance of the Persian settlements. At present I know of examples actually existing at Koṭṭayam in Travancore, and also at the Mount near Madras, but it is probable that many more still exist, not only in Travancore, but in other parts of India, for (as mentioned already) there are some Pahlavî scribblings in the caves near Bombay, which show that they were visited by Persians.

The bas-relief crosses with Pahlavî inscriptions early attracted the notice of the Catholic Missionaries, who took them to be relics of the mission of St. Thomas. The best general account of them that I know is in the *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*" of P. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, an Italian Carmelite, and Papal Envoy to Travancore in the 17th century. He says (p. 135 of the Roman edition of 1672):

"La seconda [memoria] sono le molte Croci, formate dal medesimo, che in dinersi luoghi si trouano, tutte vniformi, benche dinerse nella grandezza, ripartite nelle pareti delle Chiese. doue sono venerate dal continuo bacio de' Fedeli. Queste sono tagliate nelle lamine di marmo, per il più bianco qualità di pietra, che hora più

* Prof. Weber has noticed in his *Krishnajanmâshṭamî* a passage from a Byzantine author which refers to a Syrian Bishop at *Romaguri* in India. It belongs to the 12th century.

The most important historical notices of Nestorians and Syrians in India which I can find are: (1) by Friar Odoricus, who about the beginning of the 14th century was in S. India, and mentions 15 houses of Nestorians at St. Thomas's shrine; (2) by Nicolo Conti, who travelled in India in the 15th century. Speaking of *Malepur* (St. Thomè) he says: "Here the body of St. Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church; it is worshipped by heretics who are called Nestorians and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India." (*India in the 15th Century*, published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 7.) A Christian was Dewan] of Vijayanagara about 1445. (Abd-er-Razzak in do. p. 40.)

The Syrians (Nestorian and Jacobite) appear to have had very little influence over the Christians in the west coast of Southern India before the 16th century; for the early Catholic Missionaries speak generally of "Christians of St. Thomas," and not of "Nestorian heretics." Varthema (1503-8) states that a priest came to Malabar from Babylon once in three years only.

† These are the scribblings of Persian visitors to the caves near Bombay. Haug, *Essay on Pahlavi*, pp. 79-80.

‡ See below. The Indo-Syrians do not appear to have the least notion that the inscriptions are Pahlavî, nor have they (as far as I could find) any tradition at all about them.

non se troua.* La forma è di quattro lati quasi vguali, con certi ornamenti nell' estremità, simili à quelli delle Croci de' Caualieri di S. Mauritio di Sauoia.† Quella di Cranganor ‡, è riposta in vna Cappella aperta, ed è grandemente riuerita. Più volte è stata vista solleuata in aria per Diuina virtù, cinta di raggi splendidissimi, con ammiratione non solo de' Christiani, mà ancora de' Gentili, de' quali, si mossero alcuni per tal prodigio à confessare la verità della fede, e sino al giorno d' hoggi molti la venerano, visitano & adornano, offerendoli ricchi donatiui. Quella di Meliapor è la più celebre § e miracolosa, auanti la quale oraua il Santo quando fù ferito dalli Brahmani; onde resto conspersa in più luoghi del suo sangue pretioso.|| La lamina, nella quale stà scolpita, non e più alta di quattro piedi, trè larga, di color piardo chiaro, alla quale foi fù aggionto vn' ornamento di basso rilieuo, che la circonda, sù la forma d'vn niccio, e certi altri arabeschi antichi mal fatti, con vn giro di lettere antichissime, le quali essendo incognite, furono poi riconosciute in diuersi tempi, da certi Brahmani del Canarà, li più sauij, e dotti dell' Indie, che concordamente, doppo hauer dato il giuramento di non alterare a verità,¶ dissero qualmentre erano misturate di cinque specie die caratteri, de' quali l'vno non s' vniua con l'altro, mà ciascuno à guisa delle lettere Chinesi, ò delle gieroglifiche degl' Egittij, bastaua per esprimere vn significato. Essendo dunque le lettere trentasei in numero, con trè punti, li quali non sono senza mistero, contengono la seguente interpretatione. Nel tempo, che regnaua il figlio del Rè Sagad, il quale gouernò questi stati trent' anni, il solo, e vero Iddio discese in terra, prese carne nel ventre d'vna Vergine e diede fine alla legge delli Giudei. Dalle loro mani, per sua libera volontà, sostenne la pena douuta alli peccati degl' huomini, doppo hauer vissuto nel mondo trentatrè anni, ne' quali insegnò à dodici suoi serui la verità, che predicaua. Vno di questi venne a Maiale con vn bastone nella mano, e leuò vna gran traue detta Bagad, portata dal mare nel lido: con la medesima fece vna Chiesa, con che tutto il popolo si rallegrò. Vn Rè di trè Corone, Cheralacone, Indalacone, Cuspardiad, & il Principe d' Ertinabarad, con Caterina sua figlia, e molt' altre Vergini, e sei sorte di caste, prefero spontaneamente la legge di Tomè, per esser quella della verità, ed esso gli diede il segno della Santa Croce, perche l'adorassero. Ascendendo poi il medesimo il luogo d'Antinodor, vn Brahmane gli diede con vna lancia, ed esso si abbracciò con questa Croce, la quale restò macchiata dal suo sangue. Si suoi discepoli lo leuarono per Maiale, doue fù sepolto nella Chiesa, che haueua fabricata, e perche noi Regi sopranominati, vedemmo tutto questo, habbiamo fatto formare li presenti Caratteri à perpetua memoria."

He then proceeds to relate a miracle * worked by this cross: "Questa croce ogn' anno, il decimo ottauo di Decembre, giorno nel quale fù ferito l'Apostolo à morte, cominciandosi l'Euangelio della Messa cantata, si fà oscura, e molto carica di colore, con vn lustro mirabile, particolarmènte doue cadettero le gocciole del sangue, terminando l'offertorio si schiarisce, sino à farsi tutta candida e risplendente; verso la consacratione, ritornando al color naturale, si risolue in copiosissimo sudore sanguigno, del quale li Fedeli ne raccogliono li panni pieni."

This passage shows that there were several such crosses in S. W. India, besides the one at the Mount; Persian communities were, therefore, established round the South of India; and at Cranganore, at least, possessed important privileges. †

That many of these monuments are irrecover-

* All I have seen are of the ordinary granite or gneiss found everywhere in S. India. That at the Mount is of stone evidently brought from Sadras.

† See Fig. 1 and Fig. 4.

‡ Cranganore was destroyed in 1790-1 by Tipu's officers, and there is not the least trace left of it at present except some heaps of rubbish, the ditch round the fort, and a small piece of a wall. I recollect seeing a plan of it in Valentijn's great work on the Dutch colonies. There is a view in Baldæus. The tablet is probably buried in the heaps of rubbish overgrown by jangle which mark the site of the town.

§ *i.e.* at the Mount near Madras.

|| Probably iron stains. The stone is black, and it requires a good deal of imagination to see anything like stains.

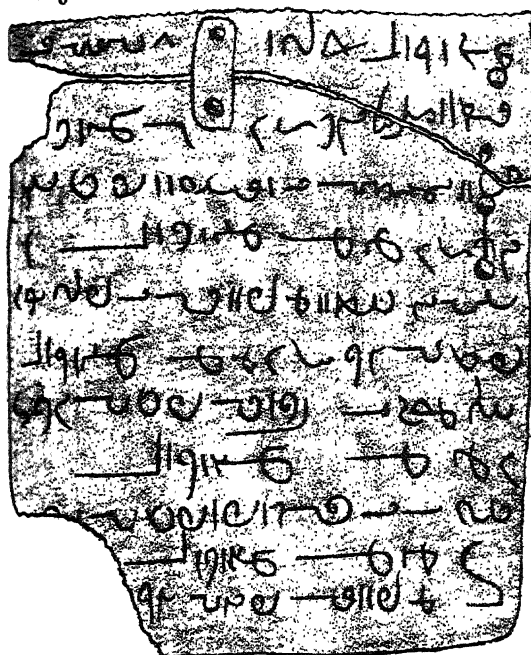
¶ This naïve story is no doubt true; the Portuguese Missionaries of those days were the victims of an impudent deception. Except the reputation for learning, which does not exist nowadays, the whole story gives a very fair notion of the character of the people of Canara. All European inquirers in India have, however, been more or less victimized in this way. Wilford's case is notorious, and even Colebrooke did not escape (*Essays*, I. p. 47 *n.*). The last notorious instance is that of M. Jacolliot.

* The cross is built into the wall behind the altar in a church on the Great Mount which is served by a native priest under the Goa jurisdiction. The occasion described in the text brings a large assemblage of native Christians every year to the spot, and an amount of disorder which the European Catholic clergy of Madras have in vain tried to put down.

† One of these is recorded by Marignolli (in Yule's *Cathay*, p. 343): "Nor are the Saracens the proprietors (of the pepper), but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these

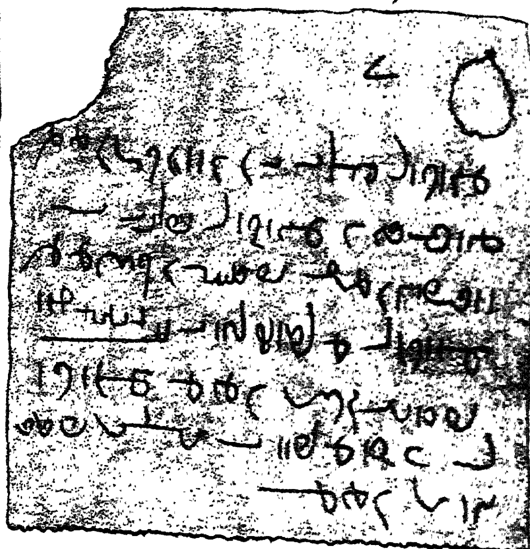
Sassanian - Pahlavî attestations to grant B (Syrian) 5

Fig. 2. A



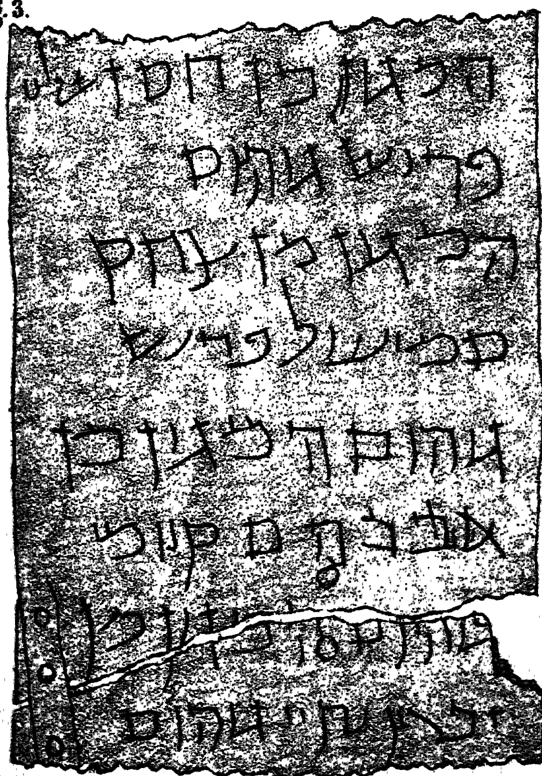
B

(Continuation)



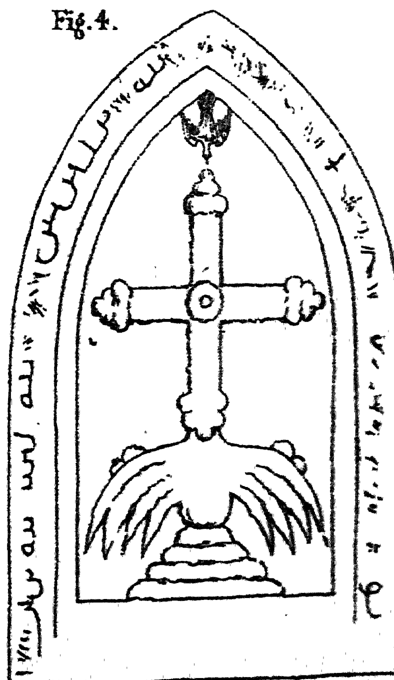
Chaldaeo-Pahlavî attestations to B (Syrian grant) 5 b.

Fig. 3.



Tablet at Kottayam.

Fig. 4.



ably lost is more than probable, but some may yet be discovered, like the famous Mount tablet. This was found during some excavations made by the Portuguese about 1547. According to Lucena, a safe authority on the Portuguese transactions in India of that time, it was met with "on digging for the foundations of a hermitage amid the ruins which marked the spot of the martyrdom of the Apostle St. Thomas. On one face of this slab was a cross in relief, with a bird like a dove over it, with its wings expanded, 'as the Holy Ghost is usually represented when descending on our Lord at his baptism or our Lady at her annunciation.' This cross was erected over the altar at the chapel which was built in the new sanctuary." * This account is, no doubt, accurate, for the Portuguese on first visiting the Mount found the Christian church in ruins, and occupied by a native fakîr. The description of the slab is also accurate. † It does not appear what cause had destroyed the Christian community there, but it probably was owing to the political disturbances attending the war between the Muhammadans of the north and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. ‡

Once re-discovered, the cross at the Mount continued for a long time to excite considerable attention. I have already given (in the extract from P. Vincenzo) the story of the attempt to get the inscription interpreted, when so remarkable an imposture was practised with success by some Brâhmaṇs. By the end of the 16th century this story was universally accepted in Europe, and is even given by Cardinal Baronius in his *Ecclesiastical Annals*. In the 17th century the zealous antiquarian P. Kircher, and also Couto, engraved figures of the cross.§ Since then it has been visited and described by perhaps a score of travellers, and it certainly deserved this notice far more than many similar objects in Southern India.

All the Persian crosses that I know of closely resemble one another, yet it is impossible to assign them all to the same period. The oldest of the two at Koṭṭayam ‖ and that at Madras appear to be of much the same time, if one may judge from the formation of the letters. The symbolical ornaments of the cross are nearly the same, and the Pahlavî inscription is the same in both cases. I was not able to examine the tablets at Koṭṭayam as closely as I could have wished, for the native priest there was anxious to hurry me away as soon as possible, and the older tablet is so covered with whitewash as to render the letters in many parts indistinct; but of the identity of the inscription on this tablet and that at the Mount I have no doubt.

The inscription on the older tablet at Koṭṭayam and on the one at the Mount is longer than that on the altar tablet at the former place, the first part being omitted in the last. The inscription on the two former is divided into two parts by a small cross on the right of the arch. The first part is then to be read downwards, and the second over the arch to the left.

The characters and language are nearly those of the books, but are not, by any means, of the earliest period. If one may judge by the legends on coins the dates of which are known,¶ the earliest of these inscriptions may belong to the seventh or eighth century. The earliest appear to be the ones at the Mount and in the south wall of the Koṭṭayam old church,* the latest† that behind a side altar in the same

latter are the masters of the public steelyard." (About 1347 A.D.) Singularly enough, this is the very privilege assigned to Tarissâ-paḷḷi at Cranganore by B, which transfers to that church the *vârakkôl* or steelyard held by Marvân Sapîr Iśo. (See *Madras Journal*, XIII. p. 131.) for the name. The place was the chief port of Toṇḍai-nâḍu, the ancient kingdom of Conjeveram. The Arabs also mention another Fatan; the Paṭṭaṇam *par excellence* on the Coromandel coast was Kâvêripaṭ-ṭaṇam, at the mouth of the Kâvêri, which gives a name to the Tamil poet Paṭṭaṇattu-Piḷḷai, and was the great port of the Sôḷa (Chola) kingdom; this must be the place intended.

* I take this from the *Life of St. Francis Xavier* by the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J., vol. II. pp. 49-50. Maffei gives long account of the excavations made by the Portuguese.

† See plates, *fig*. 1.

‡ It is by no means clear what is the proper name of the town between the Mount and the sea now called ridiculously Mayilâppûr, but which the Portuguese called San Tomê. The European mediæval travellers (Conti and Varthema) who mention it call it Malepur or Meliapore. This indicates the Tamil Malai-ppuram (= mount-town). The Muhammadan geographers (Abd-er-Razzak and Abu'l-fida) speak of a Malifatan which is evidently the same place; paṭṭana and pura being interchangeable and having the same meaning—'town.' The Mount is a very conspicuous object on the flat Coromandel coast, and this accounts for the name. The place was the chief port of Toṇḍai-nâḍu, the ancient kingdom of Conjeveram. The Arabs also mention another Fatan; the Paṭṭaṇam *par excellence* on the Coromandel coast was Kâvêripaṭ-ṭaṇam, at the mouth of the Kâvêri, which gives a name to the Tamil poet Paṭṭaṇattu-Piḷḷai, and was the great port of the Sôḷa (Chola) kingdom; this must be the place intended.

§ I am indebted to Col. Yule for this information.

‖ See *fig*. 4. This is in the south wall of what may be called the nave of the older Syrian church at Koṭṭayam, dedicated (I was told) to St. Gabriel. The other tablet is behind one of the minor altars in the same church.

¶ I refer to Dr. Mordtmann's articles in the *German As. Society's Journal*, and to those by Mr. E. Thomas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The forms of the letters agree very nearly with those of the third epoch of the Sassanian character as determined by M. Lenormant.

* Second plate, *fig*. 4.

† This is written in a sort of running hand (conf. the word *mśîhâ* in the plates, *fig*. 4).

church, and on which is also a sentence in Syriac in the ordinary Estrangelo character,* to judge by facsimiles of MSS. of a period not older than the 10th century. At all events these crosses are long subsequent to the time of the Apostle Thomas.

In this paper as formerly printed I attempted to read and explain this inscription as follows :—

1. *Yin rjyá mn vn drd-i dnmn:*

2. *Mún amn msîhá af alhá-i mdm af rśd-i* (or *rkhí*) *aj asar bokht:*

In English : "(1) In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering of this (one) : (2) (He) who (is) the true Christ, and God above, and guide ever pure."

In a review of my pamphlet † Dr. Martin Haug suggested a different reading for some words (*rîkhi* for *rśd-i; raziyá* for *rjya ; vanbart* [*? vandard*] for *vn drd*, as he writes me), and the following translation :—" Who believes in the Messiah and God above and in the Holy Ghost is redeemed through the grace of him who bore the cross." Dr. Haug takes *amn* to be a verb without the Persian termination that one usually finds. He considers that the order of the persons of the Trinity distinctly proves the inscription to be Nestorian in doctrine and origin.

Dr. E. W. West, in a review of the same pamphlet in the *Academy* ‡, proposes greater changes in the reading, and a totally different translation, but he expresses an opinion that no two Pahlavi scholars will probably ever agree about the proper translation. His reading and version are as follows :—The longer line, "with tolerable certainty,"—*Mún ámen meshîkhá-i avakhshá-i madam-afrás aj khárbukht.* Of the shorter line, which he regards as "much more uncertain," he gives, as "perhaps the most likely reading,"—*súldá-î min van va dard-î denman.* Taking the lines in this order he translates them thus :— "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship ? The crucifixion from the tree, and the anguish of this." Or, secondly, by taking the lines in the reverse order,— "The crucifixion, &c. which freed, &c.," or, "which the true Messiah, &c. freed from hardship."

The difficulty and uncertainty attending the deciphering of all Pahlavî inscriptions are still so great (notwithstanding the labours of Müller, Haug, Justi, Thomas, and others in Europe, and of the learned Pârsî priests in Bombay) that at present I shall not attempt to discuss this very interesting relic any further, especially as Dr. Haug promises a detailed criticism. In the example of this inscription, which contains only the longer sentence, and a shorter one in Syriac at the foot, I think that my reading of *amn* as an adjective is still to be preferred, for otherwise it would be difficult to make out a satisfactory sense. If my reading be allowed, the whole would run : (Syriac) "Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ ;" (Pahlavî) "Who is the true Messiah and God above and Holy Ghost." This statement appears to be intended to contradict the Manichæan doctrine that the crucified Messiah was the son of a poor widow, and not Jesus. If these Pahlavî inscriptions were Manichæan, they would be in a different character. It seems to me not unlikely, however, that relics of the Manichæans may yet remain to be discovered on the west coast of the Peninsula, where they once were very numerous.

The text of the grant B throws a little light on Pahlavî pronunciation. The following names occur in it: Marvân Sapir Iśo and Iśodâtavîrai. Now the pronunciation of the South Indian alphabets has certainly not changed since the probable date (8th century) of this inscription,§ so it is evident that the modern Pahlavî pronunciation has varied in some letters. Sapir is now pronounced Shapîr; but it is, however, evident by the above that the Pahlavî *ś* or *sh* was the same as the Sanskrit *s*, and the Pahlavî *s* the same as the Sanskrit *ś* about the 8th century ; as these words are written with Grantha letters, there can be no doubt as to the pronunciation.

The original grant of the privileges of a factory to the Persians is to Iravi Korttan ; what the Persian original of this name is, I cannot guess.

In order to bring together here all that I can find relating to the Persians in Southern India, I give (figs. 2 and 3) the Sassanian and

* It is the first half of Gal. vi. 14 ("Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ") ; an obvious addition by people who wanted to make all orthodox according to Nestorian views.

† *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (No. 29), Jan. 29, 1874.

‡ *Academy* for 1874, p. 97.

§ As I shall prove elsewhere (in a *Manual of S. Indian Palæography*).

Chaldæo-Pahlavî attestations to the grant B already referred to, and which is now in the possession of one of the rival Syrian Metropolitans at Koṭṭayam. These few lines have been already discussed by Dr. E. W. West, and subsequently by Dr. Haug, whose remarks are as follows :—

"Of more interest is a Pahlavî inscription found on a copper plate in the south of India. It forms part of a grant which records the rights and privileges of the early Christians on the Malabar Coast. The grant is engraved on six copper plates, five of which contain, in old Tamil characters,* the grant made by an ancient king to the Christian congregation of his country;† the sixth contains the names of the witnesses, in three different characters and languages, none of them Indian,‡ viz. eleven names in the Kufic character and Arabic language, ten in the Sassanian Pahlavî character and language, and four in the Hebrew (Chaldæo-Pahlavî ?) character and the Persian language. . . . . Its date cannot be ascertained until the inscription shall have been deciphered, but we shall not be far wrong if we assume it to belong to the 9th century.§

"Each attestation in the Sassanian Pahlavî is introduced by the words *mînûkû lâ*, then follows the name in full, succeeded each time by the phrase *patash gôkâs hûmanam*, 'I am witness to it;' which language is identical with that of the books. As regards *mînûkû*, it can only be taken as a title which is attributed to every witness, and which contains the *mînu*, 'spirit,' of the early Sassanian inscriptions. *Lâ*, which follows, is 'I;' and the whole means 'the spirit of me, my spirit,' *i.e.* I myself; *mînû* always signifying the invisible counterpart of anything visible on this earth . . . . .‖ The names are difficult to read, and do not look like common Pârsî names, nor are they Christian; in line 13 (? 14) *anhomâ* 'Ormazd' is clearly legible, which indicates a true Pârsî name. E. W. West has made an attempt at reading almost all the names, but, as they are neither legibly written, nor familiar to us, I do not think it safe to venture on an explanation of them. The shape of the letters is nearly the same as in the books, and the compound characters are employed throughout.

"Regarding the signatures in the Hebrew character, which have been all read by E. W. West, in his paper on the Sassanian inscriptions, the names Hasan 'Âli, Mîkiâîl (Michael), and Abraham are pretty clear. Each signature is introduced by the phrase hak-gûn-kun, which is translated by E. W. West as 'the truth-speaking-doer.' To this interpretation, which appears somewhat artificial, I cannot give my full assent; I quite agree with taking kun as identical with the Persian *kun*, 'making, doing,' *in fine compositorum;* but gûn cannot be taken in the sense of 'speaking,' as this would be gû alone, but not gûn; besides I doubt if the Arabic word *haqq*, 'truth,' were used at so early a time in Persian. I am, however, unable to offer any satisfactory explanation; I take hak as identical with the Chaldee hakh, 'this,' and gûn as the Persian gûn, 'manner, mode, way;' and the whole would thus mean 'doing in this manner;' *i.e.* hereby (by the signature which follows). Each signature is followed by the words *badîsh guvaham*, 'I am witness to it;' *badîsh* is equivalent to *patash* in the Sassanian signatures, and *guvaham* to *gôkâs hûmanam; guvah* being Persian *guvâh*, 'testimony,' 'a witness,' and the suffix *am* is 'I am.' These readings show that the writers did not use the Hebrew language; for the language here is clearly Persian, but in a form which closely approaches to the so-called Chaldæo-Pahlavî, which appears from this document to have been still in use in the 9th century among certain classes of the inhabitants of

* *i.e.* Vaṭṭeḻuttu.—A. B.

† Rather, by A (*d.* 774) privileges are granted to one Iravi Korttan by the local prince (Vîra Râghava); by B some of these privileges are made an endowment of the church, about half a century after the date of A. These settlements of foreigners probably enabled the local rulers in Malabar to throw off allegiance to the Chêra kingdom, which fell in the 9th century.—A. B.

‡ Anquetil's version (from a Sanskrit copy) shows that one plate is now missing, and that it contained the names of Indian witnesses. (*Madras Journal*, XIV. p. 199.) I saw these plates last April, and found that one (2) had been recently damaged.—A. B.

§ Dr. Haug's date is confirmed by the *Tohfut-u'l Mujahideen* (p. 56), which puts (on tradition, however) the great settlement of Arabs at Cranganore at about 822 A.D. He is, however, mistaken in supposing that the inscription has not been deciphered; the explanation of it by Dr. Gundert (*Madras Journal*, vol. XIII.) is one of the most remarkable results of Dravidian studies.—A. B.

‖ I would venture to suggest that these letters may be also read *Min nakûb*, which (conf. the Persian-Arabic *naqâb*) would mean 'by sign' or 'mark,' which would be much as the same as Dr. Haug's translation of the Chaldæan part of the attestations which follow.—A. B.

Persia. For all those who signed the grant as witnesses seem to have come from Persia and Arabia, and were probably emigrants."*

That so well-known an object as the Mount cross should have not been long ago examined, and its origin determined, is a matter perhaps for surprise out of India; in this country there is so great indifference to Indian antiquities, and those few who do devote a little of their leisure to such subjects are so much inclined to rely on Munshîs only, that there can be little doubt but that real research will yet yield much, and even in places already well known.

THE TEMPLE OF AMARNÂTH.

AMBARNÂTH or Amarnâth is a small town or village of about 300 inhabitants, which gives name to the parganah in which the town of Kalyâṇ in the Koṅkan is situated. The old Hindu temple, which the accompanying drawings illustrate, is in a pretty valley, less than a mile east of this village and four and a half miles south-east of Kalyâṇ. It stands on the edge of the little river Waldhân or Wadhwân, which, rising near the base of the Malangaḍ or Bâwâ Malang mountain, flows northwards into the Ulâs above Kalyâṇ, and, with its tributaries, waters nearly the whole of the parganah. That strange peaked hill rises very near, and its every furrow is distinct, whilst its summit seems from this point of view as thin as a wedge. Altogether the prospect is very beautiful.

So far as we know, the temple is without a history, either written or traditional, and till comparatively recently it seems to have escaped the notice of Europeans. At a meeting of the Bombay Asiatic Society in Sept. 1850, Dr. J. Wilson mentioned it as having been first discovered by Vishṇu Śâstri, who had reported its existence to Mr. J. S. Law, C.S., who in turn had called his attention to it. Dr. Wilson then described it† as "decidedly of a Śaiva character; and, though originally built of the most substantial material, it has been considerably injured by the hand of violence, and has long ago lost its sacredness,—one of the many illustrations of the fact noticed in the 'Memoir'‡—that the form of religion which the oldest Śaiva temples embodied has vanished from the Marâṭhâ Country—probably on withdrawment from it, by a change of sovereignty, of the patronage of the Chola Râjas, by whose influence it seems almost certain the ancient Brahmanical excavations and Jaina structural temples were constructed. In this temple§ there is a Trimurti, or three-headed Śiva,—proved without doubt to be of this god, not merely from the general representations of the Śaivas, which attribute creation, preservation, and destruction|| to their favourite deity, but from the embracement in its unity of Pârvati, the spouse of Śiva. The figure, strange to say, is not only monstrous, but, from its multiplex and factitious heads and skeleton legs, is of as deformed a character as can be conceived."

In another paper, read January 1853, Dr. Wilson adds,¶ that before visiting it he was inclined, from the drawings of it which he had seen, "to reckon it of the same era as the Elephanta Caves. The Trimurti, which is found at it, however, occupies a very subordinate position. It is in one of the external niches."

In March 1852 Dr. Wilson with some of his friends paid a visit to it: and since the railway was opened it has become known to many. It is an object of considerable interest as a specimen of genuine Hindu architecture.

In the latter part of 1867, the attention of the Government of India was directed to the conservation and delineation of ancient architectural structures, and a scheme was drawn out,* dividing India into four great provinces, and allocating Rs. 13,000 per annum as the

* Essay on Pahlavi' (in '*An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, 1870), pp. 80-82.

† *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 349.

‡ 'Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries, and other ancient Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina Remains of Western India,' by J. Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., in *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. p. 83.

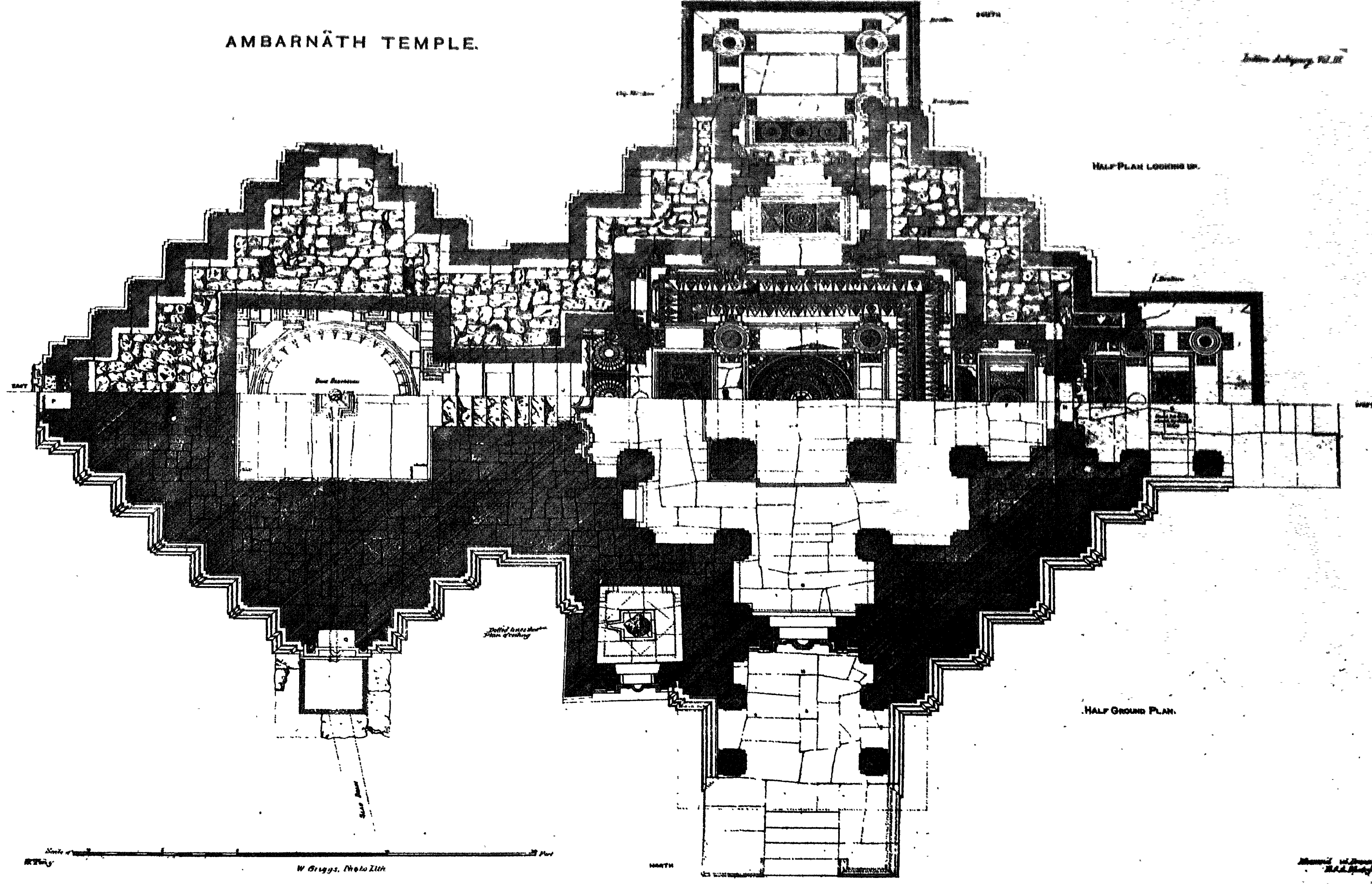
§ Rather in a niche (marked Q on the Plan No. I.) outside, on the north side of the shrine.

|| Thus, in the *Linga Purâna*, I. 18,—"I (Viśveśa or Mahâdeva), the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a threefold manner under the names of Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying." And in the *Suta Sanhita* of the *Skanda Purâṇa* (*Yadnyavaibhava*, c. vi.): "As, therefore, those three forms are his efficient agents, let us always with delight devoutly meditate on the celestial figures of Rudra, Vishṇu, and Brahmâ, who, when they proceeded from his essence, were not subjected to the accidents of this life; yet are not these three gods equal to Śiva," &c.; and conf. my *Elephanta*, §§ 19-25 and notes 31, 32.

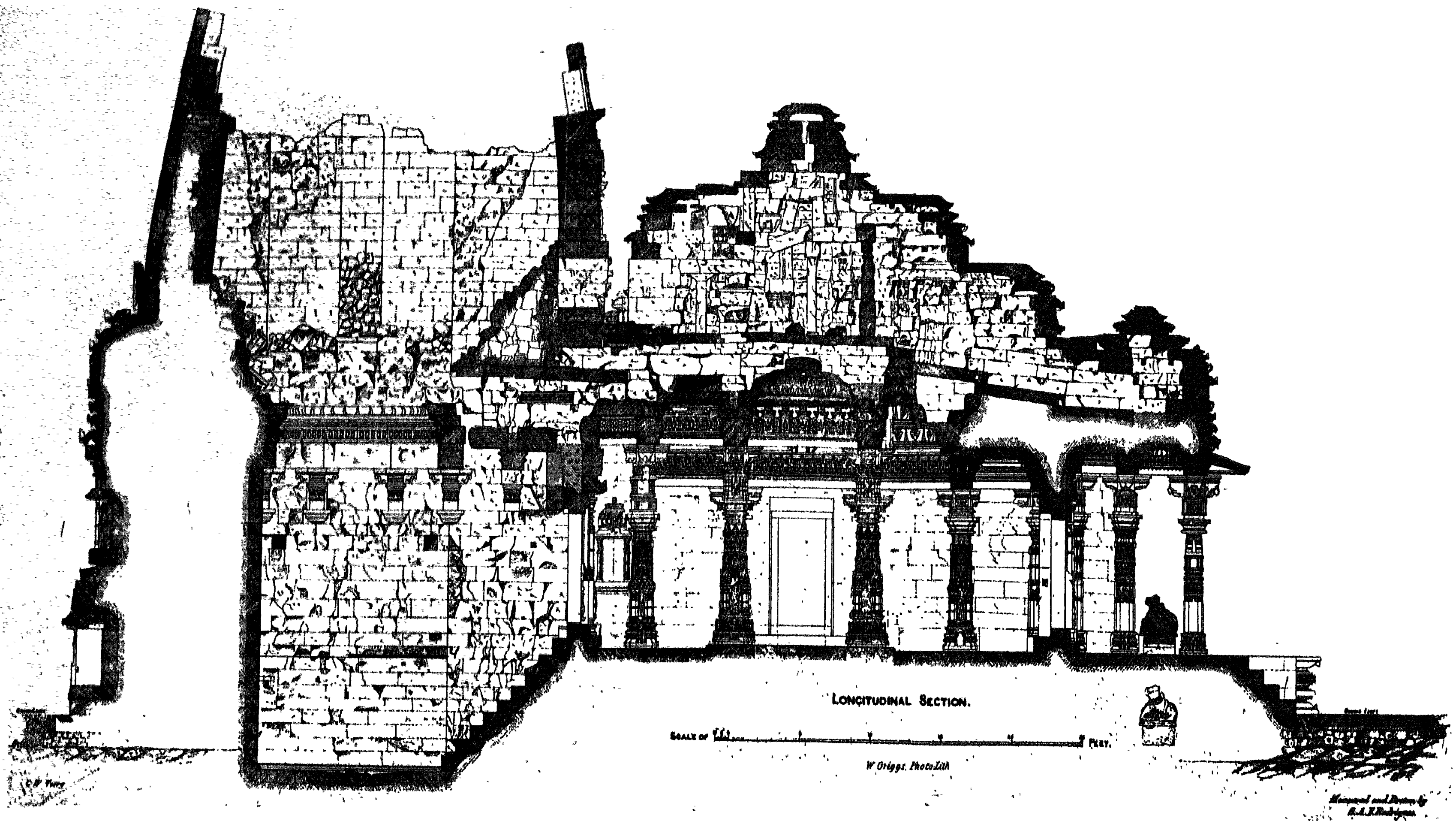
¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 369, note †.

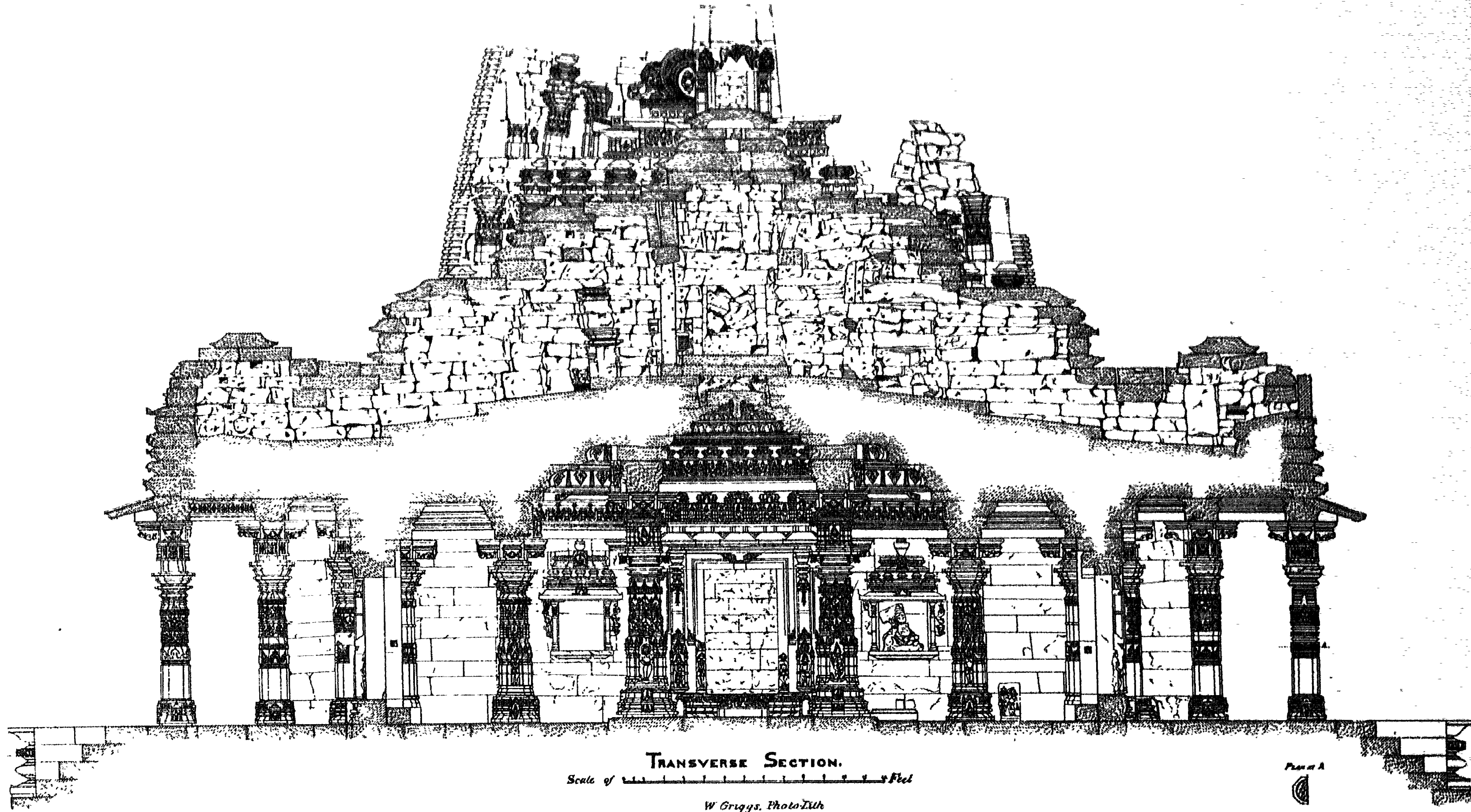
* Resolution of the Government of India, Home Dept., No. 14-931 of 24th Feb. 1868.

AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE.



AMBARNĀTH TEMPLE.




AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.
TRANSVERSE SECTION.
Scale of Feet
W. Griggs. Photo-Lith.
Plan at A
A.
G.W. Terry.
Measured and Drawn by
T. Rodrigues.

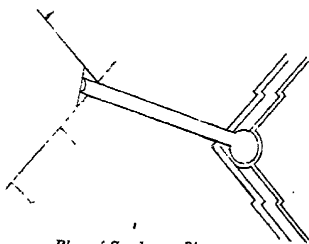
No. IV

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

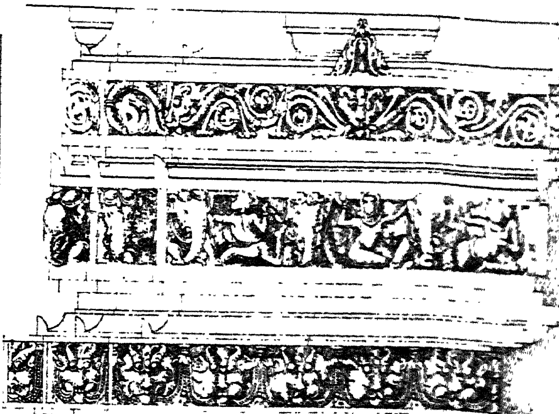
Indian Antiquary Vol. III

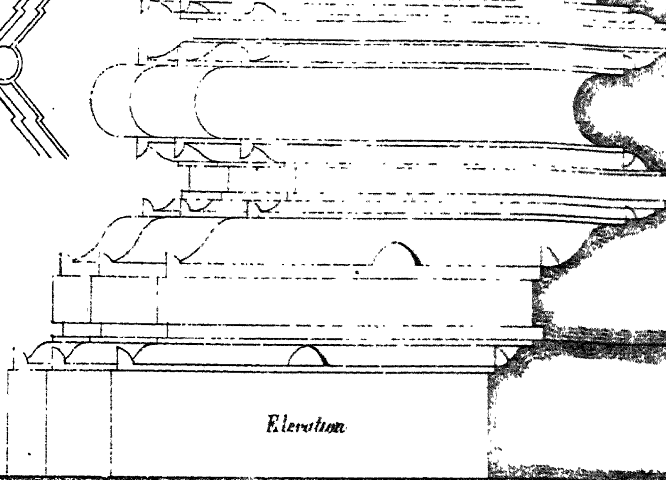
Detail of North West corner of Mandap M on Plan.

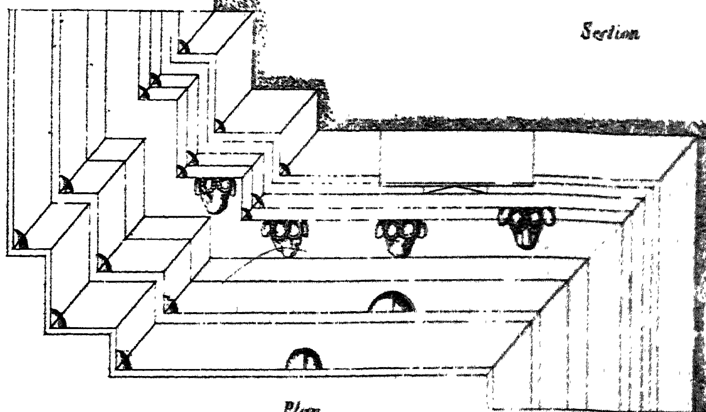




Plan of Spout on Plan







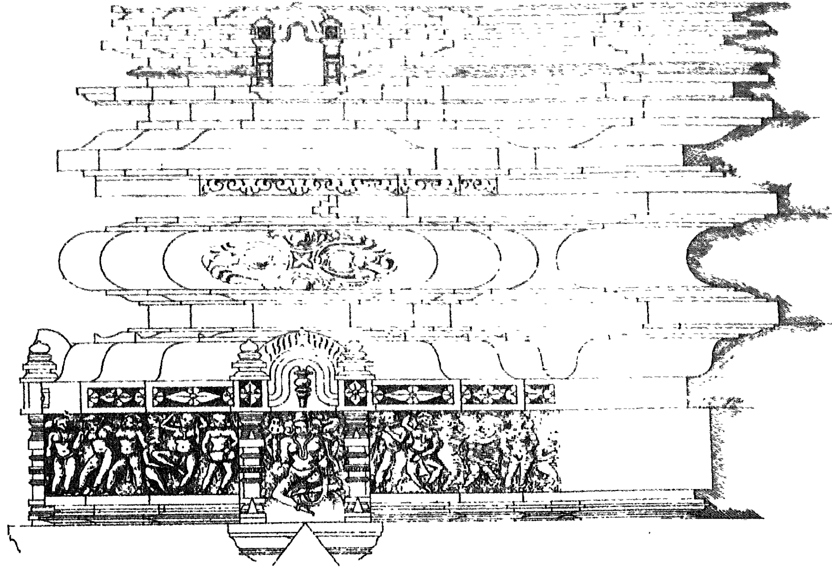
Scale of feet

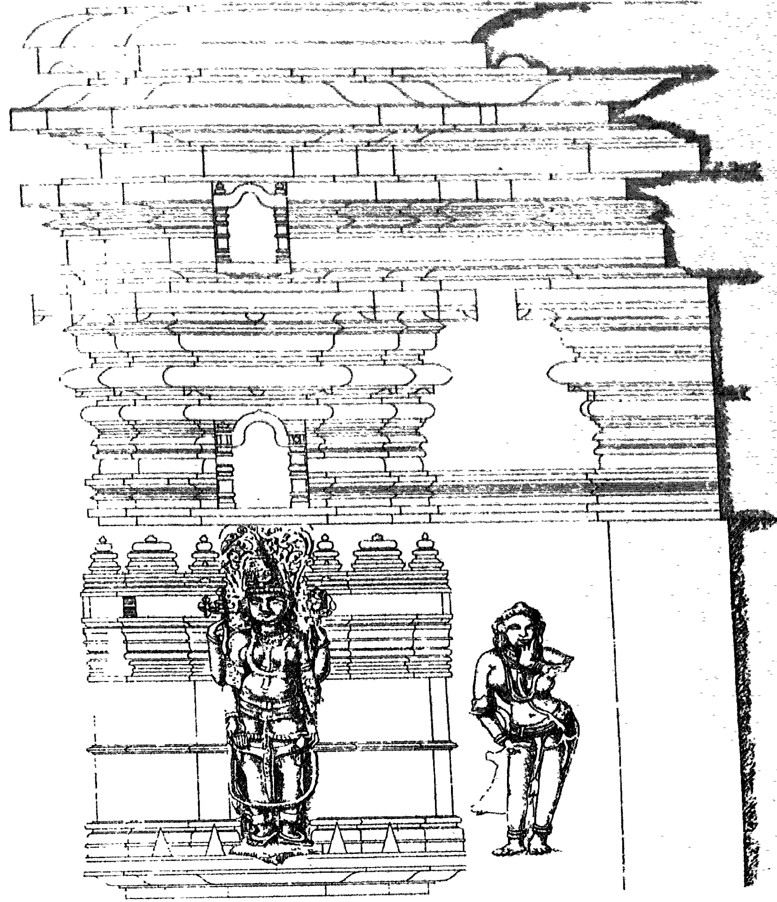
W Griggs, Photo Lith

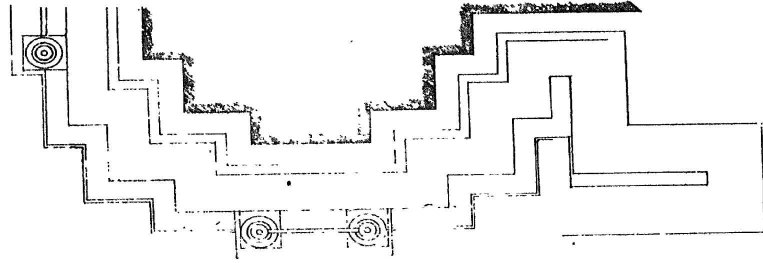
Measured and Drawn by
R. V. A. Dhairyawan

AMBARNATH TEMPLE.

Detail of North-West corner of Mandap M on Plan.







Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 feet.

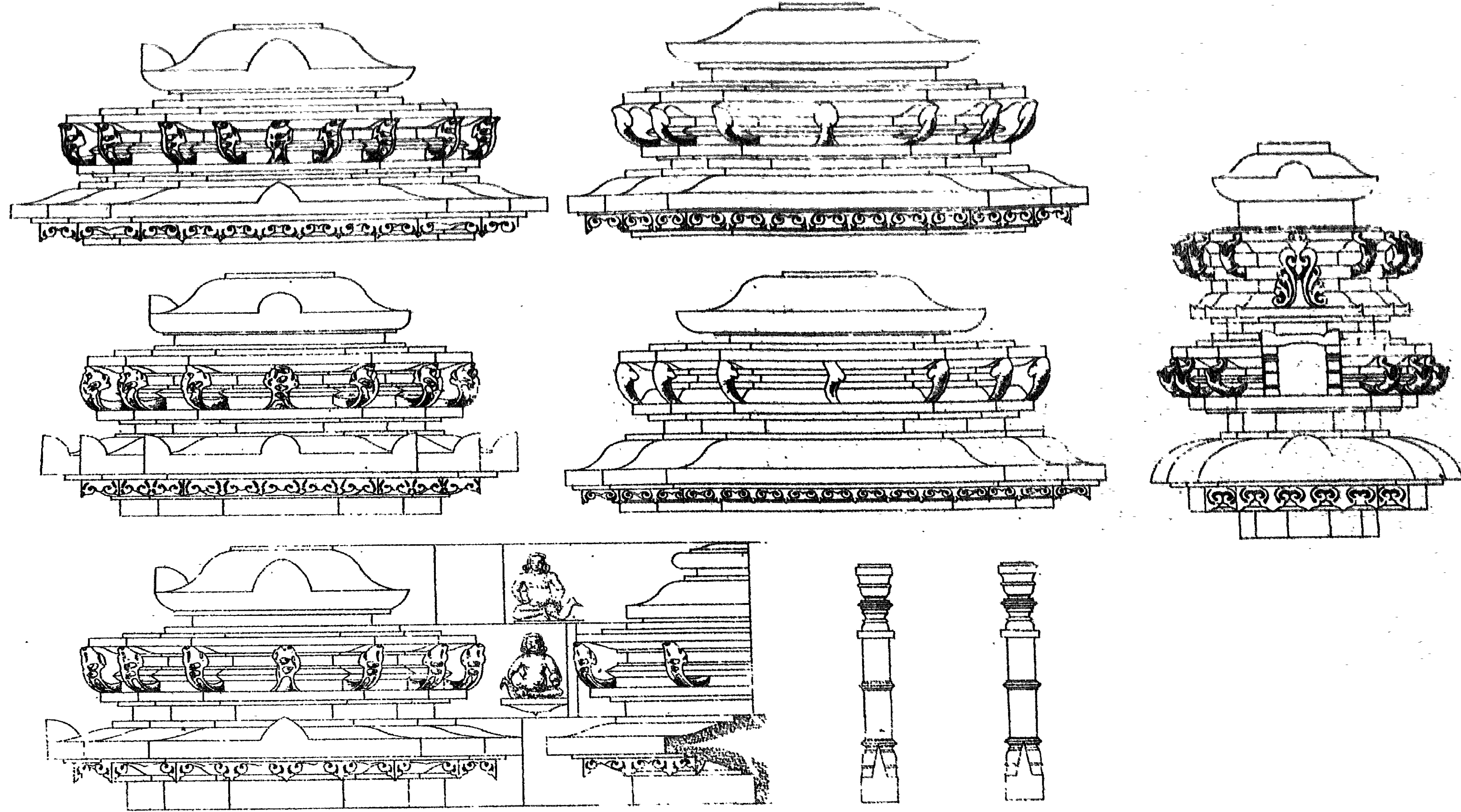
W. Griggs Photo-lith.

J.W. Terry

Measured and Drawn by R. V. A. Dhairyawan.

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

Detail of North-West Corner of Mandap M on Plan

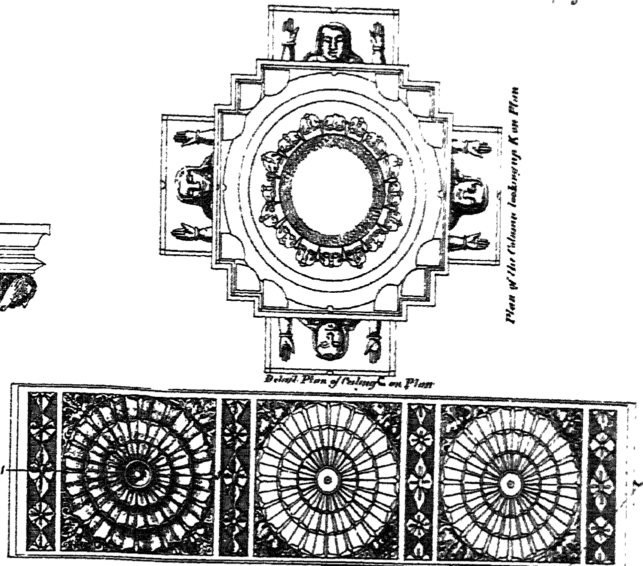


G. W. Terry

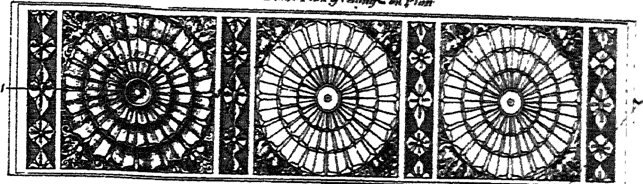
W. Griggs Photo-Lith

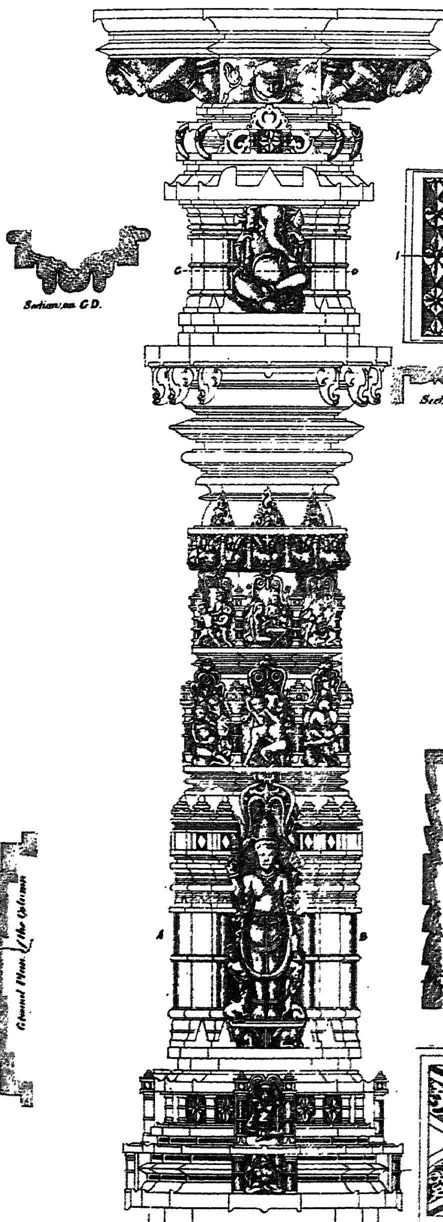
Measured and Drawn by
T. Rodrigues & A. Rodrigues

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.



Detail Plan of Ceiling C on Plan





Elevation of Column K on Plan

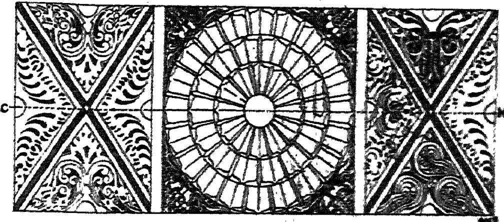


Section on C D.

Section on No 4 through I J.

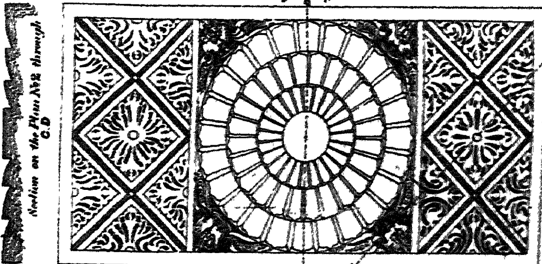
Section through K L

Detail Plan of Ceiling B on Plan

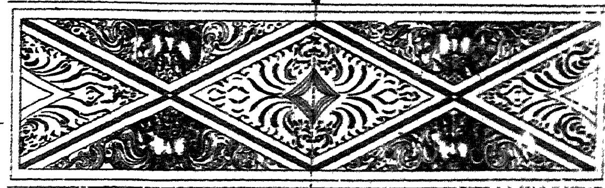


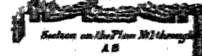
Section on No 3 through G H.

Detail Plan of Ceiling C on Plan



Detail Plan of Ceiling A on Plan





Section on the Plan No 1 through A B



Section through A B

Scale of feet

W Griggs, Photo-lith.

expense of the survey in each. The scheme, however, was but ill conceived, and could not have been expected to produce results of much value. It was suggested that it might be best to proceed in the first instance experimentally, and that the Local Governments might allow the experiment to be carried out at first under the charge of the Principals of the Schools of Art and Industry of the Presidencies. In the Bombay Presidency the work was accordingly entrusted to the Acting Superintendent of the School of Art, who started for Ambarnâth on the 14th Nov. 1868 with a head moulder and draughtsman and eight students as assistants. There they produced 24 drawings, 35 photographs, and 76 moulds, at a cost of Rs. 10,714-3-1, an expenditure for which Government was not prepared, and considered 'that the costliness of the experiment might have been avoided by more careful management.' The drawings, however, were not quite finished, and a further grant was requested for their completion. They were prepared with great care; indeed, the labour bestowed upon them was quite beyond what was at all necessary: thus, for example, the flagstones of the floor have been all measured and carefully laid down to scale in the plan (No. I). To rescue the results of this expedition from the oblivion that too frequently overtakes the work of such surveys, the accompanying drawings,—all of the series, except two, that are as yet accessible—are published.

The name Amarnâth means "immortal lord," and may have been first applied to the temple as a shrine of Śiva, whence the name was transferred to the neighbouring town. As Dr. Wilson conjectures, it was perhaps built in the neighbourhood of some suburban residence belonging to a viceroy ruling at Kalyâṇ,—but whether we owe it to the Devagiri Râjas or the Rajput princes of Anhalwâḍa Paṭan he cannot decide.*

The temple itself faces the west, but the *maṇḍap* or *antarâla*—the hall in front of the shrine—has also doors to the north and south. Each of the three doors has a porch, approached by four or five steps, and supported by four nearly square pillars—two of them attached to the wall. The style of these columns is well illustrated by the drawing of one of the two antæ (No. XI.) in the west porch, and of the pillar (XIII. marked O on the plan No. I.) on the south side of the same: both of them are elegant in their proportions and general conception of details.

The roofs of the porticos, between the lintels, are covered by carved slabs, the details of which are given, for the west portico in the drawings No. IX, and for parts of the north and south ones in No. VII. In the west or principal entrance there is a defaced Nandi, one of the strongest indications left that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. The door leading from this portico into the temple is richly carved, more in the style of a Vaishṇava or Jaina temple than is usual in Śaiva ones. It is drawn in full detail (No. X). The maṇḍap or body of the temple is 22 feet 8 inches square, with an additional area or lobby inside each door measuring 10 feet 8 inches in width by about 5½ feet deep. The roof of this hall is supported by four very elaborately carved columns, nearly square at the base, changing into octagons at a little above one-third their height. The capitals are circular under square abaci. These again are surmounted by square dwarf columns terminating in the usual bracket capitals of the older Hindu works. So rich and varied is the sculpture on these pillars that no description could give anything like a correct idea of it. In lesser details no two of them are exactly alike, but, while in general they do not attract attention as differing, a second glance at once indicates that, like those in the cave-temples of Ajaṇṭâ, they have been wrought in pairs, the pair next the shrine being, if possible, the richer. Besides the sections Nos. II and III, in which they are represented on a small scale, the north-west column (K on the plan No. I) is given in detail on No. VII. In addition to these there are on each wall two semi-detached pillars at the entrances to the lobbies, with corresponding half-pilasters in the corners. These attached pillars are nearly equally richly carved with the four central ones. For plan and elevation of the one on the west side of the north lobby see XII; others with the half-pilasters are shown in the sections I and II.

The lobbies are roofed, each with a carved slab, the patterns being all slightly varied, that on the west side is given on IX, and those on the north and south sides on VII. The

* *Jour, Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. pp. 369, 374, 375.

roof of the maṇḍap itself is beautifully carved and well deserving of study. The frieze round the wall head is sculptured with sitting figures in compartments (shown in XI); and over this a few mouldings from which rises the deep cornice, with two large flowered cavettos, which reaches across to the lintels over the central columns. The section of this and of the cornice with the plan as seen from below are given in VIII. (See also the plan and sections I, II, and III.)

The area within the four columns is covered by a small dome, with a frieze carved with dancing figures in the compartments, and above this, the succeeding tiers of the dome are sculptured with floral patterns (*see* I, II, and III). The roof of the space between the central area and the entrance to the shrine differs from that on the other three sides, being a flat carved slab. In the east wall of the maṇḍap, on each side, is a *gokhla* or niche for images (see III), and in that on the south side is a defaced Gaṇeśa, who also figures on the finial above it (see XV). In the vestibule to the shrine are also small recesses, one on each hand (see II).

We come now to the doorway leading into the *vimanâ*, the pediment of which is ornamented above with elephants and lions, and in the central band with figures of Śiva, yogis, &c., while just over the cornice are other figures in varied postures, but which have suffered at the hand of violence; the jambs have a neat pilaster and three figures below, the central one a male, with big *mukuta* or cap, four-armed, and holding up a skull; the base has a figure, probably intended for Pârvatî; and the front of the step is carved with swans, &c. (see XIV).

Through the door at the east end of the hall, we descend by some nine steps into the *gabhârâ* or shrine, which is also square, measuring 13 feet 6 inches each way. It appears to have been entirely denuded of ornament; if ever it was sculptured, every indication of it has been stripped off, and very few fragments of the original surface of the walls are left. The spire, too, has been ruined, so that the light comes in from above, where the top or roof is wholly open. In the south-east corner at a considerable height—fully five feet—above the floor there is a pipe channel through the wall, and at the outer end a sort of basin to receive the water (at S on the plan I). If this was ever used for the water from the image, the base of it must have been nearly six feet above the level of the present floor. But there is another channel from the middle of the floor leading out through the north side into a small cistern there, which is connected by a slab drain with the rivulet on the north-east. The present *liṅga* is only a rough stone projecting some three or four inches from a depression in the middle of the floor, evidently a modern and very rude contrivance.

How the shrine came to be in its present state is a puzzle requiring some ingenuity to solve. The interior of it shows well how carefully the long and very compact stones of dark-coloured basalt were jointed and bedded probably throughout their whole depth. Local tradition says the builder was famous for his skill in this way, and in none of his works did he require or use any mortar. But, as is well known, mortar was not in use among the Hindus until the Muhammadan conquest. Opposite the south entrance are the remains of a wall with images, behind which there has been a tank surrounded by a wall elaborately carved; but it is now almost filled up with *débris*—much of it from the ruins of its own enclosing wall, and fragments of sculpture stick up through the mud.

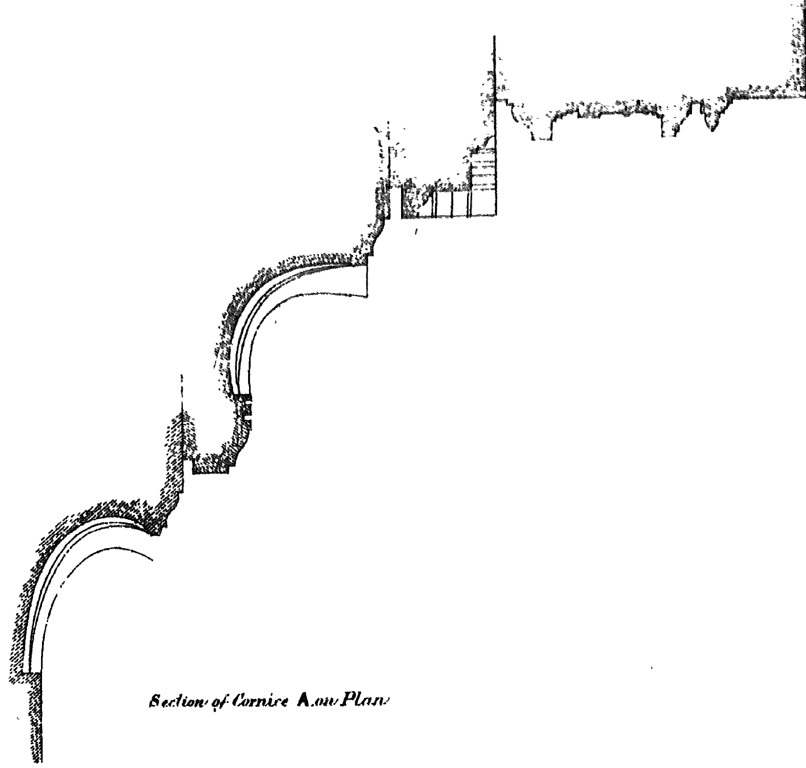
The wall is part of the boundary of an oblong enclosure round the temple, entered by three gates on the west side, with descents of a few steps inside each.

Like all Hindu temples of the northern style, the outside of the building is, as it were, a series of projecting corners, generally about 2½ feet on each face, with an ultimate front of fully double this width on each side of the *vimanâ* or shrine. In the base, on each of the three faces, is a recess or niche (P and Q on I),—the south and east ones are now empty,—but in the north one is the three-headed figure with a female on his knee,—already mentioned. This has been called a *trimurti*, and perhaps not altogether incorrectly, for the figure has three heads or rather faces:—there is an old granite *trimurti* in the India House Museum, in which Brahma has a long beard, and the other two faces are otherwise distinguished;* and most visitors to Elephanta have remarked the differ-

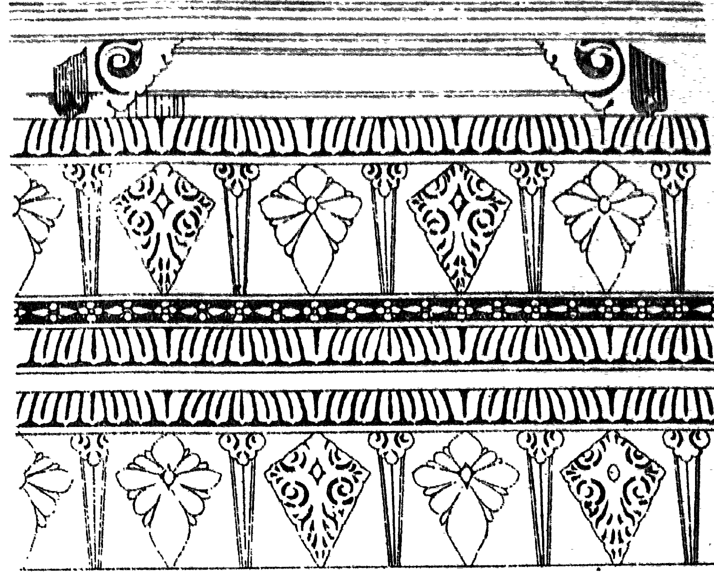
* Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 396.

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

DETAILS



Section of Cornice A. on Plan



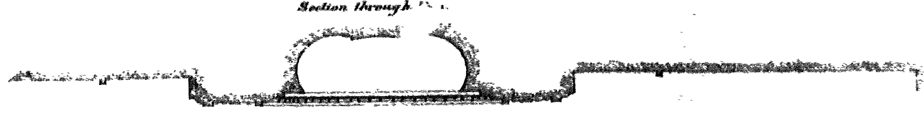
Plan of the Cornice A. on Plan

Scale of feet

N° IX

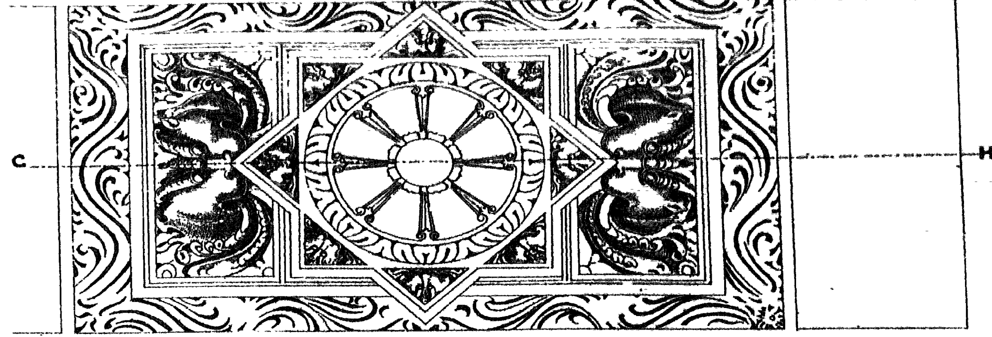
AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

DETAILS.

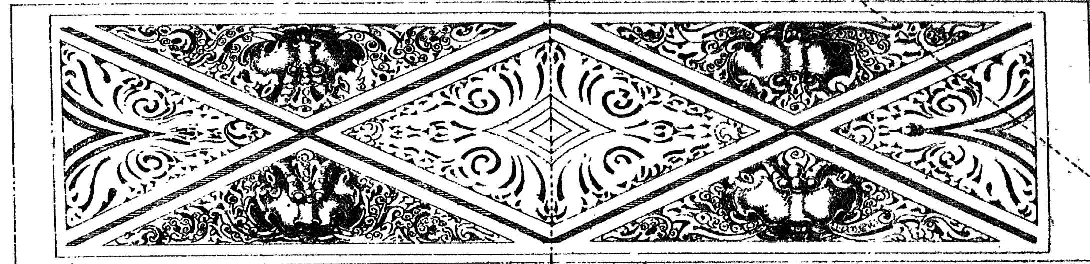


Detail Plan of Ceiling at West End F on Plan

Section through E.F.



Detail Plan of Ceiling at West End D on Plan



Detail Plan of Ceiling at West End E on Plan

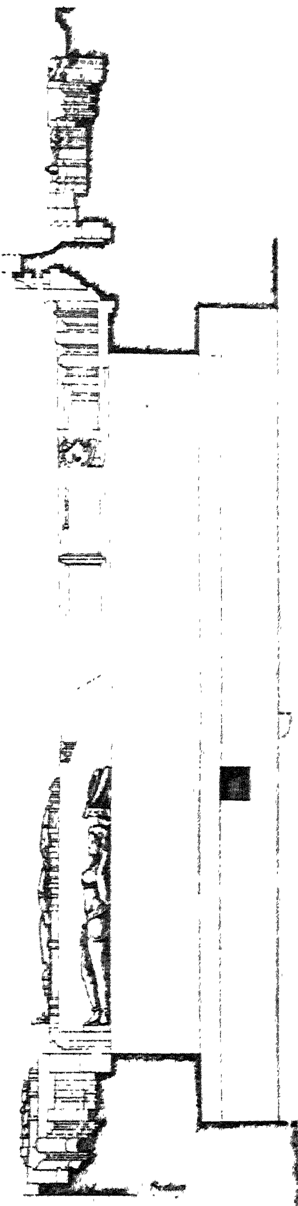


G.W. Terry. W Griggs. Photo-Lith. Measured and Drawn by P. P. Fernandes.

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

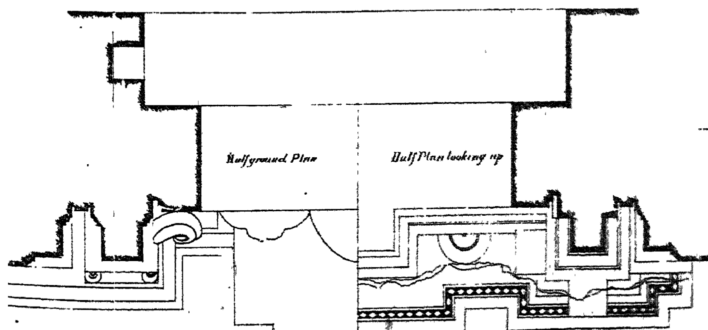
A

Elevation



Scale of 12 9 6 3 0 1 2 3 4 feet

Detail of the West Entrance Gate to Mandap Nave Plan



Jamb of the South side door A on Elevation

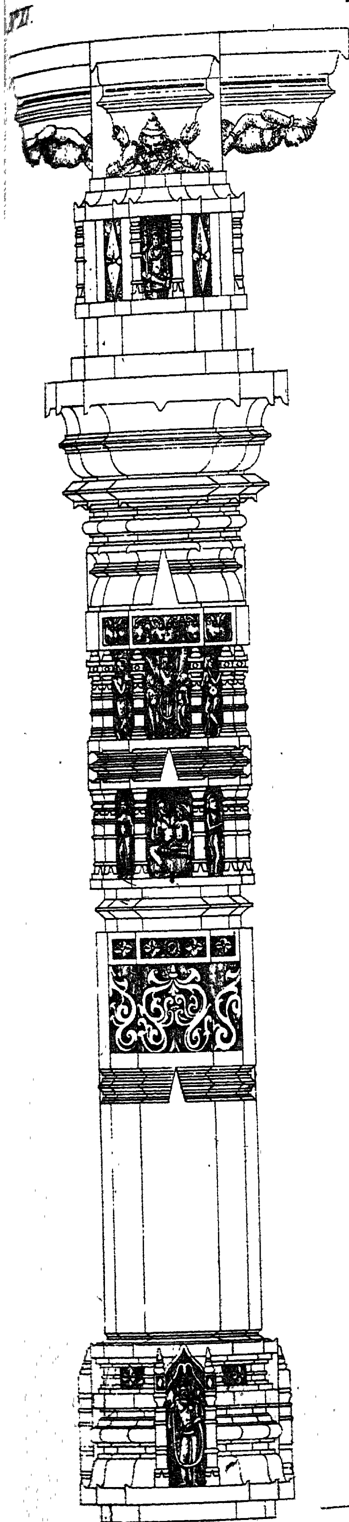
Measured and drawn by
P. F. Braganza

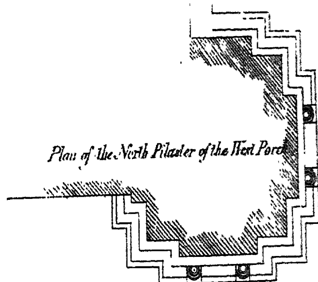
G. W. Terry.

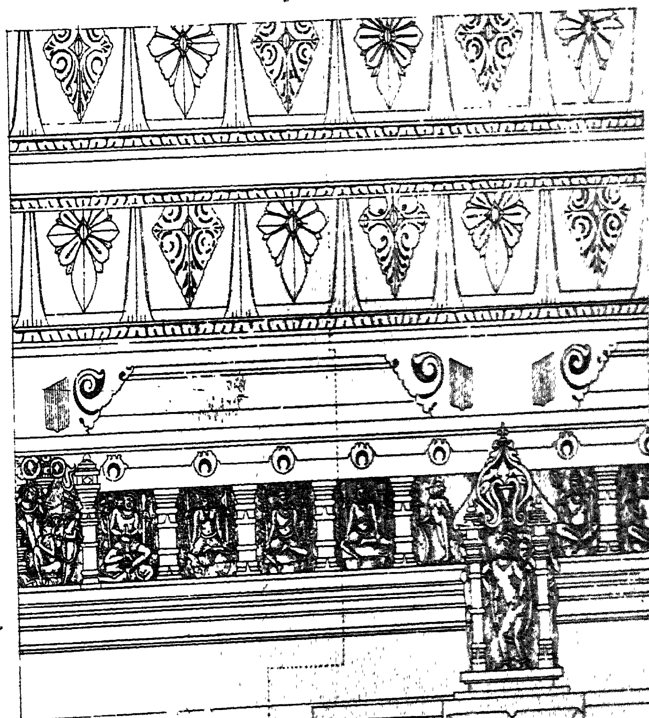
W Griggs Photo-Lith

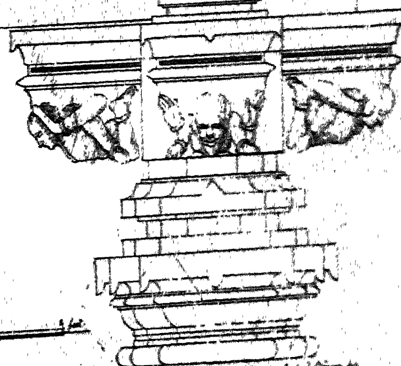
AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

VII.









Scale of … feet

Elevation of the North Pilaster West Porch I on Plan

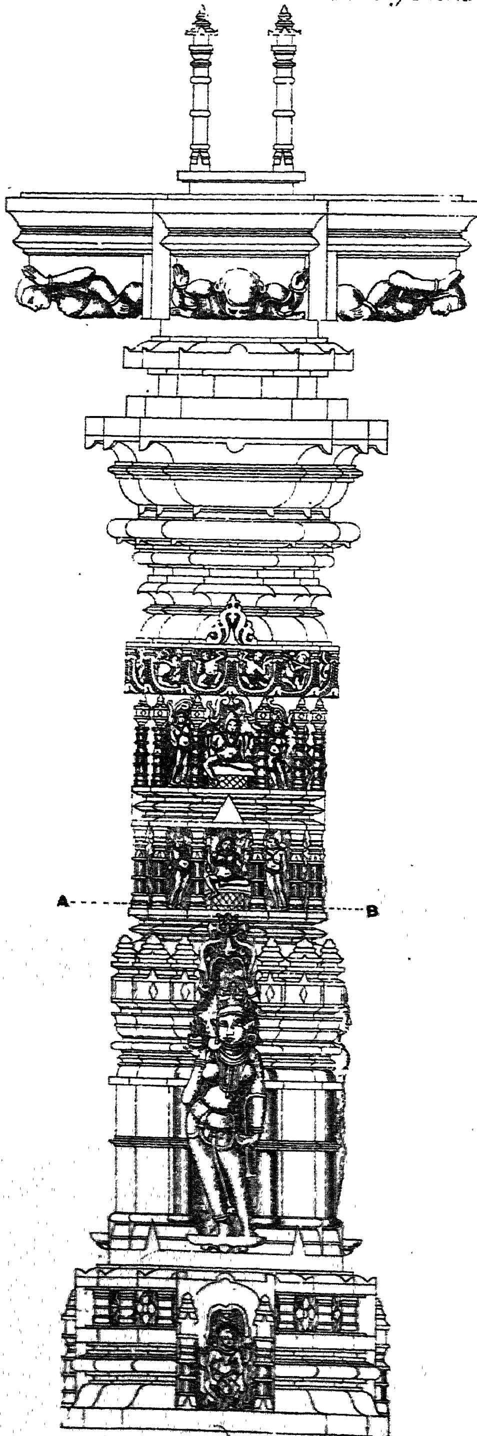
W. Griggs Photo-lith.

No. XII

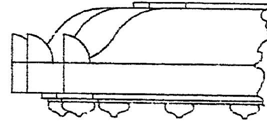
AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. III

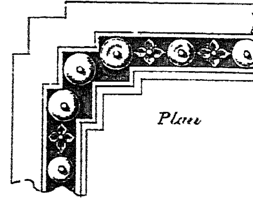
Detail of Pilaster and Verandah



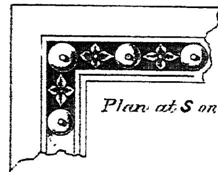
Detail of Pilaster U on Plan



Elevation of S on Plan



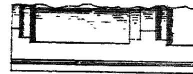
Plan



Plan at S on Plan



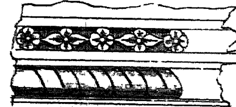
Section of S on Plan



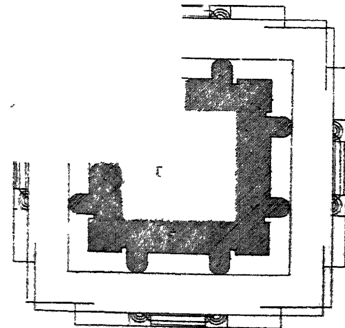
Elevation at T on Plan



Section at T on Plan



Plan at T on Plan



Scale of feet

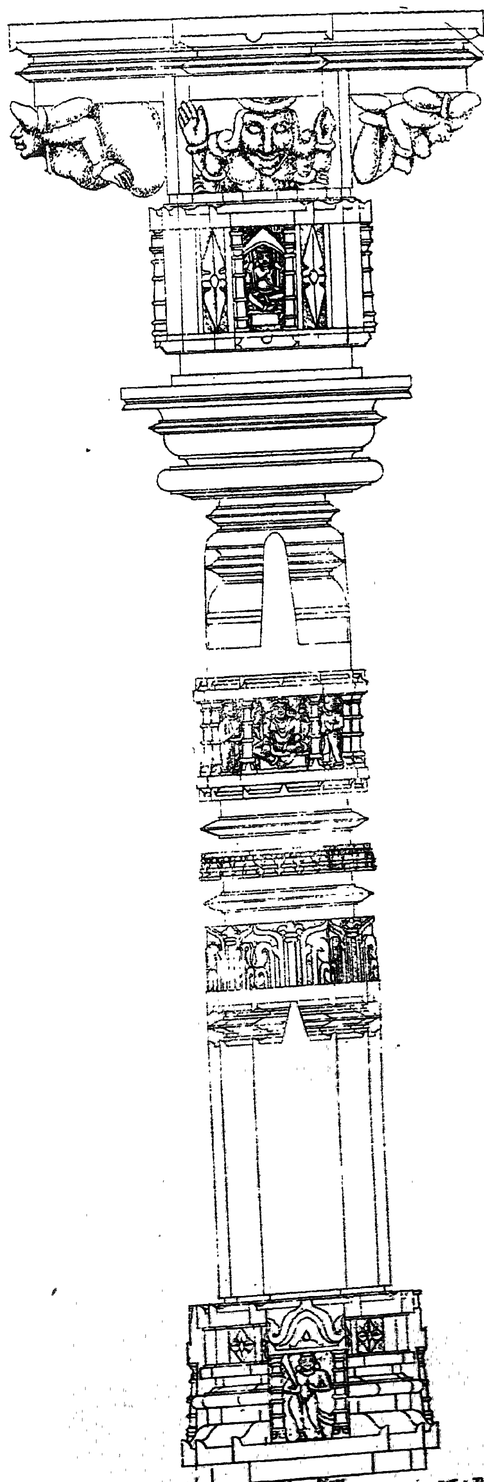
G. W. Terry

W. Griggs. Photo-Lith.

Measured and Drawn by, R. V. A. Dhairyavân.

No XIII

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.



Elevation
Detail of South-West Pilaster of West Porch

Scale of feet

W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

G. W. Terry

Measured and Drawn by Jaggannath Wasudev.

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.

Detail of Doorway leading to Vimana

J on Plan

Scale of feet

½ Ground Plan

½ Plan looking Up

Half Elevation

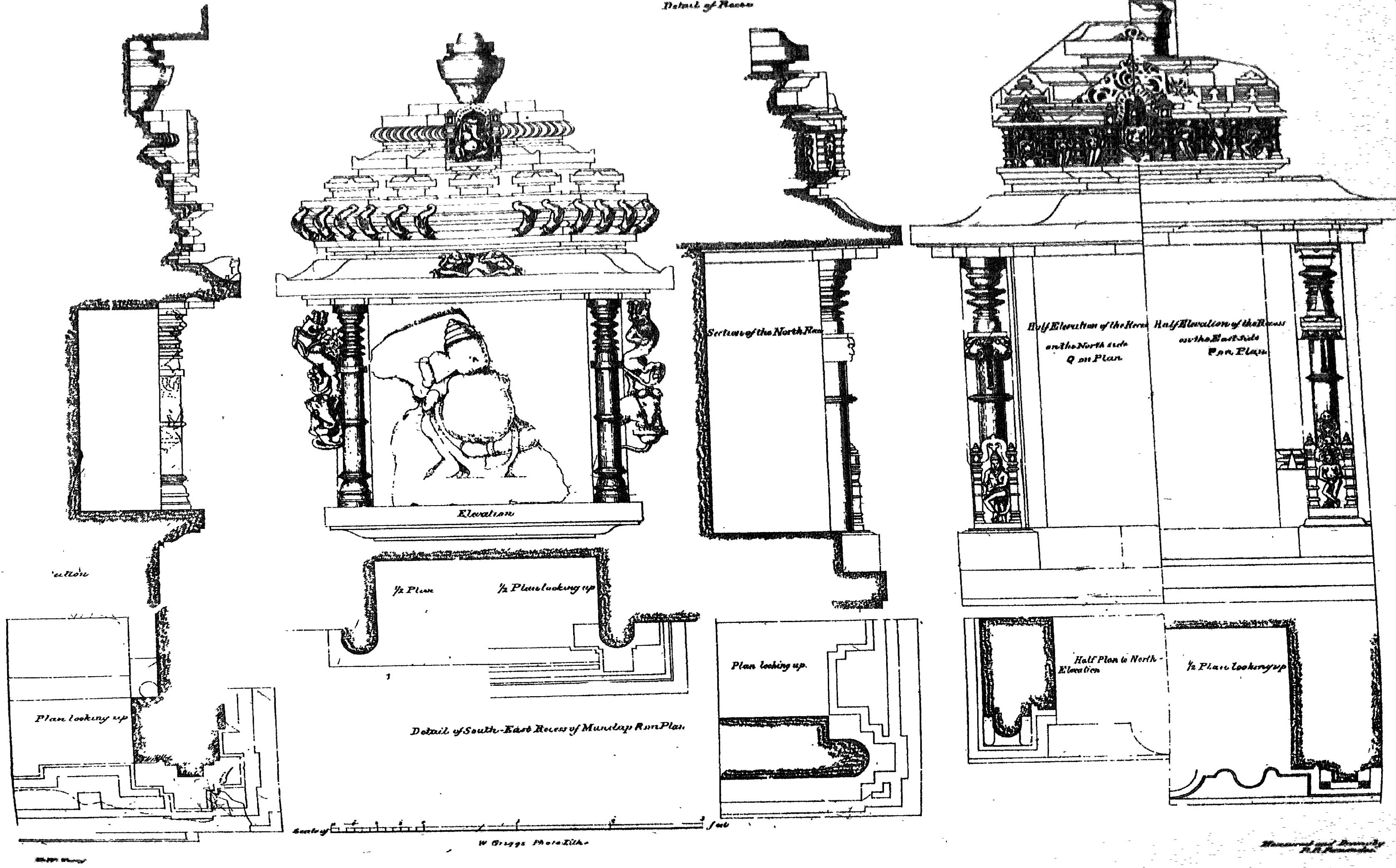
Section

G.W. Terry

W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

Measured and Drawn by Jaggernath Wittulal.

AMBARNÂTH TEMPLE.



ences in the faces of the great *Trimurti* there.* In this all three are bearded, and a female sits on the left knee of the figure: it is probably intended simply to represent Mahâdeva and Pârvatî.

The base is a series of projecting and receding members, one of the upper of which has been carved in a string of curious horned bat-like faces; the next fascia is filled with elephants' heads and small human figures; then comes a string of tracery with the half-bat half-goat faces interspersed (No. IV); over this, a slightly deeper course with innumerable human figures, and having a niche on each face and a miniature canopy over the figures in it. The next projection is a heavy torus with a sort of boss on each face; the next is plain: and then there is a single small figure on each face. The next course is the deepest, and is one series of male and female figures in every variety of attitude (see V). Several of these represent Mahâdeva or Śiva and Pârvatî; and all the withdrawn and subordinate positions are filled with female figures. Of these last,—one on the north side has her back turned to the spectator, and her hair hangs in a large ball from the back of her head; another on the north-west of the *vimanâ* is on the whole a well proportioned figure and has been exceedingly well cut, but it is damaged about the feet.

On the south-east of the *vimanâ* are sculptured some of the vagaries of Hindu mythology, of which we need only particularize that of Kâlî, represented in the terrific form she is fabled to assume in order to frighten her votaries to provide her with the bloody sacrifices in which only she delights; her limbs bend, her hands are usually open, but here they have been broken off; as described by mythologists—'a serpent forms her girdle and another convolves about her neck. She is naked, except a scanty cloth, called *pira*, round her middle; her belly is empty, thin, and shrivelled; her breast, pendant with long disgusting nipples;' and a long necklace of skulls hangs down to her ankles. This figure has been repeated on the base of one of the pillars in the hall, and there too it is defaced. Nearly facing her is a male figure with lank belly and somewhat jaunty moustache. In another part of this line of figures the skeleton form of Bṛingi is to be seen. Above this course the horizontal members become smaller; only the next has single figures on each face; and a little higher up we reach the cornice, supported by modillions formed of dwarf figures such as are so common at Ajaṇṭâ (see VI). A curious belt of beautiful carving runs up each face of the *vimanâ*. The small *liṅga* shrine at the east side of the north door is evidently an after-addition to the plan of the temple. Except a little carving about the entrance it is a very plain structure.

The sculpture both on the pillars of the hall and round the whole of the outside shows a degree of skill that is not surpassed on any temple in the Bombay Presidency. This has led Dr. Wilson to suppose the artizans must have acquired their skill by working "in softer stone, the marble of the north." And possibly they may have learnt much as to the treatment of figures from those accustomed to work in softer stone, but they must have learnt to cut skilfully in more obdurate material than marble before they attempted the figures pourtrayed in this temple.

It seems, however, that this is not the first temple that was erected here, for, as Mr. Terry remarks in his report,—"soon the discovery in the upper story over the Maṇḍap of a quantity of worked material either mouldings, ornaments, or figures, some sharp and perfect, others much mutilated, worked indiscriminately into the stone walls, or as columns supporting the roof, the difference in the characters composing the largest inscription found cut into one of the architraves in the Maṇḍap to those discovered on a stone in the upper story, the frequent discovery that parts of figures and ornaments had been deliberately cut to fit them into their present position, and that others had been selected to fill parts for which they were not originally intended, being either too large or small, led me to doubt that I was then investigating the original temple, and to conclude after further investigation that this one had been either rebuilt, or partly restored from an older structure, of which the least mutilated sculpture had been incorporated into the present building, which, I was led to believe, was of a cognate nature from the subjects chosen for the decoration of both."

* There is a somewhat striking *trimurti* about 8 feet high in an old temple at Chittur, locally known as Adbuddha Mahâdeva's.

On the inside of the lintel over the north door of the maṇḍap was discovered an inscription, of six lines, in characters more obliterated than could easily have been the case with an inscription never exposed to the action of the rains, &c. The characters are those of the 9th century, and have been thus transliterated and translated by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. IX. p. 220) :—

शकसम्वत् ७८२ जेठ सुद ९ सुक्रे समधिगताशेष पञ्च महा-
शब्द महामंडलेश्वरादि पट्टिरिपुदैत्यदलनदामोदर

सरणागतवज्रपंजरीत्यादिसमस्तराजावलिविराजमानमहामण्डले
श्वर श्रीमहम्वाणिराजदेवः एतत्समस्तजात्यधिताभव
समुद्धमनमहामात्य श्रीविगपयस्तथा महाप्रजनः श्रीनागणैयस्तथा-
लेखसन्धिविग्रहिक श्रीविकरेयस्तथा महासांधिविग्रहिकश्रीजाग
लैयस्तथा भाण्डागार प्रथम सपमिसेन महादेव यस्तथा द्वितीय
खमभाइले यादिप्रधा- श्रीकरणाद्विहितकल्याणविजयराज्य-
वृद्धतश्री

महाराजगुरुणाभाल्लघराजगुरु श्रीविकल्लासिदभस्मकाणापिवृयकम
हासामंतश्रीता — वरा — लैकारापकेनभूत्वा श्रीआम्रनाथदेवकु
लं— — पाषाण — — — पभागमुद्धार तथा उदन्या
महामण्डलेश्वर समाछित्त राजदेवस्य भवनं संपादितं

Translation.

"In Śaka Saṁvat 782 (A.D. 860), the 9th day of the bright half of the month Jeṭha, Friday, (*during the reign of*) the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Śrî Mahavânirâjadeva, who has obtained the title of Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara, (*also*) the five great insignia of royalty, &c., who is a Dâmodara (*Vishṇu*) in punishing his enemies the Daityas, a cage of adamant to those seeking his protection, &c., and resplendent amongst the row of râjas,—whose various officers were the large-minded Mahâmâtya (*chief minister*), Śrî Vigapaya, also Mahâptajana (*the chief relative*), Śrî Nâganaiya, also Lekha Sandhi Vigrahika (*secretary*), Śrî Dheka Dheya, also Mahâsandhi Vigrahika Śrî Jagalaiya, also Bhâṇḍâgârapra-thama (*chief treasurer*), Sapayisena, also the second (*treasurer*) Mahâdevaya, also Khama-bhaileya, and other ministers : whilst under their auspices the administration of the kingdom was successful and beneficent, there flourished Śrî Mahârâja Guru, and Śrî Bhallagharâja Guru, also Śrî Vikallasida Bhasmaka (3 *letters lost*), and they, at the desire of Mahâsâmanta Śrî, having undertaken the construction, the temple of Śrî Âmranâtha (2 *letters lost*) was restored in stone. The house of Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara of Udanya (?) Samachitta Râja Deva was (*also*) constructed."

As the present position of this inscription can scarcely be its original one, it seems probable that the present temple is a restoration, or has been rebuilt of the materials, of the one raised in A.D. 860.

It need hardly be added that all the roofs are of stone, constructed in the manner described by Mr. Fergusson in his *History of Architecture*. And the whole has been painted,—though nothing but the faintest indication of it is now traceable.

BENGALI FOLKLORE—STORIES FROM DINÂJPUR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 12.*)

The Minister and the Fool.

A fool was sitting by the side of a village road digging holes in several places. Now it happened that the Râja's minister passed by that way, and seeing the strange appearance of the fool he said to him, "Why are you digging holes on the side of the road? people passing by will put their feet in them and fall down; did you not think of that?" The fool replied, "Why should they fall in? I have not dug in the middle of the road; only those who leave the straight road and come off the path will fall into my pit." The minister then asked what was his occupation, and where he was going. The fool answered, "I do no work at all, but I wander about in God's kingdom, and where he places me there I remain for the day." Seeing the fool's trust in God, the minister felt kindly towards him and inquired if he had any kinsfolk. The fool said he had a father, and the minister asked where he was; the fool replied, "Why should he be with me?" The minister, seeing his foolishness, said, "Will you come and live in my house?" The fool asked, "What shall I do there?" and the minister answered, "You will water my trees and flowers, and get food and clothing." Then the fool came quickly towards him and consented, and went with him to his house.

Now a pair of birds had built their nest in the minister's garden, and one day the hen saw

another hen walking about with her mate. She said angrily, "Leave her alone." The cock said, "Both of you can be my wives and live with me." The hen did not approve of this arrangement, and a great dispute arose, and at last they all three went before the Râja to have the matter settled, and when the court was closed they flew away.

In this way they continued to come and go for two or three days, and then the Râja asked the minister what was the reason of their coming: he said he had not the least idea. The Râja then said, "If you can tell me to-morrow, good; if not, I will cut off your head." The minister, hearing the Râja's orders, went into his garden and sat thinking, with his head between his hands. The fool seeing his master's dejected appearance asked why he was so distressed, but he answered nothing till the fool continued to ask him in such a determined way that he could not help telling him the royal command. The fool said, "Is this the reason you are distressed? I understand all the birds are saying." And then he told him the whole story of their quarrel, and also said, "If the king decides that both the hens shall continue to live with the cock, then show two fingers and they will all fly away; but if it is decided that he is only to live with his wife, then show one finger, and one bird will immediately fly away, and a little time after the pair of birds will fly away together." The minister was delighted to hear all this, and next day went early to the darbâr, and found that the birds had already come and were sitting there.

The Râja said to him, "To-day the case of the birds will be tried: what is their complaint?" The minister told him what he had heard from the mouth of the fool, and he was much astonished, and decided that the cock should only have one wife; so he showed one finger, and immediately one of the birds flew away, and a short time after the other two went off together. The case being decided, the court was closed, and the king thought the minister's conduct very praiseworthy. The minister thought within himself, "This is no ordinary fool, and if he remains here this story will come to the king's ears, and I shall lose my reputation, while the fool will get the credit: so I must kill him." Accordingly he thought over the matter, and decided to send an order to the executioner to kill him. He then wrote the order in a letter and gave it to the fool, and told him to take it to the executioner. As he was taking the letter, the minister's son met him and ordered him to pick a nosegay of flowers. The fool said he would deliver the letter and then come and pick the flowers, but the minister's son would not listen to him, but told him to pick the flowers and he would deliver the letter himself. So he went with the letter to the person to whom it was addressed, and the executioner read it and put him to death. After a little while, the minister seeing the fool walking in the flower-garden asked him if he had not delivered the letter, and he replied, "My lord, your son told me to pick a nosegay for him, and would not listen to my excuses but took the letter himself." When the minister heard this, he was overwhelmed with grief for his son and fell down on the ground and cried aloud. His wife ran out and asked why he was crying, and he told her about the letter, and she too fell on the ground and they both became insensible. When the fool understood what the minister had done, he called him and said, "My lord, when I first saw you I said, 'Those who leave the road and come off the path will fall into my pit.' My lord, you have left the straight road and come off the path." So saying he left the place and was never heard of again.

THE BENI-ISRAEL OF BOMBAY.

From a lecture by John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.

In the island of Bombay and on the adjoining coast on the continent, from the Punâ road to the Bânkoṭ river, there is a population of Beni-Israel amounting to about 8,000 or 10,000 souls. In worldly affairs they occupy but an humble position. In Bombay, with the exception of a few shopkeepers and writers, they are principally artizans, particularly masons and carpenters. On the continent they are generally engaged in agriculture, or in the manufacture and sale of oil. Some of them, often bearing an excellent character as soldiers, are to be found in most of the regiments of native infantry in this Presidency. They can easily be recognized. They are a little fairer

than the other natives of India of the same rank of life with themselves; and their physiognomy seems to indicate a union in their case of both the Abrahamic and Arabic blood. Their dress is a modification of that of the Hindus and Musalmâns among whom they dwell. They do not eat with persons belonging to other communities, though they drink from their vessels without any scruples of caste. They have generally two names, one of which is derived from the more ancient Israelitish personages mentioned in the Bible, and the other from Hindu usage.* Their social and religious discipline is administered by their elders, the chief of whom in the principal villages in which they reside are denominated *Kâdhîs*, or judges. They are all circumcised according to the law of Moses; and, though they have no manuscript copy of the Pentateuch, or other books of the Bible, they receive the whole of the Old Testament as of divine authority. When they began, about fifty years ago, particularly to attract the attention of our countrymen, they were found combining the worship of Jehovah with divination and idolatry, serving other gods whom neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone. From the Arabian Jews visiting Bombay, they had received portions of the Hebrew Liturgy of the Sephardim for use in their humble synagogues, or places of assembly. They denominate themselves Beni-Israel, or Sons of Israel; and till lately they viewed the designation of *Yehudî*, or Jew, as one of reproach. They have been settled in India for many centuries. The Jews of Cochin state, according to the authority of Dr. Claudius Buchanan in his *Christian Researches*,† that they found the Beni-Israel on their arrival at Râjapuri in the Konkan, where many of them still reside. The Beni-Israel themselves say that their forefathers came to India‡ from the west or north by sea, that is, either from Arabia or the Persian Gulf. For long we were accustomed to consider them the descendants of a portion of the Israelites who were removed from their homes and carried captive to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and Nahar-Gozan, and other places in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, by the Assyrian kings Pul, Tiglath-pelneser, and Shalmanezer (see 1 *Chron.* v. 26; 2 *Kings*, xvi. 6). But the communication of those Israelites with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin after their captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, as certified by Josephus,§ and with the body of the Jews residing on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and in Persia, as implied in the book of Esther, and as intimated by the historians of Alexander the Great and his Seleukidan successors, and later narratives, seem almost to forbid the use of such language as the "Lost Ten Tribes," and the expectation that any bodies of Israelites isolated from them in general religious communion are still to be found.|| The observance by our Beni-Israel of Jewish festivals and fasts commemorating events connected with the later Jewish history, and even the destruction of Jerusalem, have at the same time appeared to us hostile to the theory of their being a distinctive portion of these Ten Tribes. We are now disposed to believe that they came to India from Yemen,¶ or Arabia Felix, with the Jews or Israelites of which province,—for they have both designations,—they have from time immemorial had much intercourse, and whom they much resemble in their bodily structure and appearance. These Israelites of Arabia have a very remarkable history. The remnant of Judah, after the captivity effected by Nebuchadnezzar, was placed under the care of Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, who was murdered by Ishmael the son of Nethaniah. It afterwards adhered to Johanan the son of Koreah, and Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, who with the other captains were besought by the prophet

* The Hebrew names current among the *men* are the following:—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben (which is said to be most prevalent), Joseph, Naphtali, Zebulun, Benjamin, Samson, Moshe, Aaron, Eliezer, Phinehas, David, Solomon, Elijah, Hezkiel, Daniel, Sâdik, Haim, Shalom, and Nahum. The name Judah, it is to be remarked, is not to be found among them. The Hindu names by which they are most commonly known among the natives, are—Saku, Jitu, Râma, Bâpu, Sâvandobâ, Tânâ, Dhondâ, Abau, Bandu, Nathu, Dâdâ, Dhambâ, Bâlâ, Bibâ, Vitu or Yethu, Phakirâ, Yeshu, Satku, Apâ, Bhâu, Bâpiâh, Gauriâ, Pitâ, Bâwâ, Anandiâ, Kâmâ, Jangu, Abâ. Among these there are only a few that correspond with those of the heathen gods. Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Leah, Saphira, Milcah, Zilchah, Miriam, and Hannah are the Hebrew names given to the *women*. Esther, the favourite Jewish name, does not occur among them. The names derived from the Hindus, which are found among them, are—Bâlku, Abâi, Amâ, Yeshî, Zaitu, Tânu, Hîsu, Lâdi, Bainâ, Akâ, Râmu, Bayewâ, Baiâ, Nanu, Raju, Thaku, Kâlâbâî, Makâ, Saku, Gowaru, Dûdî, Saî, Samâ, and Bhiku, Pithu, Wohu, Dhakalu. The Hebrew names are first conferred on the occasion of circumcision; and those of Hindu origin about a month after birth.—Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. pp. 668, 669.

† pp. 204-221.

‡ Their ancestors, they say, were seven men and seven women, who were saved from shipwreck near Chaul, about 30 miles south-east of Bombay; and they found a refuge at Navagaňw.—*Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. p. 667.

§ Jos. *Antiq.* lib. xi.

|| On the disposal of the Ten Tribes, see the *History of the Jews* by Basnage, bk. vi. chap. 4, etc. Benjamin of Tudela, in his travels in the twelfth century, found several bodies of Jews in Persia and its confines, who professed to belong to the twelve tribes; but they were all in religious communion with the Israelites of other parts, with Rabbis from Aleppo and other places presiding over them.

¶ Yemen, literally, 'the right hand' (the spectator looking to the rising sun), as opposed to Shâm, the left, is applied to the country south of the Hejâz; Shâm in the same relation referring to that lying to the north, of which Damascus is considered the capital. The "South-Country" seems to have been an ancient name of Arabia Felix; for in the Gospels the queen of Sheba, in this district, is called the "queen of the south."

Jeremiah to remain in the land, and by no means to flee into Egypt, where they should be pursued by the king of Babylon, and afterwards by Darius Hystaspes acting in his place, who should smite the land of Egypt, and deliver such as were to death to death, and such as were for captivity to captivity. (See *Jer.* xlii. xliii.) They nevertheless went into Egypt; for "they obeyed not the voice of the Lord." They were there overtaken by the judgments threatened. Many of the captives were sent to the Hejâz in Arabia,* where they founded several towns near Yathreb, afterwards called Medinah, and in which they maintained and extended their religion. These towns were visited by Tobba, a king of the Hemyarites, from Yemen in the south of Arabia, when he was advancing northwards on a military expedition;† and he was influenced by the Jewish teachers Ka'ab and As'ad to embrace their faith, which, with the aid of these teachers and other Israelitish colonists, he afterwards propagated in his native land.‡ To this country, too, many of the Jews betook themselves after their dispersion by Titus and Hadrian, and the defeat of Zenobia by Aurelian.§ Judaism was violently upheld and propagated by the kings of Yemen. Dhu Nâwâs, one of their number, proved such an eager opponent of Christianity when it began to be propagated in that country that he provoked an invasion of his territories by the Ethiopian sovereigns, whose country had been converted to Christianity in the fourth century, who maintained their ground in it for four generations, till, by the help of the Persian Khosru Anushirwan (Chosroes), they were finally expelled. not many years before the rise of Muhammadism. The Israelites of Yemen, descendants of the original stock of Abraham, and the Arabian proselytes, are still estimated at 200,000 or 300,000 souls. From this body of Israelites, the most contiguous to India, as we have already hinted, and maintaining intercourse with India to the present day, our Beni-Israel, who so much resemble them, have most likely been derived. It is not improbable that, with some of their women, their forefathers left Yemen during its occupation and subjection and the retaliation against it, by the Ethiopian kings, in the sixth century of the Christian era: about which time also, we are now inclined to think, the Cochin Jews came to India: for their first copper-plate charter, which has not the early date commonly assigned to it,|| seems to belong to this period, and was witnessed by Mûrkhar Châttan,¶ evidently a Christian, probably one of the early converts of the *Syrian* missionaries to Malabar. The Bene-Israel themselves say that they have been in India about fifteen or sixteen centuries; but they have not a single document confirmatory of this tradition.* Our present remarks show that a modification of some of the *dates* connected with the Indian Israelites is necessary. These dates do not much affect the question of their origin.†

SILVER INKSTAND WITH AN ARABIC INSCRIPTION.

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

The explanation of the accompanying plate representing a silver inkstand is as follows:—1.—Top of the box, full size, displaying the distich—

فلا تكتب بكفك غيرشى يسرك فى القيمة ان تراه
وما من كاتب الا سيلقي غدات الحشر ما كتب يداه

"Write not with thy hand except what it will rejoice thee at the resurrection to see."

"For there is no writer but will meet on the morn of judgment what his hands wrote."

The space between the two lines contains, above, the word مال, and, below, the number 110: it would

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* Price's *History of Arabia*, p. 99.

† Conf. Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*; Michaelis, *Essai de Tables chronologiques des Anciens Rois de l'Yemen*; De Sacy, *Mémoire sur divers Evénemens de l'Hist. des Arabes avant Mahomet*; Price, *Essay on the Hist. of Arabic, from the Târîkh Tabarî*; &c.—Ed.

‡ De Sacy, *Mém. de Littérature*, tome xlviii. pp. 735-753.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 596, 597.

|| See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 229.—Ed.

¶ Irayan Châttan, another of the witnesses, was probably also a Christian. (Conf. *Mad. Jour. of Lit. and Sc.* vol. XIII. p. 140; *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. p. 679; and *Orient. Christ. Spectator*, 1839.—Ed.

* *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. pp. 667-678, also contains historical notices (pp. 651-664) of the Arabian Israelites, from whom, we think, they are sprung.

† The accounts given of themselves by the White Jews of Cochin are to a great extent fabulous. These Jews profess to be descendants of Jews who came to India immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem; but their family names, such as David Castil (David the Castilian) go to prove that they are descended of the Jews of Spain, probably of those driven from that country in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of German and Egyptian Jews,—a fact which has been long ago noticed. The real ancient Jews of Cochin are the Black Jews, descendants, we believe, of Judæo-Arabians and Indian proselytes. Some rather obscure references to the Jews of Cochin and Quilon (and also of Aden) are made by Benjamin of Tudela, who returned to Spain from his eastern journey A.D. 1173. He found no White Jews in India. Speaking of those in the pepper-country near Chulam (Quilon), he says: "All the cities and countries inhabited by these people contain only about one hundred Jews (members of the synagogue), who are of black colour as well as the other inhabitants. The Jews are good men, observers of the law, and possess the Pentateuch and some little knowledge of the Talmud and its decisions." Asher's *Benj. of Tud.* vol. i. pp. 140, 141. More Black Jews seem at this time, according to Benjamin, to have been "in the island of Khandy or Ceylon."

be impossible to know what the number means without an explanation; but the present owner of the inkstand states that he inherited it from his father, who was the Vazir of Maskat, and that the number 110 stands as a chronogram of his father's name, which was *'Ali*, because we get, according to the Abujad ع = 70, ل = 30, and ى = 10, and the sum of the three, 110 = على Hence the two spaces contain the words "The property of *'Ali.*"

2.—The inkstand, with two holes for ink, into which the pen is to be dipped. One of these holes is shown on the figure, and the other is covered by a leaf. Both these leaves move on hinges. There is a partition in this little inkbox, so that, if required, one of the holes may be filled with black, and the other with red ink.

3.—The whole box, the top of which alone is shown in Fig. 1. It may be seen that the small space on the left side is to receive the inkstand shown in Fig. 2. The larger space serves as a receptacle for the sandbox, penknife, and *kalam* or reed-pen.

4.—A small silver ladle, nearly like a salt-spoon, for sanding any particular spot of the writing. 5.—Cover for the sandbox; but the top is also used as a seal. 6.—Cylindrical sandbox.

PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN 1872-73.*

[*Abridged from the Report of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1874.]

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—The parent Society at Calcutta has, as usual, contributed an ample share to the cultivation of the various fields of Oriental research,—thanks to the liberal patronage of the Government of India, to the ability and zeal of many of the members of that Institution, and to the unrivalled facilities it enjoys for obtaining new materials of literary and antiquarian interest. Among the numerous original papers in its *Journal*, the excellent contributions of the learned Honorary Secretary of the Society, Dr. H. Blochmann, deserve especially to be mentioned, viz. his essay on "Koch Bihâr and Âsâm in the 16th and 17th Centuries," and two papers by him "On the Geography and History of Bengal." Scarcely less valuable are Mr. A. M. Broadley's detailed descriptions of the Buddhistic remains in Bihâr; Sir Arthur Phayre's sketch of the history of Pegu, chiefly based on the narrative of a Buddhist monk, written in the Mun language, and Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra's papers on the consumption of Beef and Spirituous Liquors in Ancient India.

Branch Societies.—A number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch* which has been recently received contains some valuable archæological contributions by Prof. R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar and Dr. Bhâu Dâji, consisting of copies and translations of ancient inscriptions. The former scholar has also contributed to it a paper on the *Mahâbhârata*, which contains an admirable summary of the evidence found in Sanskṛit works regarding the age of that epic; whilst Dr. Bhâu has also given an analysis of the *Harsha-charitam* of the poet Bâṇa, from the first complete MS., which a former paṇḍit of his has had the good fortune to discover in Kâśmîr. It had been hitherto supposed that the writer did not live to finish this work; but the copy now brought to light shows it to be complete in eight books. Mr. Viśvanâth N. Maṇḍlik has given an account of the shrine of Mahâbaleśvara, on the Sahyâdri mountains, near the source of the river Krishṇa, together with a legendary text on the origin and history of that temple, forming part of the Skanda-purâṇa. On the authority of the *Prabandhakosha*, the work of the Jain Râjaśekhârasûri, containing biographical notices of twenty-four celebrated men, which Dr. G. Bühler has lately acquired for the Government of Bombay, that scholar discusses the age of the *Naishadha-charitam* of Śrî Harsha. The conclusion at which he arrives is that the work was composed between A.D. 1163 and 1174. Some further discussion regarding the date of this writer has since taken place, with reference to Dr. Bühler's paper, in the *Indian Antiquary*. †

The last number (No. VI. of the New Series) of the *Journal of the North China Branch* is also full of valuable and interesting information on subjects connected with the history and geography, the manners and literature, of China. Of especial interest are the contributions of Mr. E. J. Eitel, on the fabulous source of the Hoangho, which the Buddhists believe to spring from a Himalayan lake; of Mr. W. F. Mayers, on the Chinese God of Literature; of Mr. K. Himly, on the Chinese game of chess; the Journals of Mr. J. Markham and Dr. S. W. Williams; and a retrospect, by Mr. J. M. Canny, of events in China and Japan during the years 1869 and 1870. The *Journal of the Ceylon Branch* for 1872 also contains some very valuable contributions . . . ‡

Ceylon.—Some papers recently submitted to our Society by Mr. Rhys Davids show that the exploration of the archæological and literary re-

* *Vide ante*, p. 56. † See vol. I. pp. 30, 298, 299; 352, 353; vol. II. pp. 71 ff. 127, 128; 213, 240, 306; vol. III. pp. 29, 31, 81.
‡ See *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 229.

SILVER INKSTAND WITH AN ARABIC INSCRIPTION.

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W. Griggs Photo-lith

mains of Ceylon may be reasonably expected to throw much light as well on some dark chapters of the history as on the comparative philology of the Âryan vernaculars of India. Of a fine set of photographs of Ceylon ruins taken some years ago for the Ceylon Government by the late Mr. Lawton, it seems that unfortunately only two copies are now in existence. It is to be hoped that the negatives of them have not been destroyed, and that the collection may yet be made accessible to the public, accompanied by such drawings, plans, and descriptions as can alone render such photographs of scientific value.

Java.—In their last Report * the Council drew attention to a splendid collection of upwards of 300 photographs of antiquities of Java executed by order of the Dutch Government, of which a copy was presented to our Society. Now, thanks to the enlightened liberality of the same Government, a still more magnificent work has since been brought out, and a copy of this also has been munificently presented to the Society. This publication consists of eight volumes of lithographed drawings of the sculptures of the famous dagoba known by the name of Boro-Bœdoer, executed chiefly by Heer F. C. Wilsen. They are accompanied by a volume of excellent descriptive and explanatory letterpress, edited by Dr. C. Leemans, from reports by Heeren Wilsen and Brumund.

N. India.—The results of the archæological survey of Northern India by General A. Cunningham and his assistants during 1871-2 have now been made public. The principal ancient sites visited and reported upon in this volume by the General himself are Mathurâ, Buddha Gaya, and Gaya. These reports also add a number of new inscriptions, and revised copies of others already known. The General mentions that he also paid visits to Sunargâṁ, the ancient capital of Eastern Bengal; to Bikrampur, the place of residence of the Sena Râjas of Bengal after the Muhammadan occupation, and to Gaur; and that he has had plans made of the tombs and masjids of the Dihlî and Jaunpur kings, and collected fresh inscriptions at these places.

W. India.—After the remarks in the last Report, it will be satisfactory to the members to learn that Mr. James Burgess has since been appointed Archæological Surveyor of Western India. It is understood that that gentleman is at present engaged in exploring Dhârwâḍ. His attention has been particularly directed to the Jaina temples of Belgâṁ and Aiwalli, and the little-known series of Cave Temples at Badâmi; and it may be confidently hoped, from Mr. Burgess's experience as an archæologist, that his operations will be productive of important results.

INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.—Meanwhile the *Indian Antiquary*, edited by the same gentleman, has lost nothing of its vigour and usefulness as a channel of publicity for the most varied information on subjects of historical, literary, and antiquarian interest. Discussions such as those lately carried on in its columns by Professors R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar and A. Weber, Drs. G. Bühler, J. Muir, and A. Burnell, Mr. Telang, and others on various points of Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit languages and literature, and its numerous communications on archæological matters, and of copies and translations of inscriptions, ought to secure to this periodical a hearty support from Orientalists.

The publication of Colonel W. E. Marshall's investigations into the physical peculiarities, the manners and institutions of the Todas in the Nilgiris forms a very welcome addition to our knowledge of the mountain tribes of India, enhanced as it is by excellent autotype plates, and by a sketch of the Toda grammar by the well-known Tamil scholar Dr. G. U. Pope. In an appendix the Rev. F. Metz has given a vocabulary of Toda words. Two other works—Colonel E. T. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, illustrated by lithographs from photographs taken by Dr. B. Simpson, and published at the expense of the Government of Bengal; and the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares*,—contain a mass of useful facts for ethnological students, who must also have welcomed two additional volumes of the *People of India* by Dr. F. Watson and Sir J. W. Kaye.

The liberal support accorded by the Court of Directors and the Indian Government to the former volumes of Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ably edited by Professor J. Dowson, has been deservedly extended to the fifth volume, which contains a translation of the *Tabakât-i Akbarî*, and extracts from the *Târîkh-i Alfî* and the *Muntakhabu-t Tawârîkh*, dealing with the interesting reign of Akbar the Great.

The Rev. E. Downes, of Peshâwar, has lately published a pamphlet giving some account of the customs, language, and country of that little-known tribe the Siah-Posh Kafirs. At recent meetings of the Society, Dr. G. W. Leitner, of Lâhor, has also given an account of the materials collected by him on a tour among other tribes beyond the north-west frontier of the Panjâb.

An interesting and useful account of the development of the Hindu creeds has been published

* *Ante*, p. 58.

by the Rev. P. Wurm. Of new editions of important works on the history and architecture of India, those deserving of especial notice are vol. II. of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, and Mr. James Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

Sanskrit Manuscripts.—The examination of the collections of MSS. in private and public libraries, carried on at the expense of the Government of India, has been continued with laudable energy. The result of Dr. G. Bühler's labours in Gujarât have been made known in three additional numbers (Nos. 2 to 4) of his *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, embracing the several departments of classical Sanskṛit literature. From reports and occasional notes published by that scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*,* it appears that he is now chiefly devoting his attention to Jaina literature, written in one of the Prâkṛits or popular dialects. Copies of several highly important works for the study of these dialects have lately been discovered by him and purchased for the Bombay Government. Bâbû Râjendralâla Mitra has also issued three more parts (Nos. 4 to 6) of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Bengal Presidency, which, when complete, will, together with the already published catalogues of the Banâras and Calcutta libraries, afford a tolerably complete view of the MSS. in that part of India. The same scholar has also edited a catalogue of Sanskṛit MSS. existing in Oudh, prepared by Mr. C. Browning and Paṇḍit Deviprasâda.

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.—*Sanskrit.*—That most industrious scholar Dr. A. Burnell, who has lately examined for the Madras Government the large MS. collection at Tânjor, has further done good service by undertaking an edition of the eight *Brâhmaṇas* of the *Sâmaveda*, together with Sâyana's comment. Of these works, three have already been published, viz. the *Sâmavidhâna-*, the *Devatâdhyâya-*, and the *Vaṁśa-Brâhmaṇas*. The last-named text is preceded by a highly interesting introduction, in which the editor arrives at the conclusion that Sâyana and Mâdhava are the same person.

The publication of a work which is of the highest importance for the study of Sanskṛit, and of which a complete edition has long been ardently wished for—viz. Patanjali's *Mahâbhâshyam* or "great commentary" on Pâṇini's grammatical aphorisms—has at last taken place. For a lithographed edition of this work with Kaiyaṭa's commentary, in the form of a Sanskṛit MS., scholars are indebted to the industry of Professors Râjarâmaśâstrin and Bâlaśâstrin, of the Banâras College. In the 13th volume of his *Indische Studien*, Professor Weber, with praiseworthy energy, has already published a summary of such gleanings from the work as appeared to him of historical and antiquarian interest. An instructive discussion has also taken place in the *Indian Antiquary* between him and Professor Bhâṇḍârkar concerning the age of this work. The latter scholar, for independent reasons, agrees with the late Professor Goldstücker in placing the composition of the *Mahâbhâshyam* about the middle of the second century B.C.; whilst Professor Weber assigns it to a date several centuries later.†

Dr. H. Grassmann's *Glossary of the Rigveda*, of which three parts have been published, containing about one-half of the work, is likely to prove of great assistance to Vedic studies. Of the same Veda, Professor Max Müller has brought out, with the assistance of Dr. Thibaut, a complete edition (the first in the Devanâgarî character), in both the *Saṁhitâ* or connected, and the *Pada* or disconnected, texts.

The great *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, published at St. Petersburg by Professors Böhtlingk and Roth, has steadily advanced towards completion. Five parts (48—52) have been brought out during the years 1872-3, carrying the work on to about the middle of the last letter but one. It may, therefore, be reasonably expected that this grand undertaking will reach its end within the next two years. Meanwhile Professor M. Williams has published, in one volume, a Sanskrit-English Dictionary, partly in the Roman character, which is a very useful book of reference to the English student.

Of Kalidâsa's drama the *Śakuntala*, three recensions are known to exist in different parts of India. The text of two of them, prevalent respectively in Bengal and in Western India, has long been made accessible to European Sanskṛitists; and by all scholars except Professor Stenzler, of Breslau, the palm of priority had been, until lately, conceded to the Western or so-called Devanâgarî recension. The cause of the Bengâlî version was, however, boldly taken up some time since by Dr. R. Pischel, who, after a special study of the Prâkṛitic dialects, concludes that it has more faithfully preserved the original Prâkṛit type than either the Western recension or the one newly discovered in the South Indian MSS., the briefest, it may be noticed, of the three, the Bengâlî being by far the longest. Of the Devanâgarî version a new but scarcely sufficiently critical edition, with a useful index of words, has lately been brought out by Dr. C. Burkhard. Hemachandra's Aphorisms on the Prâkṛits, a

* Vol. II. pp. 17, 102, 166; vol. III. p. 89.

† *Ante*, vol. I. p. 299; vol. II. pp. 57, 59, 69, 94, 206, 238.

work of very great importance for the study of the popular dialects, has recently been published at Bombay. This publication, though it can scarcely satisfy the requirements of European students, will be of material assistance for a critical edition, which, it may be expected, will ere long be attempted by some competent scholar. In his able *Dissertatio inauguralis de Grammaticis Prâcriticis*, Dr. Pischel has made known the results of his study of those grammatical works on Prâkṛit of which MSS. exist in the English libraries.

Of the *Setubandha*, a Prâkṛit epic, probably composed not later than the sixth century of our era, Dr. P. Goldschmidt has lately brought out a specimen, containing the two first chapters, with a German translation, Sanskṛit comment, critical notes, and an index of words.

A manuscript copy of the *Âgama*, or sacred writings of the Jaina sect, together with their commentaries, lately added to the Berlin Library by the assistance of Dr. Bühler of Bombay, is the first complete set which has reached Europe, and will materially aid inquiry into the Prâkṛit dialects and the religious history of India.

Pâli and Buddhism.—In a very important, though certainly startling, paper recently published by Professor H. Kern, of Leiden, an abstract of which has been contributed by Dr. J. Muir to the *Indian Antiquary* of March 1874 (*ante*, p. 77), the date of Buddha's death has again been discussed with much warmth. After endeavouring to show that the chronology of the Southern Buddhists, as contained in the *Mahâvaṁśa*, is utterly untrustworthy, Dr. Kern suggests as the most probable date for that era the year 380 B.C., viz. some 100 (110?) years before Aśoka's accession, that being the interval between the two events given in the *Aśokâvadâna*.

The same subject has also been dealt with by Mr. Rhys Davids, who, whilst also rejecting the *Mahâvaṁśa* chronology based on the lists of Magadha and Ceylon kings, pointed out the interesting fact that in the available MSS. of the older *Dîpavaṁsa* this chronology is not found, but another, based on the succession of Theras or Buddhist Patriarchs, which, in his opinion, would tend to fix the death of Buddha at about 150 years before Aśokâ's coronation, or *circa* 400 B.C. Dr. Kern's paper also enters largely into the question of the philological relation between the language of Aśokâ's inscriptions and that of the Buddhist scriptures. These discussions clearly show what great service might be rendered by the speedy publication of the ancient historical works in Pâli and Elu, described in a postscript to Mr. Davids's paper in the Number of our *Journal* just published, as well as of the Sanskṛit books of the Northern Buddhists bearing on these questions.

Modern Vernaculars.—The philology of the vernaculars of Northern India will derive great benefit from two scholarly productions, viz. Dr. E. Trumpp's *Grammar of the Sindhî Language*, published at the expense of the Indian Government, and the first volume of Mr. J. Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Âryan Languages of India*. The latter publication, which contains the phonetics of these languages, is to be completed by two more volumes, of which one will deal with the noun and pronoun, the other with the verb and particles. In the *Bibliotheca Indica* Mr. Beames has also brought out the first number of the *Prithirâja Râsau* of the ancient Hindî poet Chând Bardai.

The field of philological and ephemeral Hindustânî literature has been, as usual, ably reviewed by Professor Garcin de Tassy in his *Revues Annuelles sur la Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies*.

Zend and Pahlavî.—Two essays, entitled *Avesta-studien*, published by a promising young scholar, Dr. H. Hübschmann, contain some valuable additions to Zend philology. In the first of these are given the Pahlavî text and German translations of the *Serosht Yasht* and a chapter of the *Gâthâs*, and metrical translations of their Zend originals, with notes showing how the two versions differ from each other. The second paper contains several contributions to Zend lexicography, consisting of new explanations of words of doubtful meaning.

Pahlavî students are indebted to the liberality of the Bombay Government for a critical edition of the *Arda Virâf Nâmah*, published in the original Pahlavî and the Roman characters by Professor M. Haug and Dr. E. W. West. The work, hitherto but imperfectly known from Pope's English translation (1815), from modern Persian and Gujarâti versions, contains an account of the journey of a Pârsî priest to heaven and hell. The text had been originally prepared by Destur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, but was afterwards thoroughly revised by the editors from ancient MSS. existing in Europe. To this they have added an English translation, and both the text and translations of two minor Pahlavî treatises, viz. the *Gosht-i Fryano* and the *Hadokht-Nask*.

Persian.—The fourth and concluding volume of M. Zotenberg's French translation of Tabari's *Chronicle*, published at the expense of our Oriental Translation Fund, will be ready for publication within a few months.

Arabic.—The edition of Istakhri's *Liber Clima-*

tum, which forms the first volume of Professor J. de Goeje's *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, has been followed by the not less welcome text of Ibn Haukal's *Viæ et Regna*. The third volume of this series, which it is expected will appear shortly, is to contain the highly important independent work of Mukaddassi, edited from two MSS. existing at Berlin and Constantinople. In the succeeding volumes M. de Goeje intends to furnish translations of these three works. Of Professor W. Wright's *Kâmil* of Al-Mubarrad, published at the expense of the German Oriental Society, one more part, the ninth, has appeared.

The edition and French translation of *Mas'audi* brought out by our learned foreign associate M. Barbier de Meynard, in the *Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux* of the Paris Society, have now reached the eighth volume, and will be concluded in the next. In the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, published under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, the first volume of the *Historiens Orientaux* has made its appearance, containing the Arabic text and translations of the portions from Abulfeda relating to those events, together with a translation of the autobiography of the same author by M. De Slane; besides extracts from the chronicle of Ibn-al-Athir, by Messieurs Reinaud, De Slane, and Defrémery. The *Divân* of Ferazdak, a poet who flourished towards the end of the first and in the beginning of the second century of the Hijrah, is now for the first time made accessible to European scholars by M. R. Bucher. Two parts of the text of these poems, edited from a MS. at Constantinople, with a French translation, have appeared.

M. Garcin de Tassy has published a second edition of his work on the rhetoric and prosody of the Musalmân nations, based upon the *Hadayik al-balayat*.

From the manuscript papers of the late M. Caussin de Perceval, the author of *L'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, M. C. Defrémery has printed, in the *Journal Asiatique*, a highly interesting though unfortunately incomplete essay, which was to contain biographical notices and anecdotes of the chief musicians at the court of the Khalifahs during the first three centuries after the Hijrah. The paper, which is based on the *Kitâb Alaghânî* of Abu'l-Faraj, breaks off at the beginning of the third century in a notice (the 18th) of Abu Muhammad Ishâk.

The same Journal (February–March 1873) contains a paper, by M. S. Guyard, on the Sufic theologian 'Abd ar-Razzâq, in which an analysis and translation are given of his treatise on predestination and free-will. This Arabic writer was already known from his dictionary of the technical terms of the Sufîs, edited by Dr. A. Sprenger. The latter scholar has also shown that the author did not die in 887 of the Hijrah, as stated by Hajji Khalfa, but that he must have lived between 716–736 (A.D. 1316–1335).

In spite of the great difficulties of his task, Professor E. Sachau, of Vienna, has made satisfactory progress in preparing editions of Al-Bîrûnî's two important works, the *Târîkh i Hind* and the *Athâr ul Bâkiá*, and in translating the latter work for our Oriental Translation Fund. The printing of the *Athâr*, for which a liberal sum has been granted by the Indian Government, is already far advanced, and will probably be concluded in the course of the year. The text of the *Târîkh*, which is to be published at the expense of the German Oriental Society, and for which M. Schefer has kindly placed his MS. at the editor's disposal, being also ready for press, it may be hoped that Dr. Sachau will soon be able to devote all his energy to the translation of the former work, so anxiously looked forward to by Oriental scholars.

Himyaritic.—The decided success of M. Joseph Halévy's mission to Yemen has added a mass of new materials to our knowledge of the language and history of the Himyarites. The collection of 686 inscriptions brought away and published by him, with tentative translations, in the *Journal Asiatique*, have enabled him to enter into an examination of the palæography of these documents, and the grammatical formation of the language. In the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society, Dr. F. Praetorius has also published some fresh inscriptions, most of them brought home by Baron von Maltzan, with translations and analyses; and a paper on the Himyarite views on immortality and worship of saints. To the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (vol. II. pt. i.) Captain F. W. Prideaux has contributed an interesting review of the historical and geographical results of recent discoveries in South-West Arabia.

Turkish.—M. Belin has published, in the *Journal Asiatique*, another instalment, the fourth, of his useful *Bibliographie Ottomane*, containing brief accounts of the Turkish books printed at Constantinople during the years 1288 and 1289 of the Hijrah (22 March 1871 to 27 February 1873).

Indo-China.—The untimely death of Lieut. Francis Garnier, of the French navy, must have been learnt with regret by all who take an interest in the progress of geographical discoveries in the East. After the death of his chief, the Capitaine de Lagrée, it fell to his lot to conduct to its successful termination the expedition which, leaving Saigon in 1866, mapped the course of the Cambodia river as far as it is navigable even by

canoes, traversed Yunnan, and finally descended the Yang-tze-kiang, and reached Shanghai in 1868. The results of this journey were published by Lieut. Garnier in two splendid volumes quarto, with a folio atlas of plates, and are replete with interesting information regarding the antiquities and ethnography, as well as the geography, of these very little-known countries. After the completion of this work, Lieut. Garnier returned to China, with the intention of penetrating into Thibet; but being recalled by the Governor of the French settlement at Saigon, he was sent on an expedition to Tonquin, where he was assassinated when imprudently trusting himself almost alone and unarmed into the hands of his enemies.

REMARKS OF M. AUGUSTE BARTH ON THE STATE OF INDIAN SOCIETY IN THE TIME OF BUDDHA, AND THE CHARACTER OF BUDDHISM.

Translated from the French by J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D.

The Nos. of the *Revue Critique* for 13th and 20th June last* contain a notice by M. Barth on the new edition of the 2nd volume of Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, in which the writer, while doing justice to the great merits of the veteran Indianist's work, expresses his dissent from some of the opinions therein maintained. I refer in particular to his remarks on the condition of Indian society and opinion at the time when Buddha appeared, and on the character of Buddhism. Lassen, as represented in M. Barth's summary, holds that, at the period in question, Brâhmanism was a fully formed and developed system, carried out into practice in matters religious, political, and social; that the caste regulations as theoretically laid down were enforced in all their rigour, and were felt by the people to be a great burthen; and that Buddhism was a vigorous reaction against this state of things, against the oppression of the sacerdotal class, and a moral and religious emancipation. I will translate the acute and judicious remarks which M. Barth makes on these subjects at pp. 373 ff. and 385 ff. of his notice, as they may be acceptable to readers who have not access to the *Revue Critique*:—

"For the period in question we possess, in the most modern parts of the *Brâhmanas*, and in several of the *Upanishads*, contemporary testimonies, which avail at least as much as the portions hitherto published of the Buddhist writings. Now, none of these works exhibits to us the Indian and Brâhmanical society in the complete and compacted form which Lassen supposes. There are no traces of an imperious and jealous orthodoxy. Philosophical speculations, religious novelties, even criticisms addressed to the Brâhmans, are in no wise restricted in them. Everything breathes life, movement, and liberty. One thing, it is true, appears to be on the decline, viz. faith in the old worship as a means of ensuring salvation. The traditional practices and doctrines no longer suffice to the awakened conscience; it wants something else. It is in the midst of this state of things, it is in this society, and not in that represented in the Code of Manu, that the nascent Buddhism should be placed. It is there, in what one may call the old Vedântism, rather than in the Sânkhya philosophy, that its source should be sought, and that parallels to it may be found. It is, in fact, probable that before formally rejecting the Veda, Buddhism was content, like other schools, to investigate independently of it; and as regards its atheism or rather its tendency to substitute metaphysical abstractions for the Deity (for it never denied the existence of the gods), did the authors of the *Upanishads*, who sought the primal Principle, some of them in thought, others in breath, others in the vital energy, do anything essentially different? These points of contact [between the Brâhmanical and Buddhist speculations] explain better than [the supposition of] positive conversions [from Brâhmanism to Buddhism] the fact that the same personages sometimes play a part equally marked in both traditions. If Lassen had made more use of these documents, his description of Brâhmanism would thereby have been sensibly modified.

"I believe that we should say the same of the picture which M. Lassen has drawn of caste such as it must have existed at the time when Buddhism arose. Here, too, he seeks his point of departure, and his great authority, in the *Dharmaśâstras*, and in particular in that of Manu. Now, it is allowable to ask whether here, as in other cases, practice was not different from theory, and whether the system which is presented to us in these books was,—even after it has been stripped of certain manifest impossibilities,—ever rigorously applied. In any case it is sufficiently difficult to say for what period it can be considered as perfectly exact. It is certainly not so for the era of Megasthenes, who describes to us a society sensibly different. In fact, it would scarcely be intelligible how the establishment of great mon-

* 8me année, 1er sem. pp. 369-375, 385-390.

archies skilfully organized, and administrative as well as feudal, could have failed to modify, for example, the situation and the recruiting of the military class. Although the profession of arms had not ceased to be regarded as hereditary, this class was then in the pay of the king, and this circumstance alone, which opened a career to adventurers and to soldiers of fortune, must have had the effect of shaking the constitution of the old Kshatriya nobility. On the other hand, it is evident that with the progress of culture the class of artizans must have risen in importance and in prosperity. Now, it is the contrary of this which would appear to result from the testimony of the official literature: according to it, the condition of the Śûdras, in place of being improved by time, becomes worse. If we ascend higher, to the Vedic books, to the more ancient as well as to the more modern, we find the Indian nation divided into a great number of small principalities, in which the ethnic principle of tribe and clan prevails. This organization, which certainly had not become much changed in the time of Buddha, agrees still less with the system of Manu, which presupposes a certain uniformity, and the existence of large states. The greater part of these tribes had, no doubt, a similar social condition: from time immemorial they were divided into four classes, (1) the priests, (2) the nobles, (3) those who were either shepherds, labourers, merchants, and (4) serfs. But it is difficult to define with what degree of rigour this division was observed. At a period still comparatively recent (*Chhândogya Up.* IV. 4. 1) the most jealous and exclusive of all the classes, that of the Brâhmaṇs, does not appear to have been very scrupulous as to the purity of its blood. I am therefore unable to see in the official theory of caste anything else than a sort of conventional doctrine of which we must make use with the utmost prudence,—a doctrine the fundamental datum of which must necessarily, inasmuch as it was consecrated by a sacred tradition, lend itself successively, and in a manner more or less artificial, to the explanation of states of society very different from each other. Without misconceiving one portion of these facts, M. Lassen sees all this in another light. He is struck with the apparent rigour of that symmetrical, immovable, inviolable tradition; and one can easily conceive that, from this point of view, he is astonished, for example, that the rise of dynasties of low extraction,—those, for instance, of the Nandas and the Mauryas in the 4th century B. C.,—should not have shaken it from top to bottom and altogether upset it.

"But if, when regarded from a political and social point of view, the organization of early Indian society does not appear to have had the oppressive and inflexible character,—opposed to all progress,—which we are led to ascribe to it in conformity with M. Lassen's views, was the case not different as regards religion, and did not the omnipotence of the Brâhmaṇical caste involve the spiritual enslavement of the nation? Here, also, I think that we must distinguish, more than Lassen does, between different epochs, as well as between the pretensions of a caste and the real state of things. The Brâhmaṇs had not yet monopolized all the intellectual life. Certain testimonies of the epic poems which are applicable to this very period, as also the very nature of the Vedic books, show, for example, that there existed alongside of them, an entire profane literature of great extent, of which we have, it is true, nothing but the remains as modified by them, but which was certainly at first in other hands.. They (the Brâhmaṇs) did not, properly speaking, form a clergy; they had no uniform organization, no hierarchy, no orthodoxy, and very few common interests to defend; nearly all the domestic worship, and without doubt also the local religions, were beyond their control; and even in the province of theology their own books prove that they understood how, in case of necessity, to accept the lessons of powerful men not belonging to their own caste. Although, for the most part, they derived their subsistence from the celebration of the received religious worship, they do not appear to have been all equally bent upon defending it; and I have already had occasion to remark that in proclaiming a religion purely spiritual, and the incapability of ceremonies to secure salvation, Buddha had not brought forward a doctrine absolutely novel. Their teaching, it is true, appears to have been in a high degree esoteric and exclusive, and in this respect I do not wish in any way to deny the immense superiority of Buddhism. I will only draw attention to the circumstance that, if we were in possession of documents fitted to throw light upon the part which the Brâhmaṇs must have played in the development of the popular religions, this contrast, which we are obliged to recognize, would probably be found to be somewhat diminished. At least, at a more recent period, the most of these religions have, under the auspices of the Brâhmaṇs, assumed, in reference to the castes, even the lowest of them, a position nearly resembling that of Buddhism, without having, on that account, become exposed to a systematic hostility on the part of those who remained faithful to the old traditions.

"I cannot, therefore, recognize in Buddha, in the same degree as M. Lassen does, the character of an antagonist of Brâhmaṇism. Without wishing

in any degree to disparage the greatness and the nobility of his personal work, without contesting in the least the vitality and the expansive force of some of his principles, I would not seek in its doctrine the great novelty of Buddhism, or the secret of its success. These I find rather in its organization. The founder of the new religion in reality secured for it a militia when he laid the foundations of monachism. He thus created, without wishing it, an institution far better disciplined, and more aggressive, than the Brâhmanical caste, but at the same time far more illiberal, and dangerous to independence of thought. Thus Buddhism, in spite of the generous intentions of its author, in spite of its fine characteristics, its admirable morality, its truly human charity and compassion, appears to me to have been quite the reverse of an emancipation. We are unfavourably placed, it is true, for judging it by its first effects; but it is only too probable that all independence, all true originality of thought, soon disappeared in the bosom of that enervating organization. Except some admirable maxims, and some legends of striking beauty, the literature which it has left to us bears all the characters of decrepitude; and it is astonishing that M. Lassen should have passed by so many evidences of a precocious senility without having been struck by them in the slightest degree. The contemporary ruling powers committed no such mistake. They were then on the way to gain the ascendancy, and comprehended at once what a powerful and docile instrument they were about to have in these communities which had so recently come into existence, which were without traditions or external support, humble by profession, detached from everything beyond the interests of the sect and the monastery, and sufficiently organized to be serviceable, but not sufficiently so to create any distrust,—something, in short, like the mendicant orders of Catholicism without the Pope. Accordingly we see the Government soon beginning to take measures for their protection. M. Lassen has remarked this feature of the fortunes of Buddhism; but I doubt if he has given it sufficient prominence. Thus, for example, he is careful not to suspect a concealed political motive for the conversion of Aśoka. He presents us with a most attractive picture of this prince, and of his religious zeal, although, even in the absence of other documents than his own inscriptions and the narratives of monks, certain bloody episodes of his history lead us to form a somewhat different idea of the reign of this Oriental Constantine."*

Braemar, July 27th, 1874.

REVIEW.

REPORT on the CENSUS of the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1871, with Appendix; by W. R. Cornish, F.R.C.S., Surgeon-Major, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras. Government Gazette Press, Madras, 1874.

Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner, Madras, has favoured us with the two large volumes containing the results of the census taken in that Presidency in 1871. Comment on the purely statistical part of these returns, valuable as they are from both matter and method, is beyond the province of the *Indian Antiquary*. But Dr. Cornish's 11th chapter, on Caste, and his numerous extracts and summaries from the reports of the district officers, contain a vast amount of information as to races and religions, most interesting in an ethnological and philological point of view. Specially so is the report of Mr. H. G. Turner upon the wild tribes of Jaypúr, in the Vizagapatam district (pp. 221 *seqq.*).

These tables give the enormous number of 3,209 sub-divisions of castes in four languages, viz. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kanarese. It is true that in many instances the same sub-division is named in two or more languages; but, on the other hand, those familiar with Hindu customs know that mere distance and variety of local speech are generally quite enough to make difference of caste, *i.e.* to prevent intermarriage or a common table, although the race be the same. And although Dr. Cornish does not anywhere define what he means by a "sub-division of a caste," it is obvious that his sub-divisions are not mere clans (*gotram, kûl*), but separate classes of the community.

One feature of the returns which strikes us (writing in Bombay) is that the name of "Pârsî" does not occur throughout the two volumes. There must be *some* Pârsîs in Madras, and wherever a single member of that remarkable race is found he may well be "made a note of," instead of being lumped with "other castes." For the classification of Jains along with Buddhists the Government of India is probably responsible. It is evident from the remarks of Dr. Cornish that he is as well aware of its absurdity as was to be expected from so acute and philosophical a writer. The fact is that the relation of Jainism to Buddhism is closely analogous to that of Islâm to Judaism, the resemblance in each case resting upon unacknowledged borrowings:

* p. 386.

and it would be quite as logical to lump Musalmâns, and even Christians, along with Jews, as it is to set down the Jains as a mere sub-division of Buddhists. Indeed, as Dr. Cornish remarks, there are practically no Buddhists in Southern and Western India. There may be a few stray Singhalese or Burmese; as to Chinamen the application of the term Buddhist to most of them is rather a strain upon the meaning of the word. Dr. Cornish occasionally gives Marâthî names for castes: generally wrong, as *Hujam* (Hajâm) for a Barber, and *Dheda* as an equivalent to the Madras Paria. (*Vide* vol. II. pp. 76 and 130.) Both are Hindustânî words, andthe latter is applied only to one caste (the Mahârs) of several which would come under the term Paria in Madras and are known collectively in Mahârâshṭra as Parwârî. This is an instance of how apt the most acute and well-informed of Indian scholars are to be misled in details relating to provinces with which they are not personally acquainted. Dr. Cornish generously acknowledges the credit due to his predecessor, the late Mr. Gover, one of the most valued contributors to the *Antiquary*; and it is pleasant to find here and there in these important returns the names of other supporters still flourishing, and scraps of interesting information which have before appeared in these pages.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PARADISE.

[Answer to Query in the *Ind. Ant.* ante, p. 236.]

The question whether *Paradise* is connected with the Sanskṛit *Paradeśa* has been asked many times, but it must be answered in the negative. *Paradeśa* does not mean in Sanskṛit 'the best or highest country,' but 'a foreign country,' more particularly an enemy's country. The word occurs for the first time in the Song of Solomon (iv. 13), in the form of *pardês*, and it has found its way into Hebrew, not from Sanskṛit, but from Persian. The Sanskṛit *paradeśa* would in Persian have assumed the form of *paradaeṣa*, the *ṣ* being a palatal, not a dental *s*. Such a word does not occur in Zend, but the word which does occur in Zend, and which alone can be the etymon of *paradise*, is *pairidaêza*, which means *circumvallatio*, a piece of ground enclosed by a high wall, afterwards a park or garden. Xenophon found the word used in Persia in that sense, and it afterwards appears in the LXX. The root of this word is DIH (or DHIH), for Sanskṛit *h*=Zend *z*, and means originally to knead, to squeeze together, to shape. From it we have the Sanskṛit *dehî*, a wall, while in Greek the same root, according to the strictest phonetic rules, yielded τοῖχος, wall. In Latin the root is regularly changed into *fig*, and gives us *figulus*, potter, *fig-ura*, form or shape, and *fingere*. In Gothic it could only appear as *deigan*, to knead, to form anything out of soft earth; hence *daig-s*, the English *dough*.

The Sanskṛit *deha*, body, also springs from the same root, body being, like *figure*, that which is formed. Bopp identified this *deha* with Gothic *leik*, body, and particularly dead body, the modern German *Leiche* and *Leichnam*, the English *lich* in *Lich-gate*. But such is the strictness of phonetic rules that this identification, apparently so simple and easy, cannot possibly be allowed. The transition of *d* into *l* is common enough between Sanskṛit, Latin and Greek, but it has never been established on good evidence as between Sanskṛit and Gothic. Besides the *h* ought in Gothic to appear as *g*, as we have it in *deig-s*.

The history of the word P a r a d i s e is therefore this: It was a word of Zend origin, was adopted by the Jews at a very early time, and thus found its way into the Old Testament. It was again adopted by Xenophon, and thus found its way into Greek. It was lastly used by the LXX., and thus transferred into ecclesiastic Greek and Latin, and all the languages of modern Europe.

MAX MÜLLER.

NIJAGUṆA (*ante*, p. 244).

With regard to the date assigned to Nijaguṇa, I feel certain "the Śaka year counted by guṇa, ṛitu, giri, and vishaya" is wrong.

Nijaguṇa mentions the *Śábara bhâshya;* the *Bhâṭṭa* of Bhaṭṭâchârya; the *vyâkhyâna* on the *Śábara bhâshya*, called *Prábhákara*, by Prabhâkara guru, a disciple of Bhaṭṭâchârya; the *Vedânta bhâshya* by Śaṅkara; the *vivarana* regarding this by Vivaraṇâchârya; a *Vṛitti*, the *Pañchapâdikâ*, the *Râmânandîya*, the *Brahmavidyâbharana*, and many other *vyâkhyânas* regarding the same *Vedânta bhâshya* by Śaṅkara's disciples; the *Bhâmatî* by Vâchaspatimiśra; the *vyâkhyâna* called *Kalpataru;* and the ṭîkâ called *Kaustubha*.

Nijaguṇa is mentioned in a Canarese novel of 1657 A.D.; and Dr. Burnell has been kind enough to inform me that the *Kalpataru* was written by Appayya Dîkshita, who lived in the Tanjore province in the 16th century. So Nijaguṇa falls somewhere between 1522 (the year generally assigned to Appayya Dikshita) and 1657 A.D.

F. KITTEL.

Mercara, 23rd October 1874.

THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT-DEED OF THE JEWISH COLONY AT COCHIN.

BY A. C. BURNELL, PH.D. M.C.S.

THE existence of a considerable Jewish colony in Cochin and neighbouring towns has long been known, and has excited much interest among very different classes. Of the speculations of people like Buchanan* the least said is best; and the prejudiced remarks of the fanatical Portuguese are as unsatisfactory in spirit as worthless in matter.

It is beyond doubt that Jewish colonies were established many centuries ago on the south-west coast of India. Arab travellers in the 10th century mention them as numerous in Ceylon. Vasco de Gama in his first voyage found a Polish Jew at the Anjedives,† and the early Portuguese appear to have called the king of Cochin king of the Jews on account of the number in his territory, just as the king of Calicut was called king of the Moors (or Muhammadans).‡ The great original settlement in South India was at Cranganore, but when that place fell under the Portuguese, the Jews met with such injustice that they left it and settled near Cochin,§ which has always been the chief settlement since then, though there are several at Chêntamangalam and other inland towns. These colonies generally consist of prosperous and even wealthy families, and are held in much esteem by their neighbours of all classes and sects. They are mostly Sephardim; but there are at Cochin also a few Ashkenazim families: except that they wear the dress used by the people of Bagdad and the Levant, and mostly talk Malayâḷam as their vernacular language, they do not in the least differ from their co-religionists elsewhere, either in rites, features, or in customs.‖ Since Prof. Max Müller's lecture on Missions (in Westminster Abbey) has excited some discussion as to missionary religions, it may be worth while to point out that the Jews in South-Western India have been in past ages most successful missionaries; the number of "Black Jews" or proselytes probably amounts to several thousands even now.

The accompanying plate represents the grant by which the Jews originally settled at Cranganore, and is still in possession of one of the elders at Cochin.¶ This grant is in Tamiḻ as used on the west coast before the development of Malayâḷam,* and is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu, the original character which once prevailed over nearly all the Tamiḻ country and south-west coast, but which has long ceased to be used in the former place, and in the latter is now only known in a later form, used for drawing up documents by Hindu Râjas.† The existence of this grant has long been known. A. Moens (a Dutch Governor of Cochin) first gave an account of it (in *Busching's Magazine*) in the last century. Anquetil Duperron gave an account a little later. At the beginning of this century F. W. Ellis (a Madras Civilian and the real founder of Draviḍian Comparative Philology) translated the text in a most scholarlike manner; but his sudden death in 1819 prevented the publication of his essay, which remained unknown till 1844, when Sir W. Elliot discovered and printed it with an excellent facsimile in vol. XIII. part ii. of the *Madras Literary Society's Journal.* Meanwhile another Madras Civilian, C. M. Whish, had attempted to explain it, and his translation was published in 1839 (after his death) in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*.‡ Lastly, the chief of Draviḍian philologists, Dr. H. Gundert, translated it, and his version was published in the *Madras Journal* (vol. XIII. part i. pp. 135-142). The oldest version of all is, however, one in Hebrew that exists at Cochin;§ the age of this is uncertain, but it is certainly more than two

* *Christian Researches*, pp. 204-221.

† De Barros, *Asia*, Dec. I. Liv. iv. cap. xii. (p. 364 of pt. i. vol. I. of the edition of 1777).

‡ *Ib.* Dec. III. Liv. vii. cap. xi. (p. 234 of pt. ii. of vol. III. of the edition of 1777).

§ According to the *Noticias dos Judæos de Cochin*, Amsterdam, 1681 (which I have not seen for myself), the migration to Cochin was in 1565. [Conf. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. p. 680. —ED.]

‖ Several rambling accounts of supposed customs of the Cochin Jews have been printed, but they all rest on misunderstandings and errors.

¶ Buchanan tried to get possession of these plates, but failed; he was given a copy, which he sent to Cambridge.

* For the peculiarities of the language, see p. 14 of No. ii. of my *Specimens of S. India Dialects*.

† I have already given an account of this alphabet in the *Ind. Ant.* (I. p. 229); a fuller description will be found in my *Elements of S. Ind. Palæography* (which will be shortly published), pp. 38-42.

‡ Vol. X. pp. 433-5. Also reprinted in Dr. J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II. p. 679.—ED.

§ Printed in the *Madras Journal*, XIII. pt. ii. pp. 11, 12, and translated by Dr. Gundert.

hundred years old, as the earliest accounts of the grant were given from it. In all probability it was made about four hundred years ago.

The actual date of this grant cannot be ascertained,* as the date given in it is uncertain; but it cannot be later than the eighth century A.D., for of two other similar grants in possession of the so-called Syrian Christians one presupposes its existence, and one of these I have ascertained to be of 774 A.D., while the other belongs to the beginning of the ninth century. Nor can the grant now published be older than the beginning of the eighth century, as the many Grantha letters in it are too developed to be of an earlier date.

As I have already twice printed the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet, it is useless to give a transcript of the Tamiḷ, especially as it would involve the preparation of a number of special types. Taking Dr. Gundert's and Mr. Ellis's translations as guides, I would propose to translate it as follows :—†

Translation.

Svasti Śrî. The King of kings has ordered—(*This is*) the act of grace ordered by His Majesty Śrî Pâṛkaraṇ Iravi Vaṇmar ‡ wielding the sceptre and reigning in a hundred thousand places, (*in*) the year (*which is*) the opposite to the second year, the thirty-sixth year, (*on*) the day he deigned to abide in Mûyirikkôḍu.§ We have given to Îsuppu Iṛabbâṇ || Aṇsuvaṇṇam (*as a principality*), and seventy-two proprietory rights (*appertaining to the dignity of a feudal lord*), also tribute by reverence (?) and offerings, and the profits of Aṇsuvaṇṇam, and day-lamps, and broad garments (*as opposed to the custom of Malabar*), and palankins, and umbrellas, (*No.* I.) and large drums, and trumpets, and small drums and garlands, and garlands across streets, etc., and the like, and seventy-two free houses. We have relinquished the dues by weight and duties. Moreover we have granted by this document on copper that he shall not pay the taxes paid by the houses of the city into the royal treasury¶ and the (*above-said*) privileges to hold (*them*). To Îsuppu Iṛabbâṇ, prince of Aṇsuvaṇṇam, and to his descendants, his sons and daughters, and to his nephews, and to (*the nephews*) of his daughters in natural succession, Aṇsuvaṇṇam (*is*) an (*No.* III.) hereditary estate as long as the world and moon exist. Śrî.

I, Kovarttaṇa Mâttâṇḍaṇ,* prince of Vêṇâḍu, know this deed.

I, Kôtai Siri Kaṇḍan, prince of Venuvalinâḍ, know this deed.

I, Mâna Vepala Mâna Vîyan, prince of Eṛâḷanâḍu, know this deed.

I, Iṛâyarañ Sâttan, prince of Vaḷḷuvanâḍu, know this deed.

I, Kôtai Yiravi, prince of Neḍumpuṛaiyûrnâḍu, know this deed.

I, Mûrkkaṇ Sâttan, of Kîḻpaḍainâyakam (? Commander of the Eastern army), know this deed.

The writing of Pôḷanâya Kîḻvâya Kêḷappaṇ, engraved (?) by Vaṇṛagaisêri Kaṇḍaṇ.

It is remarkable that the witnesses are all local chiefs, so there can be no doubt that Yusuf Rabbân was admitted to a similar position by their consent.

The site of Aṇsuvaṇṇam † is not known; and, though it must be part of the country around Cranganore, there is little use looking for it. Every town in South India which is known to foreigners by one name (*e.g.* Madras, Tanjore) in reality consists of a larger or smaller number of hamlets, each with its distinct name; and as one or the other of these rises in importance by being made a royal residence, or the harbour being altered, or for similar reasons, the whole town changes its name with strangers. Hence the difficulty of identifying some towns in South India which were formerly well known.

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* The Jews of Cochin themselves say it was granted in the year 4139 of their era of the creation or A.D. 379.—Wilson's *Lands*, &c. vol. II. p. 678.—ED.

† The order of the plates as marked on the original impression sent to the Editor had got confused, and this has unfortunately been perpetuated in the accompanying lithograph—II. comes first, then I., and then III.

‡ ? Bhâskara-Ravi-Varmâ.

§ This is explained in the Hebrew version by Cranganore, and Mûyiri is, no doubt, the original of the Mouziris of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Red Sea.* It is (according to local tradition) the part where the Travancore lines end, opposite to Cranganore but across the back-water, and is the only place on the south-west coast (as I have ascertained by personal inspection of the ports) which corresponds with the minute description given in the *Periplus.*

|| *i.e.* Yusuf Rabbân.

¶ Kôyil, *i.e.* King's or God's house (Kô + il).

* Govardhana Mârtaṇḍa.

† Dr. Gundert has ascertained beyond doubt that this word (lit. *fire colours*) does not mean some privilege (as had been supposed), but is the name of a place: *Madras Journal*, XIII. pt. ii. p. 13.

FAC-SIMILE OF A JEWISH ŚÂSANAM.

FAC-SIMILE OF A JEWISH ŚÂŚANAM.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SENTIMENTS FREELY TRANSLATED FROM INDIAN WRITERS.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., EDINBURGH.

(*Continued from page 242.*)

Such of the following texts as are not from the *Mahâbhârata*,—and probably a portion of these also,—are derived from Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*. It will be seen that the ancient epic poem has furnished the substance of many of the maxims elaborated by later authors.

Vikramacharita, 232. *Piety to the God of Gods.*

O God of Gods, thou art to me
A father, mother, kinsmen, friends;
I knowledge, riches, find in thee;
All good thy being comprehends.

Mahâbh. XII., 12084, and 9. "*Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where thieves do not break through and steal.*"

Before decay thy body wears,
And with it strength and beauty bears;
Before disease, stern charioteer,
Thy frame's dissolver, death, brings near.
Those noblest treasures hoard in haste
Which neither time nor chance can waste.
With ceaseless care amass that wealth
Which neither thieves can filch by stealth,
Nor greedy tyrants snatch away,—
Which even in death shall with thee stay.

Śântiśataka, 3, 5. *Remember thy mortality.*

Thou hear'st that from thy neighbour's stores
Some goods by theft have vanished; so,
That none of thine by stealth may go,
Thou sett'st a watch, and barr'st thy doors.
'Tis well: but know'st thou never fear,
When thou dost learn that every day
Stern death from many a dwelling near
A helpless victim tears away?
Deluded mortals, warning take,
From such insensate slumber wake!

Châṇakya, 5. *Knowledge a treasure which cannot be lost.*

With knowledge, say, what other wealth
Can vie, which neither thieves by stealth
Can take, nor greedy kinsmen seize,
Which, lavished, suffers no decrease?

Mahâbh. V. 1474. *Never do what would distress thee on a sick-bed.*

Such deeds as thou with fear and grief
Would'st, on a sick-bed laid, recall,
In youth and health eschew them all,
Remembering life is frail and brief.

Śârṇgadhara's Paddhati Nîti, 2. *Daily self-examination.*

With daily scrutinizing ken
Let every man his actions try,
Inquiring "What with brutes have I
In common, what with noble men?"

Panchatantra, II. 117. (*Ed. Bomb.*) *A small part of the pains bestowed on worldly objects would suffice to gain heaven.*

Fools endless labour, pains, and moil
In storing earthly wealth endure,
The hundredth part of all that toil
Would everlasting bliss ensure.

Mahâbh. XI. 116. *No distinctions in the grave.*

Enslaved by various passions, men
Profound self-knowledge fail to gain;
Some yield to pride of birth, and scorn
All those in humbler stations born;
By wealth elated, some look down
On mortals cursed by fortune's frown;
While others, trained in learning's schools,
Contemn the unlearn'd, and call them fools.
All quickly others' faults discern;
Their own to check they cannot learn.
But soon a time arrives when all,—
The wise, the foolish, great and small,
The rich, the poor, the high, the low,
The proud, the humble,—hence must go.
Within the graveyard lone reclined,
Their pomp, their rags, they leave behind.
Soon, soon their lifeless frames a prey
Become to sure and sad decay.
When forms, once fair, of flesh are reft,
And only skeletons are left,
Say, then, of all the bones around
That strew the sad funereal ground,
What eye has power to recognize
Those of the rich, the great, the wise?
When all by death's impartial blow
Shall, undistinguished, soon lie low,
Why, why should now the proud, the strong,
The weak, the lowly, seek to wrong;
Whoe'er, before the eyes of men,
And when removed beyond their ken,
Will heed this warning kind, though stern,
The highest future bliss shall earn.

Mahâbh. XII. 859. *Rich sometimes die young, and poor live long.*

Some men decrepit, poor, distrest,
Survive to life's extremest stage;
While some by fortune richly blest
Are seized by death in middle age:
And few of those with splendour graced
Enjoy the bliss they hoped to taste.

Panchatantra III. 103. (*Ed. Bomb.*) *Do not to others what thou would'st not have done to thee.*

Hear virtue's sum embraced in one
Brief maxim—lay it well to heart—
Ne'er do to others what, if done
To thee, would cause thee inward smart.

Mahâbh. III. 16796. *Disinterestedness.*

The good to others kindness show,
And from them no return exact.
The greatest, noblest men, they know,
Thus generously love to act.

Mahâbh. XIII. 5572. "*Do to others as ye would that they should do to you.*"

Whene'er thy acts the source must be
Of good or ill to other men,
Mete out to them the measure then
Which thou would'st have them mete to thee.

Panchat. I. 247. (*Ed. Bomb.*) "*If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?*"

His action no applause invites
Who simply good with good repays.
He only justly merits praise
Who wrongful deeds with good requites.

Bhâg. Purâṇa, VIII. 7, 44. *The highest worship of the Deity.*

To scatter joy throughout thy whole
Surrounding world; to share men's grief:—
Such is the worship, best and chief,
Of God, the universal Soul.

Mahâbh. V. 1518. "*Overcome evil with good.*"

With meekness conquer wrath, and ill with ruth,
By giving, niggards vanquish, lies with truth.

Mahâbh. V. 1270: XII. 9972. "*Who when He was reviled, reviled not again,*" *&c.*

Reviling meet with patience; ne'er
To men malignant malice bear.
Harsh tones and wrathful language meet
With gentle speech and accents sweet.
When struck return not thou the blow.
Even gods their admiration show
Of men who so entreat a foe.

Mahâbh. XII. 5528. "*If thine enemy hunger, feed him.*"

That foe repel not with a frown
Who claims thy hospitable aid;
A tree refuses not its shade
To him who comes to hew it down.

Pref. to Halhed's 'Gentoo Code.' *Forgiveness of injuries.*

A hero hates not even the foe
Whose deadly bow is 'gainst him bent;
The sandal-tree with fragrant scent
Imbues the axe which lays it low.

Mahâbh. XIII. 3212. *Suppliants not to be sent away empty.*

Let none with scorn a suppliant meet,
Or from the door untended spurn;
A dog, an outcast, kindly treat,
And so shalt thou be blest in turn.

Hitopadeśa, 1, 55. *The same.*

The good extend their loving care
To men, however mean or vile;
E'en base Châṇḍâlas' dwellings share
Th' impartial moonbeam's silvery smile.

Subhâshitârnava, 275. *Men censorious, and blind to their own faults.*

Men soon the faults of others learn;
A few their virtues, too, find out;
But is there one—I have a doubt—
Who can his own defects discern?

Panchat. I. 314. *Conceit difficult to cure.*

Declare what power the born conceit
Can drive from any creature's mind.
See yonder bird, its back reclined
On earth, throws up its little feet,
While there it sleeps, the sky to prop,
Which else to earth might downward drop.

Hitopadeśa, (ed. Schlegel), I. 98. *To advise others is easy, to act well is difficult.*

Whoe'er will others seeking light, advise,
His task is easy,—here all men are wise.
But urged themselves to virtue, most no more
The wisdom show they seemed to have before.

Râmâyaṇa (ed. Gorresio), VI. 67, 10. *Saying easy, doing difficult.*

In words to carry out a plan
Is easy work for any man;
But those with wisdom blest and skill,
Alone, hard tasks in act fulfil.

Mahâbh. XII. 5961. *Retirement from the world not necessary for self-control.*

Why, pray, to forests wild repair,
There war against thy senses wage?
Where dwells the self-subduing sage,
The wood, the hermit's cell, is there.

Hitop. II. 10. *"Gutta cavat lapidem," &c.; good slowly acquired.*

As water-drops which slowly fall
A pitcher fill by ceaseless flow;
So learning, virtue, riches, all,
By constant small accessions grow.

Mahâbh. XII. 3855. *Good and evil not always apparent at first sight.*

Oft ill of good the semblance bears,
And good the guise of evil wears;
So loss of wealth, though bringing pain,
To many a man is real gain.

Mahâbh. V. 1452. *The same.*

That loss from which advantage springs
Can ne'er a real loss be deemed;
And that is not true gain esteemed
Which, soon or later, ruin brings.

Mahâbh. XII. 6577. *Wealth injurious to some men.*

The unthinking man with whom, too kind,
The goddess Fortune ever dwells,
Becomes the victim of her spells;
As autumn's clouds the wind impels,
She sweeps away his better mind.
Pride, born of viewing stores of gold,
Conceit of beauty, birth, invade
His empty soil; he is not made,
He deems, like men of vulgar mould.

Subhâshit. 110. *Discontent.*

Most men the good they have, despise,
And blessings which they have not, prize;
In winter wish for summer's glow,
In summer long for winter's snow.

Drishṭânta Śataka, 76. *"A prophet has no honour in his own country."*

A man in whom his kindred see
One like themselves, of common mould,
May yet by thoughtful strangers be
Among the great and wise enrolled.
While herds a herd in Vishṇu saw,*
Gods viewed the lord of all with awe.

Hitop. II. 44. *Virtue difficult; vice easy.*

As stones rolled up a hill with toil and pain
Come quickly bounding backward o'er its side,
'Tis hard the top of virtue's steep to gain,
But easy down the slope of vice to glide.

Bhartṛihari. *Contrasts of life.*

Hark! here the sound of lute so sweet,
And there the voice of wailing loud;
Here scholars grave in conclave meet,
There howls the brawling drunkard-crowd;
Here charming maidens full of glee,
There tottering, withered dames, we see.
Such light! such shade! I cannot tell
If here we live in heaven or hell.†

Bhâg. Pur. VII. 5, 37. *What is injurious, though endeared to us, is to be abandoned. "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off," &c.*

That alien man who blessing brings
The wise with love parental greet,
But like a dire disease will treat
The son from whom destruction springs.
Thy limb unsound, although with pain,
Lop off, remove the noxious taint
Which renders all thy body faint,
That thus the whole may strength regain.

August 1874.

NOTES ON CASTES IN THE PUṆÂ AND SOLÂPUR DISTRICTS.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S.

(*Concluded from page 190.*)

H.—Pârsîs.

There are few Pârsîs in these districts except the shopkeepers of the towns of Puṇâ and Solâpur, and a few rich families from Bombay who have houses in Puṇâ. The regular division into Kadamî and Sheharsahî exists among these. None, I think, had any settlement here previous to the advent of British power.

J.—Jews.

A full description of the Jews of this Presidency would belong more properly to a paper

* *Or*—'In Vishṇu clowns a herdsman saw.'

† The last two lines of the original are not quite so strongly expressed as in my version. They run thus:—"I know not if the essence of the world is ambrosia or poison."

on the Kulâbâ District. They say that, at some time not accurately fixed, certain fugitives of their race were shipwrecked at Nawagâm, a few miles north of Alîbâg (v. *ante*, p. 322). The graves of those who perished are still in existence there, according to my informant, in the shape of two long mounds. There were no Jews in the Dekhan under the Marâṭhâ government; and it is a curious instance of the sort of official emigration that goes on under our government that the whole Jewish colony in the town of Puṇâ traces its origin to a single inspector of police. After him came a few of his own family, and then others; and now they number (in the second generation) about two hundred souls. Of these some are Government writers, some pensioners of the native army, and a good many carpenters. They call themselves Benî-Israel, in a general way, because, they say, they don't know to what tribe they belong. These Indian Jews seem to have no great aptitude for trade, although many were formerly in business in the Kulâbâ District, especially as dyers. But in the service of Government they are honourably distinguished for intelligence and honesty, and in the native army a greater number of them rise to commissions than of any other race, proportionably to the number of recruits. The Jewish carpenters, too, rank high in their trade.

The Kâlâ-Israel, or Black Jews, are said to be the descendants of native concubines kept by Jews, and *not*, as is sometimes supposed, of proselytes. Considering how unlikely the Muhammadan and Hindu governments were to permit any efforts of the Jews to propagate their faith, I think their account of this matter is probably correct. The Benî-Israel do not marry or eat with the Kâlâ-Israel, but permit community of worship. The latter seem to prefer military service to any other profession. It will be observed that the old warrior-spirit is still strong in the race; and they carry their pugnacity into domestic life, and into the settlement of the religious disputes which frequently arise among them, and generally end in an attempt to

"Settle matters orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

They have no Rabbis, but elect their readers from among the congregation, which appears to be divided into two parties, the writers being "Progresistas," and the carpenters and military men strong Conservatives—a division observable among other races. Naturally it is usually the latter party who support their views by sermons found in paving-stones. There are two or three families of Mesopotamian Jews, connected in one way or another with the Sassoon family. These latter conform much more to our European idea of the race, being keen men of business, and little given to entering the military or administrative service of Government. Except for the small internal differences already mentioned, there is probably no race in India whose members so seldom come in the way of penal justice: I never saw or heard of a Jewish thief or beggar, or known bad character of any sort.

K.—Native Christians.

Setting aside the converts of Protestant missionaries—miscellaneous in class and insignificant in number—the native Christians of these parts are all of the Catholic faith, all descended from the ancient Portuguese converts and mixed marriages, and all immigrants from the Koṅkan, like the Jews and Pârsîs.

There are two divisions of them; the most numerous are the Goanese Catholics, by which I mean not merely those who are natives of Goa, but also those British subjects who acknowledge the authority of the Archbishop of that place. These claim what I may be permitted to call the *Portu*-Gallican liberties, and, so far as I can make out, are very much at one with the more modern and audacious "Altkatholiken" of Germany.

At bitter feud with them are the Ultramontane party, who acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Bombay, and whose spiritual affairs are chiefly conducted by the Fathers of the Company of Jesus. These, although less numerous, are the wealthier and more educated portion of the native Christians, and are united with that portion of the community which calls itself Indo-Briton and with the European Catholics, whence it comes about that we hear a good deal more of them in large towns and camps. In the Koṅkans, where there are ancient endowments and other temporalities worth waging war about, the disputes of these two parties sometimes come into court. But above ghât, where the churches are chiefly supported by the members, the native Christians, a peaceable and inoffensive race, seldom come under

the grip of the law. They make excellent domestic servants, musicians, and tailors; a good many are employed as clerks in public and private offices; but the career most affected by the best of them is the medical service of Government, in which they have been particularly successful.

I have to add, in concluding this list of races, three wandering tribes, of which I have met with individuals in the Puṇâ District since writing the notes which appeared in the *Antiquary* of July (p. 184):—

1. Komṭî: appear to be closely allied to the Phânsî Pârdhîs.

2. Gârûdîs (not to be confounded with that division of the Mâng caste sometimes known by this name). This tribe are tumblers and beggars, and come, they say, from Bengal. They live in grass-mat huts, like most of our wandering tribes, but they construct them of a ridge and gable form, while those of all the Western "gypsies" are supported upon bamboo hoops, which give the roof a rounded appearance.

3. Kânphâṭes.—A caste of semi-religious mendicants who wear in their ears large and hideous glass ornaments,* whence the name.

I have now enumerated 87 different races observed in the two collectorates of Puṇâ and Solâpur; many of these are again subdivided, but only in a few cases have I been able to give particulars of their sections, and anyone giving his attention to the subject would be able to double the list under the heads of the Brâhmans, Vâṇîs, and wandering tribes. But so minute an investigation comes rather within the province of a student than of a district officer. In one instance, I believe, I have been able to add a clear and definite fact to the ethnological geography of India, viz. that the Bhill race is not found south of the Kukaḍî river (*ante*, p. 189). I hope that any reader of the *Antiquary* who has the means of correcting any of the numerous errors, and still more numerous omissions, which must of necessity occur in rough notes entirely the result of personal experience, will be kind enough to do so.

NOTES ON PROF. HOERNLE'S TRANSLATION OF THE 27TH CANTO OF CHAND.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B.C.S.

The recent publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the first fasciculus of Prof. Hoernle's edition of the text of Chand has enabled me to compare with the original his translation of part of the 27th canto, that occupies pages from 17 to 20 of the present volume of the *Indian Antiquary*. To prevent any misconception, I may say at once that I consider it unquestionably and without exception the most accurate rendering of a passage of any length that has yet appeared: for the specimens given by Tod in his *Râjputâna* are spirited paraphrases, but make no attempt at the precision required in literal translations. There are, however, several passages in which I think correction is necessary; and as the translator has invited criticism, I proceed to indicate them. Unfortunately, it is scarcely possible to criticize without assuming to some extent an air of superiority: this, however, I have no wish to claim; but, on the contrary, I feel assured that if the original translation had been mine, Prof. Hoernle would have been able to discover many more defects in it.

To put out of the question the numerous errors which copyists have doubtless introduced into the MSS., Chand's narrative is so involved and digressive, and the structure of his sentences so independent of grammatical restrictions, that no single reader can at all times make sure that he has grasped his meaning. Occasionally a happy intuition may lead at once to the true sense of a passage which a better scholar might puzzle over for days without apprehending. Thus I claim no particular merit for the suggestions that follow, though all seem to me highly probable, and most of them absolutely certain. In Prof. Hoernle's translation the name of the metre only is given at the head of the different paragraphs, but, for convenience of reference, I have added a serial number also.

2. (*Kavitta*, p. 17.) For 'he rejoiced the heart of Umâ,' *rānjî umayâ ur andar*, read 'joy was caused in his heart;' *umayâ* being here, as I take it, not the goddess Umâ, of whom any mention seems to be a little out of place, but rather equivalent to the Hindi *umang*, connected with *uchchho*, *utsar*. For 'his offspring becoming embodied,' *aulâdi tâs tanu*, read 'the offspring of his body.' In the

* See an account of the Kânphâṭîs in Kachh, with the legend of Dharmanâth their founder, by Lieut. Postans, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. (1839) pp. 268-271.—ED.

sentence 'Dâhima meeting with his lord,' the definite article seems to have dropt out, *the* Dâhima being Châmand Râi.

4. (*Kavitta.*) The lines

ambar bihár gati mand hua
nar arúrhan sangrahiye

are translated 'thus removed from the skies their bodies became weak, and they were caught to serve as vehicles for men.' But they are rather the direct words of the curse, 'Becoming too feeble of body for heavenly enjoyment, may you be caught,' &c. For 'Romapâda the lord of Sambhari going to hunt' read 'O Lord of Sambhar, Romapâda going to hunt;' for Romapâda was king, not of Sambhar, but of Champapur.

5. (*Doha.*) For 'made the elephants six times as fat as before,' *gaj chigg chhagun kín*, read rather 'the elephants screamed again and again with delight.' *chinghárna* being the technical word for the cry of an elephant when pleased.

7. (*Kavitta.*) 'The Brahmarshi' should be 'a Brahmarshi,' as the personage so introduced has not been previously mentioned.

8. *Bor*, I think, cannot be 'a bag,' for *bora*; but rather *bor liya* should be taken together as a compound verb meaning 'wiped up:' for neither would the elephant be carrying about a bag, nor could the semen be preserved in an article of that kind. *Ur*, again, is ordinarily used by Chand in the sense of 'womb,' which is clearly its meaning here.

(10.) *Kavitta.* For 'if the prince have a taste for a carriage of ivory,' *Bír gaj dant chavana rath*, read 'fine elephants with tusks to break off,' *rath* being *metri gratiâ* for *arth*. The precise meaning of the next four lines is obscure; but I do not think it probable that 'Singhavatt' is a proper name. And, further on, I feel confident that *kúh* does not mean 'a well.' The lines

Jal júh kúh kastúri mrig
Pah pankhi aru parbbatah

are translated, 'There is plenty of water and wells; musk-deer and cattle and birds and hills:' I should prefer to render them 'Flocks of fowls scream on the water, on the plain are musk-deer, and on the hills birds,' *kúh* being the verb which is more common in the frequentative form *kokúya*.

11. (*Doha.*) The rendering 'having heard from Râo Châmand that a mishap had befallen the lord Pang, and that the place was delightful,' seems to me a little questionable. I would suggest 'In the first place as a blow to Jay Chand, and also because he had heard,' &c. The words in the original are

Ek táp Pahu-pang kau
Aru ravanikju thán
Chámand Ráo bachchan suni.

12. (*Kavitta.*) In the lines

Charhat Ráj Prithiráj
Bír aginev diśa kasi,

which are translated 'When king Prithirâj the mighty, rose to examine the southern country;' I would take *kasi* as though *kamar* were understood, and render 'The great king Prithirâj marches south, girding up his loins.' The letter mentioned at the end of the stanza was not, as it seems to me, received from Lâhor, but reached the Sultân there and came from Jay Chand at Kanauj. Thus the following stanzas do not give the contents of the letter, but describe what took place at Lâhor after its receipt.

17. (*Dohá*, p. 18.) For 'from both sides, east and west, they joined the Chauhân and the Sultân,'

Pubb ru pachchhim duhun diśá
Mili Chuhán Surtán,

should certainly be read 'Marching from two opposite quarters, viz. east and west, the Chauhân and Sultân met.' The message delivered to Jay Chand at the end of the stanza seems rather a report of what the Sultân had done on hearing of Prithirâj's expedition, than a report of Prithirâj's movements.

18. (*Kavitta.*) For 'the sword is drawn and wafting as the leaves of a tree shake' read 'At the flash of drawn swords he quivers like the leaves of the tree:'

Loha anch uddant—
Patt tarwar jim dolai.

19. The lines

Jánai ki Bhím Kaurú subar
Jar samúh tarwar kinau

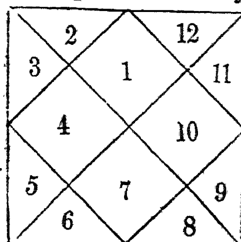
are translated 'They are like Bhîm and Kaurava. What is a heap of roots compared with the tree?' This does not convey any intelligible meaning, and I would correct it to 'let him know how Bhîm treated the Kaurava leaders, root and branch.' The concluding words of the stanza, *wuh sobhá lat*, are, as the sense clearly requires, interrogative, implying an emphatic denial—'Does he get beauty?' meaning 'he loses his beauty.'

22. (*Kantasoba*, p. 19.) It seems impossible to extract any meaning from *indurja*, literally 'the moon-born;' while *andarja*, the egg-born, *i. e.* a bird, supplies exactly what is wanted, nor is the alteration a very extensive one. The line *Saje mano pon pavang rathe* is translated 'prepared like the wind in the car of the apes,' but a query is attached and I would suggest as a more intelligible rendering 'fleet as the wind the birdlike cars, *avang* being taken as equivalent to *khag*, 'moving in the air,' *i.e.* a bird.

27. In the first line *Kari tamá itau sáhi*, translated (with a query) 'the Shâhar ranged the rearguard thus,' I think *tamá* is meant

for *tumân*, and that the reading *chau* given in some of the MSS. is better than *tau*. I would then render 'the Shâh formed four squadrons. The line *Sâhi Chinhâb su uttaryau* is translated 'the vanguard of the Shâh crossed over;' but I see no reason why *Chinâb* should not be taken in its much more obvious sense as the river of that name, when the rendering would be 'the Shâh crossed the Chinâb.' A little further on, the engagement in question is distinctly described as having taken place at no great distance from Lâhor. In the next line *Sambhali* seems to me the verb 'gathered together,' rather than 'king of Sambhal.'

33. (*Kavitta*, p. 20.) The astrological terms in this passage have not, I think, been quite correctly apprehended. Whenever it is required to draw a horoscope, or make any other similar calculation, the first preliminary is the construction of the figure in the margin, which is called a kundali: the 12 houses into which it is divided invariably follow one another in the order indicated by the figures; the first house having the special name of lang, while the four centre houses, viz. 1, 4, 7, and 10, are collectively called kendra, and the eight outside houses, viz. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, and 12, apoklima, the Greek ἀπόκλιμα, 'declination.' Further, in determining an auspicious date there are five matters to be considered: the bar, or day of the week; the tithi, or lunar day; the nakshatra or planet; the joga and the kirana. The bar and the tithi are given in the first lines of the stanza as 'Tuesday the fifth'; the lines that follow refer to the three remaining particulars. The text stands thus:—



Ashta chakra jogini
Bhog, Bharani sudhi râri.
Guru panchami Rabi panchami
Asht Mangal nṛip bhâri.
Keindra Budh bharath bhal
Kar trisûl chakrabaliya.
Subh ghariya râj bar lin bar
Chanhyau udai krûrah baliya.

This is rendered by Prof. Hoernle:—"Ashṭa Chakra Yoginî and the transit of Bharani are auspicious for war; Guru Panchami and Ravi Panchami are inauspicious for the white-marked horse of the lord. Indu and Budha make war prosperous with the trident and the disc in their hands. An auspicious hour the king selected and marched forth; the valiant one at the rising of Krur." The explanations that I have given above will, I think, suffice to prove that the following is a preferable rendering: "The company of the eight Yoginis is auspiciously placed, and auspicious for battle is the Nakshatra Bharani. The conjunction of Jupiter and the sun in the fifth house and Mars in the eighth house are also auspicious for the king. Mercury falling within the *kendra* is good for fighting, for one who bears the marks of the trident and discus on his hand (an allusion to the art of palmistry, or *samudrik*). At a favourable hour the great king marched forth with his forces, at sunrise, with 'cruel might.'" The meaning of the works translated 'cruel might' is a little obscure. Krûr is a technical term for the three 'evil' planets, the Sun, Mars, and Saturn, and in this sense it seems Prof. Hoernle takes it: but questionably, since the *dies Martis* has been specified above as favourable to the king. As to the Yoginis, further explanation may appear necessary. They are believed to be eight in number and to occupy in succession the different points of the compass, moving all together in a body. It is unlucky to face them or have them on the right hand, but lucky to move in such a direction that they are left in the rear or to the left.

34. (*Doha*.) So rachi uddh avadh adh
Uggi mahanbadhi mand
Barani khed nṛip bandayan
Kaun bhâi kabi Chand.

The two first lines have been omitted in the translation, and the two last rendered 'which of the servants of the lord can describe his pain, O brother Chand?' In the first line, *uddh* and *adh* mean 'up and down;' *avadh*, 'round about;' in the second the alternative reading *bidhi* should be substituted for *badhi;* and *kaun bhai* in the last line is 'which you please.' The general meaning and style of expression will be best represented by a verse in ballad measure:—

From high and low and everywhere,
In every kind of way,
I cull some emblem of his care;
Take which you will, I pray.

Then follow the emblems, or similes:—

So pants the warrior for the break of day
As parted love-birds for the sun's first ray.
So pants the warrior for the close of night
As saints on earth crave heaven's full power and light.
So pants the warrior for the battle-morn,
As restless lovers, of their love forlorn.
So pants the warrior for the rising sun
As sick men pray that the long night be done.
So longed the warrior-camp for break of day
As beggars long a prince may pass their way.
So longed the monarch for the orient fire
As faithful widows for the funeral pyre.

Mathurá, October 4, 1874.

ANECDOTE OF NÂDIR SHÂH.

BY H. BLOCHMANN, M.A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

In my last paper on 'Muhammadan Chronograms' I said that chronograms on coins were rare, and at the time of writing the essay I could only remember one instance. I have since found another in the early coinage of Nâdir Shâh.

When Ṭahmâsp Qulî, in A.H. 1148 (A.D. 1735), usurped the throne under the name of Nâdir Shâh, the customary chronograms were presented to him. Among them was an Arabic one—

الخير في ما وقع

al-khairu fî mâ waqa'a

good lies in what has happened,

and Nâdir Shâh was so pleased with the good omen which the chronogram, in his opinion, conveyed, that he ordered it to be put on the reverse of his coins. Marsden gives a figure in his *Numismata*, and I saw also lately a few specimens brought by Capt. H. C. Marsh from Hirât. The legend of the obverse of Nâdir Shâh's coinage is (metre, *long ramal*)—

سکه بر زر کرد نام سلطنت را در جهان
نادر ایران زمین و خسرو گیتی ستان

The unique one (nâdir) *of the land of Îrân, and the world-taking sovereign, stamped upon gold the name of his rule in the world.*

On the reverse the above chronogram will be found, the letters of which when added give 1148, the year of Nâdir Shâh's accession.

But some years later the people at court advised Nâdir Shâh to omit the chronogram and change the reverse of the coins, because some wit had said that by transposing the first two letters, and writing

لا خير في ما وقع

lâ khaira fî mâ waqa'a

no good lies in what has happened,

people obtained a most inauspicious chronogram. Nâdir Shâh was very angry, especially as he could not trace the perpetrator of the joke, but he ordered the chronogram on his coinage to be discontinued. Hence all later coins of Nâdir Shâh have other reverses.—*From Ghulám Álí Ázád's History of Persian Literature, entitled* "Khizânah i 'Âmirah," *sub voce Fáiz.*

BENGÂLI FOLKLORE—LEGENDS FROM DINÂJPUR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S. RANGPUR.

(*Continued from p.* 321.)

The Tolls of Goäil Hât.

A very poor man named Sâdu used to live near Goäil Hât; he had a wife and seven children whom he was obliged to feed and clothe, but as he was a common cooly and received only two annas a day the result was that they were in great distress, and never had more than half enough to eat. One day his wife said to him, "Husband, I have sown a pumpkin-plant and by good luck it has borne twelve pumpkins; take them to Goäil Hât and sell them and buy food, and we will have enough to eat to-day." Sâdu was very much pleased to hear it, and put the twelve pumpkins in a *bangy* on his shoulder and went to market.

Now the market dues at Goäil Hât were very exorbitant, and in consequence his twelve pumpkins were all taken away for toll, and when he built a shop in the market one of the Râṇî Mâyî's peons came and took it all away for rent, so he went to the chief men of the market and said, "I brought twelve pumpkins to market and your servants have taken them all away for toll; and I built a shop, which they have taken for rent and seized me and brought me here: now I ask for justice." As soon as they heard that, they said to a peon, "Why do you not obey your orders? take his cloth and drive him away." This was done and Sâdu returned home in a sad plight and told his wife what had happened. She was very sorry, but after thinking some time she said, "As all these tolls are taken in the market, why should not we take tolls too?" Sâdu replied, "Quite right, you have said well; from to-morrow I will take tolls." So the next market-day he tied a *pagri* on his head and put on a *dhûti* ten cubits long, and took a stick five cubits long in his hand, and taking two servants with him went to the Hât. There he planted his stick before every shop and ordered his servants to take food from each, and if any of the shopkeepers asked what new toll this was, he would reply angrily, "Do you not know that I am Râṇî Mâyî's wife's brother?" They all thought that he must really be her wife's brother, for if he were not he would not

dare to commit such oppression, and take more of their merchandise in addition to what was taken for the eighteen different descriptions of toll which already existed.

In this way Sâdu collected toll for ten or twelve market-days, so that he began to live at ease and was no longer in want.

In the meantime the shopkeepers, not being able to bear the oppression of Râṇî Mâyî's wife's brother any longer, made a petition against him. Râṇî Mâyî was a very learned and kind woman, and she thought, "What can the stupid people mean? how can a woman have a wife's brother? nevertheless they cannot have come to me for protection without some good reason." So she said, "Yes, I have a wife's brother, bring him before me." So Sâdu was brought and, being very much frightened, covered his face and folded his hands and said, "Your Majesty, first hear my tale and then decide." So Râṇî Mâyî heard his whole story and then said, "From this time all tolls are abolished in Goäil Hât except the toll of my wife's brother." And this is the custom to this day.

A STRANGE MODE OF FORTUNE-TELLING.

BY V. N. TIRUMALACHARYAR, MAISUR COMMISSION.

The singular custom which forms the subject of this paper is one of the innumerable expedients which the natural tendency of human nature to unfold the future of a man's life has suggested. It is not confined to the table-land of Maisur, but prevails throughout Southern India. If a girl does not become pubescent at the usual age, or a young woman does not become a mother for some years after consummation of her marriage, it is a matter of grief to her mother, or other matron interested in her, who sets about ascertaining the future prospects of her youthful relation by the following method:—On a given lucky day, early in the morning, the mother or other relation, having a husband living at the time (for widows cannot take part in any auspicious ceremonies), takes kunku (red powder with which Hindu females mark their foreheads), powdered turmeric, betel leaves and nut, with an offering of jaggery or a couple of plantains, to the plant called *Unmatti* in Kanarese (*Datura fastuosa*). Sweeping the spot on which the shrub stands, and spreading thereon cowdung and water, the stem of the plant is rubbed with the coloured powders, and betel, with a couple of fruits or a piece of jaggery, as the case may be, is offered to it; and it is invited to attend the house of the hostess for meals, as if it was a sentient being or human guest capable of responding to the call. After this preliminary, a few raw fruits of the plant are plucked and brought home with all possible haste. One or more of the fruits are cut with a knife. The right halves of the fruits are thrown away as unlucky, and a small quantity of the seeds of the left halves, say a tea-spoonful, is taken out and ground with fresh milk till the whole becomes a thin liquid. Then it is strained in a clean cloth, and kept ready to be swallowed off in a draught. The woman or girl to be operated upon anoints herself and takes a warm bath, and before her system has cooled down from the effects of the bath she is made to sit on the threshold, and in that posture to drink off the draught prepared for her, the female friend taking care to pour it down her throat, and to put a betel-leaf over her tongue, lest it should be hardened by the touch of the draught. This done, the patient is served with *kichaḍi* without salt or milk, and also saltless brinjâl curry, and is immediately put to bed. Her sleep does not last long, and, the preparation having by this time operated on the system, she gets up and begins to rave and play the pranks of an insane person, using, however, only words peculiar to her sex. Her hair is combed, she is dressed with a fresh *sâḍi*, and is decked with ornaments as on a festive occasion. Female relations successively mount guard over her, lest she should run about mad. She catches hold of anything, often a doll placed at her disposal by sight-seers, and calls it her child, and often plays the part of a mimic mother, not unaccompanied with incoherent expressions. If the actions of the patient are so directed, they are taken for a propitious sign of her becoming a prolific mother eventually; but if, on the other hand, she weeps, as some often do, or performs other inconsistent actions, they are taken to augur ill. In this state of mind the patient is consulted as an oracle by

credulous and ignorant neighbours, who assemble on the occasion, as to whether they shall obtain the object of their wishes. Any replies the patient gives are often believed with the credit due to a prophecy. The influence of the preparation lasts generally twenty-four hours or thereabouts, at the end of which it subsides, and the patient will have to be kept upon good and cooling food of antibilious properties for weeks. But it often happens with persons of bilious constitutions that the intoxication lasts for twice that period or more, in which case the juice of the root of brinjál is prescribed as an antidote against the evil effects of the *datura*. The females believe as an article of faith that this operation cures them of uterine and other pains which are detrimental to conception or development of the system.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VIŚÂLGAḌH INSCRIPTION.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—Allow me to make a final remark on the Viśâlgaḍh inscription, which Mr. Rehatsek has again brought up in the *Antiquary* (p. 265). Mr. Nairne, C. S., has since very kindly favoured me with the very transcript which Mr. Rehatsek used,—the facsimile in Graham's *Account of Kolhápúr*. The correct reading is—

بود کار جهان جمله بهمّت
تمامي شد بخواب اين برج دولت
اگر خواهي که تاريخش بداني
کنون تاريخ گويش برج دولت

The business of the world is entirely (dependent) on energy:
This Burj i Daulat was completed in sleep.
If thou wishest to know its date,
Say now its date lies in the words Burji Daulat.

The second line is an allusion to some legend connected with the building of the fort. 'In sleep' means 'in *one* night.' All big forts, here in Bengal too, are said to have been built by Devs or heroes in one night, during sleep, *i.e.* very quickly.

H. BLOCHMANN.

Madrasah College,
Calcutta, 2nd September 1874.

ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

As Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, in his letter in the *Ind. Ant.* (p. 303) withdraws his accusation that I had overlooked the difficulty of filling up 272 or 330 years with the reigns of the first six Bhaṭârkas, while he admits that his language might bear that construction, there is an end of any personal question between us. I indeed would never have stated the case in a personal form at all, had there been any other mode of bringing it forward. The one question that interested me, or interests the public, is to know whether the Balabhî kings did or did not date their grants from the Balabhî era, A.D. 318. As at the end of his paper Professor Bhâṇḍârkar admits to the fullest extent that they did so, we are perfectly agreed on this point; while as he never disputed that the Gupta kings dated their inscriptions from the same era, we are in accord on these two crucial points of Indian mediæval chronology. There may be still details to be rectified and minor difficulties to be removed before this is as clear to others as it has always been to me, and now is to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar; but if he will continue to use his opportunities with the same zeal and intelligence as he has hitherto shown I have no doubt that these will soon be cleared away.

Meanwhile I am delighted to see that in a paper he sent home to the late Oriental Congress, the Professor has done a good deal towards settling another disputed point in Indian chronology. His improved translations of the Nâsik cave-inscriptions, and the reasoning he deduces from them, make it tolerably clear that the Śaka kings dated their coins and inscriptions from the Śaka era A.D. 78, and not from the Vikramâditya Saṁvat 57 B.C., as I was inclined to believe might be the case. This being so, it now only remains to find out when the Vikramâditya era was first established—not certainly, as far as we can now see, before the age of Bhoja—and what event took place 57 years before Christ which could have given rise to that date being fixed upon for so important a commemoration. These, however, are idle questions in comparison with the great epochal dates alluded to above, whose determination seems to me essential for a right comprehension of the mediæval history of India, and still more so for the architectural sequence of its buildings, which, with these corrections, now seems clear and intelligible.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

London, 6th Nov. 1874.

INDEX.

ERRATA IN VOL. III.

Page 21 *a* note †, line 10, *for* 'Foncaux' *read* 'Foucaux.'
31 *b*, line 16, *after* 'merit' *insert* *.
„ „ 17, *for* * *read* †.
„ to last line of the note prefix †.
33 *a*, line 9 from bottom, *after* 'from' *insert* 'it.'
„ 2 „ *for* 'village' *read* 'ridge.'
33 *b*, „ 18, *after* 'plains' *insert* 'can.'
„ 25 and 34 *a*, line 9, *for* 'Malaiârâsar' *read* 'Malaiarasar.'
„ „ 39, *for* 'furry' *read* 'fuzzy.'
47 *b*, „ 5 from bottom, *for* 'Akberi' *read* 'Akbari.'
89 *b*, „ 28, *for* 'Pailapa' *read* 'Tailapa.'
„ „ 43 „ 'bought' „ 'brought.'
143 „ 18, omit the period after 'Vishṇu.'
165 *b*, „ 4 from bottom, *for* 'as to an' *read* 'as an.'
174 *b*, 34 & 40, *dele* '5' and '6.'
175 *b*, verse 24, *for* 'tha t' *read* 'that.'
176 *a*, line 1, *prefix* 'VIII.' *before* 'With.'
180 *a*, „ 13 & 8 from bottom, *for* 'Bauthli' *read* 'Banthali.'
212 *a*, „ 24, *for* 182-186 *read* 209-212.
213 *a*, „ 3 & 23 *for* 183 *read* 210.
„ „ 28 „ 183 „ 209.
214 *b*, „ 20 „ 183 „ 209.
206 *a*, „ 26, *for* 'important' *read* 'an important.'
225 *a*, note *, *for* 'p. 188' *read* 'p. 184.'
235 *b*, note *, last three lines of this note belong to the text.
255 *b*, line 7, *for* † *read* *.
„ „ 22, 24 & 30, *for* 'Yezdejird' *read* 'Yezdegird.'
257 *b*, „ 40 *for* 'whicoh' *read* 'which.'
261 *a*, „ 16, *for* 'Nerschi' *read* 'Nersehi.'
271 *b*, „ 7 from bottom, *after* 'Pravarasena' *insert* a comma.
323 *b*, „ 21, *for* 'Mûrkhar' *read* 'Mûrkkan.'